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# MEXICO

A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs

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# We Are "Lobbyists"

## —BUT NOT INSIDIOUS

We aim to influence the attitude and inform the intelligence of the American public on matters pertaining to the Latin republics. This country is united with these "other Americans" in bonds that are more than geographical and commercial. There is also a community of interest and national ideals, in the increasing and difficult work of adapting the principles of democracy to constantly arising new conditions. Destiny has made us peculiarly close in our relations as neighbors. The opening of the Panama Canal, one of the most stupendous achievements in history, will, it is hoped, not only increase our trade relations with Latin-America, but it should inevitably bring to all the Americas a deeper and finer friendship and a realization of the value of common helpfulness and the peril of prejudicial misunderstandings, ghosts of an unenlightened past. If this comes true the Latin will lose his mistrust of the "Yankee," the North American will not assume a superior, patronizing air in dealing with people of a different culture and temperament. The press of the United States will find that there is news of more vital importance and more representative of progress to the south of us than the stories of uprisings and revolutions, which have been featured so exclusively as to convey the impression that Latin-America is nothing save a hotbed of revolution. The newspapers of the other republics will furnish news more representative of civilization than the accounts of lynchings, strikes, clan fights and murdering gangsters from which the average reader forms his opinion of the people of the North. We simply must know each other better, and there is no reason why we shouldn't in this age of education, investigation and swift communication.

Our closest neighbor, our next-door nation, Mexico, on whose border the United States hangs for a distance of more than two thousand miles, is at the present time in dire trouble. We believe that much of that trouble would have been avoidable if there had been a general understanding in this country of Mexico's problems, motives and ideals, and an intelligent conception of the conditions which have unfortunately been the cause of nearly three years of internecine strife in that country. We can't help Mexico nor help ourselves in our vital relations with Mexico by assuming or maintaining an attitude of criticism, annoyance, or tutelage while she is working out her problems. To influence a change in that attitude, to inform public opinion generally on Mexico's position and point of view, is one of our purposes and in the light of recent events the most timely.

In that sense we are lobbyists, lobbyists for Mexico, for all Latin-America and, we earnestly believe, for the people of the United States.

## *Shoulder to Shoulder—Elpasograms*

## *"Cessation of Hostilities and Elections"*

# OUT OF THE MUDDLE

## Shoulder to Shoulder

When it comes right down to cases it goes without saying that in any international crisis every red-blooded American citizen would stand back of any attitude the President might take, any move that he might make, and every American deserving of the name would be confident that the President was right according to his lights and his conscience. The President and his advisers might have made one or many mistakes in handling a situation, but the mistakes made, be the consequences whatsoever, it would not then be a matter for discussion or criticism, but for whole-hearted, patriotic action.

But until such a crux arrives it is the right and it is the duty of every American citizen to inform himself on pending disputes, gathering his information from all sides, and to express his opinion candidly, for the force of public opinion is the strongest force in the country, the rock on which the nation is built.

Justice toward another nation is not inconsistent with loyalty to our own. Quite the contrary. No real loyalty would deliberately provoke or countenance injustice. Nobody with an atom of intelligence believes for a moment that the Administration's attitude toward Mexico has reflected any but the most friendly and patriotic purposes. It is possible, however, that those purposes with the best intentions have been shaped along the wrong lines. It is possible that a mass of private and public misinformation has had considerable to do with determining those lines, and it is more than possible that actual injustice has been done to Mexico. It is a fact.

If only the truth is brought out and the untruths nailed before it is too late, the cries of the jingoes for war will be stilled and the intrigues of self-seeking Mexican politicians and American financial interests to use the United States as a weapon against the present Government of Mexico will be foiled.

## John Lind

The only redeeming feature in the Mexican muddle is John Lind.

It must have been accident, but there is no doubt that the selection of John Lind was a fortunate one. If his mission is what it has been represented by the press, he will fail, but it will not be his fault. John Lind has been splendidly received by the Mexicans, who have thus demonstrated that they are more civilized than those prejudiced or malicious persons in this country who assumed that Lind would be murdered or badly treated.

John Lind has besides captivated the good will and the friendship of all Mexicans who have shown their ability to distinguish the grain from the chaff.

Whatever the results of John Lind's mission he will leave friends in Mexico and he will have earned the eternal gratitude of the Washington administration.

## The Madero Sobbists

Sympathy for human suffering, a sympathy that is spontaneous and heartfelt, is characteristic of the American people. The public was naturally inclined to sympathize with the personal loss and bereavement of the immediate members of Francisco Madero's family when the news was flashed from Mexico of his fall and his death. Who would not feel sympathy for a wife bereft of her husband, children of their father, whatever the faults or the malfeasances of the man? His rise was dramatic, his career in power was pitiful, and his fall tragic.

Quick to catch on to this friendly sympathy of the American people, the followers of the Madero fortunes at once began to use it for political purposes. A widow's grief and tears, the cries of orphans, were sordidly, coldbloodedly exploited by the rebel juntas and their press agents. Through pathetic interviews and lugubrious stories in the newspapers, the sacred grief of a family was advertised broadcast week after week, month after month *ad nauseam*, until what was at first a real feeling was perverted into an artificial, maudlin sentiment by a squad of hired "sob" writers. No occasion was lost by Captain Hopkins and his clever colleagues to parade in the public press and magazines the black-veiled figure of Madero's widow, and it was even suggested by these precious politicians that she appear and tell her story before the Senate for the effect it would create. This sobbing publicity has gone too far, and there is evidence that the American public is not only sick of it but inclined to resent the abuse of their natural sympathy, given freely and fully.

It is a curious fact, at the same time, that no such feeling of sympathy has existed or does exist among the Mexicans themselves. For some reason they can remember only the hundred thousand lives already lost in the three years' continuous strife that had its beginning in the entry of the powerful Madero family into Mexican political life. They can hardly be expected to forget that the well-filled treasury and stable credit of the country under Diaz departed with the Maderos. Perhaps they think only of the score of young cadets of the Military School, all under age, and of as good families as the Maderos, who in the beginning of the famous ten days' fight were shot down by orders of Madero and his brother in the *patio* of the National Palace, *without even the semblance of a trial.* Also of General Ruiz, 72 years old, who was shot down also *without trial,* and forty other Mexicans of good families summarily executed *without trial.* Perhaps their grief at the death of Madero has been somewhat assuaged by the thought that they have thrown off the incubus of a family for whom the country was a plaything of ambition. At any rate, they are shedding no tears of maudlin sentiment. In fact, they are quite convinced that the Maderos got exactly what they gave.

## A Barbarous Suggestion

The suggestion made by some public men in Washington, and so oft repeated by newspaper correspondents, that the Mexican rebels and bandits be allowed to buy arms and ammunition freely in the United States is not only barbarous but criminal and vicious.

It is evident from all press reports, including even Elpasograms, that whatever injury has been suffered by Americans in Mexico has been at the hands of bandits calling themselves rebels. Yet men like Senator Fall are advocating the free selling by this country of arms and ammunition to these bandits so that they can more efficiently use them against American citizens and more easily destroy American property.

The granting of permission to Mexican bandits to buy arms would brand this country as unworthy to call itself a civilized nation. Anyhow, it's superfluous. We affirm this because it is a well-known fact that with the connivance of Americans themselves—unfortunately for the good name of Americans—rebels and bandits *have* succeeded in buying nearly all the arms and ammunition they have wanted.

We do not know if the gentlemen that are advocating such an astounding plan are directly or indirectly interested with any manufacturer of arms or filibustering company, but we do know that the carrying out of such a plan would convince all Latin-Americans—from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn—that their suspicions as to the real policy of the United States toward themselves are well founded.

The idea which prevails in all Latin-American countries that the true meaning of the Monroe doctrine, "America for Americans," is "America for North Americans," and more particularly "for the United States," would receive irreparable confirmation by the granting on the part of this Government of such permission. For this would show the intention of this country to foster internecine strife in Mexico until Mexico should be so debilitated by a fratricidal war as to make it an easy task for this country to take possession of the southern republic. Nothing that this government would say in justification of this barbaric policy could shake the conviction of all Latin-Americans in that respect. The sentiment of insecurity and mistrust in regard to the United States which, if not apparent everywhere, is certainly latent in all Latin America, would crystallize.

The recent forming of a close alliance by the three strongest powers of South America, Argentina, Brazil and Chile—known as the A. B. C. Alliance—has almost escaped public observation in this country, and it is doubtful if its significance is understood by more than a few men. The alliance, brought about through the initiative of the present Argentine Government and the able diplomatic maneuvering of the Foreign Offices at Buenos Ayres and Rio Janeiro, at a time when the

friendly relations between Argentines and Brazilians seemed to have been broken, is the most patent proof of the suspicions which the actions of the United States have aroused in the minds of Latin-Americans. And this in spite of the efforts made by the Pan-American Union and American business organizations to promote better feeling and understanding between Americans of the North and Americans of the South. For let there be no mistake, the A. B. C. Alliance—all official declarations to the contrary—is an alliance of defense against the aggressive—and what is thought by many prominent Latin-Americans—hypocritical policy of the United States.

## Blundering Good

Senator Bacon, of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, begged for patience with President Wilson because "he is confronted with one of the gravest problems a President of the United States has ever faced."

Has not the "problem" arisen from the refusal of President Wilson to recognize the Provisional Government of Mexico? If he had recognized that government as all the other great powers of the world have, where would have been the opportunity for the violent speeches in Congress and the irresponsible articles in the press demanding intervention? The financial interests, the jingo press, the American landholders in Mexico and the seekers for concessions have seized on the inactivity and the reported antipathy of the Wilson administration for Huerta as an opportunity for jingo propaganda. The juntas of the so-called revolutionists have likewise jumped at the chance for a campaign of misstatements to help and dignify their political intrigues. There *is* a grave situation. The President is reported determined that intervention shall be only a last resort. We trust he is sincere in this announcement, but when he refuses to take advantage of the first and most obvious resort to bring about peace, what are we to think? If it were not for his determined refusal to grant recognition to the Provisional Government there would probably be no grave situation, no chance for the jingoes to project their inflammatory utterances, no danger to be apprehended from the sensitiveness, the suspicion and the aroused feeling of nationality in the Mexicans themselves. If there is a grave problem the Washington administration has made it for itself, is responsible for it in a large measure, and if either war with Mexico or chaos in that unfortunate country should result it will be largely to blame, and in the light of history its mistake, its blunder, its truculent inactivity will stand out more clearly than its good intentions.

## Mexican Stocks Gain on Bourse

Special Cable Despatch to *The Sun*.

PARIS, Aug. 20.—Mexican securities recovered on the Bourse to-day. Shares of the Banco Nacional gained 13, Central Railroad 5 and Peninsular 4. Mexico City Street Car Company shares lost 11.

# "CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND ELECTIONS IN MEXICO"

According to an Associated Press despatch from Mexico City, the proposals of the Washington Government which Provisional President Huerta has rejected in toto were:

First—Complete cessation of hostilities.

Second—That President Huerta resign in favor of a President *ad interim*.

Third—The fixing of an early date for the Presidential elections.

Fourth—That General Huerta should not be a candidate for the Presidency.

We cannot believe that the foregoing is correct. The second and fourth proposals refer personally to General Huerta and we shall consider but slightly. We doubt if there could be found any authority in international law to sustain the right of our or any other government to meddle in the politics of a friendly nation whose sovereignty has been recognized by treaties with all civilized powers of the world.

In other words, the proposals as stated amount to saying to the Huerta government this: "We do not like you, so to please us you must help us to bring about your own destruction."

As preposterous as this sounds, there would be a justification if the destruction of the Huerta government at this juncture would mean an immediate and permanent solution of the difficulties under which the Mexican nation has been suffering for the past three years.

But it is inconceivable that any one conversant even in the slightest degree with the present situation in Mexico could for a moment believe that the elimination of the Huerta government would dissipate as by magic the ills that affect Mexico.

Even the Mexico City correspondents of the American newspapers have repeatedly declared of late that the best elements of the Mexican population look to the Huerta government for the restoration of peace, this government having demonstrated not only its ability to do, but also its honesty of purpose. How can any one in all justice agree to a policy which proposes to go against the will of the Mexicans themselves?

If, as in the case of our Civil War, two armies were fighting for supremacy, each backed by strong public opinion of two distinct factions, each determined to enforce a definite principle on the other, then this proposal may have a leg to stand on, although it can never be admitted that this country has any right to interfere with the internal affairs of another nation, any more than it was admitted by this country at the time of the Civil War that England had a right to interfere in that struggle, although much suffering was caused to British interests and British lives were lost.

But this is not the case. There is in Mexico a Federal provisional government declared as such by the Mexican Congress and by the Mexican Supreme Court. It is exercising all the functions of government and has been recognized *de facto* and *de jure* by all the great powers of the world with the single exception of the United States.

This provisional government is engaged in putting down rebellion and brigandage, making remarkable progress in spite of the attitude of the United States. It has declared that as soon as peace is re-established throughout the country presidential elections will be held. Congress, at the request of the Executive, has set October 26 as the date for holding these elections, hoping that by that time peace would be an accomplished fact.

Even in the history of Mexico it is the first time in which a so-called rebellion is taking place against a provisional government that has called the people to elections. What is the explanation of this anomalous circumstance?

That there is no revolutionary movement on foot backed by public sentiment as was the Madero movement, but there are sporadic rebellions independent one from the other, and, above all, that the provisional government is not engaged in fighting a revolution but *brigandage*, which has been allowed by the previous administration to spread throughout the country.

The leaders of the rebellions in the north are many and each claims to be the only original leader. Pesqueira, Maytorena, Obregon, Alvarado, Juan Dozal, Bauch Alcalde, all are leaders in Sonora and in the last few weeks they have been fighting among themselves.

Obregon, at a recent meeting in Nogales, accused Pesqueira of having robbed the public funds, and even went to the extent of drawing his gun against his erstwhile companion.

We do not wish to doubt the good intentions of the Washington administration and are convinced that its actions are not prompted by a desire to play into the hands of those interests that are seeking the continuance of trouble in Mexico in order to further their own selfish ends. We are convinced of this because the Washington administration is basing its whole success on the fight which it has undertaken against special, predacious interests.

But if the proposals above should prove to be correct then we should be forced to conclude that a dangerous and inexplicable ignorance exists in our official circles.

The first and third proposals suggest the complete cessation of hostilities and the holding of elections at an early date. These, which to the casual observer may sound plausible and feasible, must be analyzed.

Carranza has proclaimed himself the leader of all "constitutionalists," but Pesqueira refuses to recognize him as such and declares that the Sonora rebels have nothing to do with Carranza.

The rebels declare that there cannot be elections until they win and take possession of the machinery of government in Mexico City. Meanwhile, Villa in Chihuahua and Zapata in Morelos have declared little but

have sacked and plundered much until scattered and beaten by one of the most brilliant military campaigns that Mexico has witnessed.

What would be the result of an immediate cessation of hostilities on the part of the federal government? That brigandage which is just being suppressed would at once upsurge again everywhere like a terrible Hydra, and anarchy would ensue. If the promise of an election should be sufficient to re-establish peace in Mexico, why have not all Mexicans deposed arms and made such an election possible? Even if they were afraid that elections would be administration-made they could at least have waited to revolt until that had been an accomplished fact.

But no promise of an election will induce the Mexican bandits, or any other bandits, to give up their trade. Many of them do not even know what election means.

As for the rebel leaders, they would only give up if each one individually were assured that he was going to manage the elections.

No hostilities can cease while the respect for some authority has not been restored, and likewise, no elections can be held before then *because there is no guarantee at present that the results of any elections would be accepted and that the people would abide by those results.*

In connection with the much published desire of the Washington administration that "fair elections" be held in Mexico, it is pertinent to recall certain facts: Madero, after leading a practically bloodless revolution, became the candidate for the Presidency of Mexico. His elections were held while the machinery of government was in the hands of members of his family and close friends. He was the only candidate in the field, General Reyes having been previously eliminated by forcible methods. Madero received an actual total vote of 22,000 to 23,000 out of four million voters computed by the last census. His followers declared that he had been unanimously elected. Yet at the time he ascended to the Presidency there were more armed men in the field than upon the resignation of General Diaz. Madero had not been in power three months when he was confronted by a formidable rebellion in the north led by Orozco, and by rebellious movements in fourteen different states, and by brigandage overrunning the whole country.

He had not been in power six months before the revolution led by Orozco had full possession of the whole State of Chihuahua, conducting an actual separate government, a condition much worse than the one now confronting the provisional government. Because at present the most important city in the State of Sonora, Guaymas, is in the hands of the Federals, and rebels in other States do not hold a single city of importance outside of Durango and have been repeatedly defeated and scattered in small bands.

This does not mean that elections cannot be held in Mexico, but it does mean that they must be held only after complete peace has been restored and that a government must be installed strong enough to compel all Mexicans to abide by the results of those elections.

# NAILING THEM

Much of the difficulty confronting the administration arises from the financial entanglements into which Huerta has been led in his efforts to raise money. James Speyer, a supporter of President Wilson, who was made financial agent of the United States abroad a short time ago, is said to have advanced the money by which Huerta was able to pay his army and maintain himself soon after the overthrow of Madero. It is believed that the rate of interest on the Speyer loan was very large, as the security Huerta could give at the time was slender.

Huerta obtained money later from French bankers, for which he pledged the entire customs revenue of Mexico. Part of this money was used to pay off the Speyer loan. Even if the President were inclined to recognize Huerta, either before or after an election, it would be disadvantageous to this government by so doing to validate the Huerta pledges, which give the French bankers priority of claim on the customs revenues of Mexico and leave no apparent source of income from which the claims of American citizens, which aggregate many millions of dollars, could be paid.—*New York Tribune,* August 19.

We should like to know if it is absolutely necessary for a man to be totally ignorant of Mexican affairs to be appointed Washington correspondent of a big metropolitan newspaper.

It is not the purpose of these comments to correct every false statement published by the newspapers of this country in regard to Latin America and especially to Mexico, because we fully realize that the magnitude of such a task is beyond our forces, but we are interested in showing to our readers how history is written.

James Speyer—a supporter of President Wilson, says the *Tribune,* and this is of great interest to Mexicans—did not advance the money "by which Huerta has been able to pay his army," etc.

He did, however, lend the money which enabled the Madero family to maintain itself in power for more than a year.

The loans obtained by the Maderos from James Speyer were guaranteed by 67 per cent. of the customs revenues.

The Huerta government negotiated a loan with French bankers and gave as guarantee the remaining 33 per cent. of the customs revenues.

It is evident from this that there is no priority of claim for the French bankers, and that, therefore, there is no financial reason why President Wilson should not recognize the Huerta government.

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Mr. Lind is making no effort to sound the constitutionalists, with a view to inducing them to become a party to the negotiations for a settlement of the disturbances such as must be reached before any régime can be firmly established.

The editorial writer of the *Washington Post* is very unkind to Mr. Lind. Whatever the instructions given to Mr. Lind by the Washington administration, it cannot be supposed that they include Mr. Lind's running after Mr. Venustiano Carranza through the deserts of Northern Mexico and into the mountains of the Sierra Madre. Mr. Lind would hardly have had time to travel the increasing distance of fifteen hundred miles or so which separate the Mexican capital from the fleeing Carranza.

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The surprising disclosure that Huerta is virtually hemmed in by the rebels and that Carranza has set up a provisional government at Durango apparently safe from molestation may fail to shake official confidence in Huerta's invincibility in a military sense, but the downfall of Diaz and Madero teaches a different lesson to the mind of the independent observer.—*Washington Post.*

This disclosure is surprising indeed and has undoubtedly been made by the *Post* alone, for no one has heard from Mr. Carranza since he was crushingly defeated at Torreon, where he made his last stand after having been driven from his strongholds in Coahuila across the desert.

As to the mind of the "independent observer," it must be somewhat befogged when he speaks of the downfall of Diaz and Madero and their supposed invincibility in a military sense. Porfirio Diaz resigned from office before any real fighting had taken place and because he believed the Madero movement to have popular support. He refused in his old age to be responsible for a prolonged fratricidal struggle.

As to Madero, long before his fall he had alienated the loyalty of the army by his own acts in trying to corrupt the army, and causing a general discontent in its ranks by the appointment of revolutionary leaders to high places over the heads of officers who had graduated from the Military Academy and devoted all their lives to military service.

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* * * It was declared to the *Herald* to-day that should President Wilson's proclamation of last March prohibiting the importation of munitions of war be withdrawn it undoubtedly would serve to immensely improve credit. * * *—N. Y. *Herald,* August 20.

Is the Mexico City correspondent of the *Herald* up to his old tricks as exemplified in the "news" he sent some time ago that a receiver had been appointed for the National Railways of Mexico? Or was the above a slip of the tongue of the editor who passed upon the story?

For how can any one imagine for a moment that the withdrawal of the President's proclamation prohibiting the importation of munitions of war into Mexico would "immensely improve credit?" When and where in the history of any nation has the recrudescence of civil war improved credit?

The fact that upon the news of Federal victories Mexican securities advanced several points in Paris on August 18 is sufficient argument against the preposterous statement made by the *Herald* correspondent.

# NAILING THEM—Continued

That Huerta announce that he will not be a candidate in the election which he promised shall be held Oct. 25. This would be equivalent to Huerta making the declaration that he was Provisional President of Mexico only, just as the United States and Great Britain recognize him. He has declared that he is the constitutional President and pointed to the action of the General Assembly of Mexico in voting him President following the assassination of President Madero and Vice-President Suarez.

It is hard to tell at first glance in what proportion malice and ignorance prompted the writing of the foregoing paragraph by the Washington correspondent of the *New York World*. Whatever was the proportion of such ingredients of this concoction, hoping that ignorance was the dominant factor, we shall call the attention of the writer to the fact that General Huerta never made any other declaration than that of being Provisional President. Also that Great Britain recognized him as such *de facto* and *de jure*, but the United States did not recognize him *de jure*.

General Huerta is the constitutional Provisional President of Mexico because he was declared such by the Congress and the Supreme Court of that Republic, the only two bodies that had the power of doing so.

The *World's* correspondent repeats a malicious lie which, unfortunately, has been spread throughout the United States and that is "that the Mexican Assembly voted him (General Huerta) President *following* the assassination of Madero and Pino Suarez."

The resignations of Madero and Pino Suarez were presented to the Mexican Congress on the night of February the seventeenth, and on that same night Huerta was constitutionally appointed Provisional President of Mexico by that same Congress. The killing of Madero and Pino Suarez did not take place until Sunday the twenty-second; that is, five days after Huerta had taken possession of office and Madero had become a private citizen.

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The press dispatches indicated that Señor Urrutia, a man of Indian extraction, who would succeed Provisional President Huerta under the constitution if the latter should resign his office, was the source of this information.

In view of that remark about Aureliano Urrutia being of Indian extraction, which seems to have been made in order to convey an idea of inferiority, it may be well to state that Urrutia has been known for many years as the foremost Mexican surgeon. It has often been declared by American doctors that Urrutia would be a credit to any nation. He is at present the Minister of the Interior, and therefore he would not succeed Provisional President Huerta if the latter should resign his office, because under the Mexican Constitution the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at present Mr. Federico Gamboa, would be the successor.

Another peculiar twist was given the Mexican situation. It is this:

British capitalists, headed by Lord Cowdray, who is better known in Mexico as Sir Weetman Pearson, have obtained from President Huerta giant railroad concessions. The principal concession is for the construction of a railroad which will rival that of the American-owned concession and which operates across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The American company is known as the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, and it has fleets of big steamers plying on the Atlantic and Pacific between ports in the United States and Salina Cruz on the Pacific and Puerto Mexico on the Atlantic coast of Mexico.—*N. Y. World*, August 19.

Here, again, we have a statement by the *World's* correspondent that is as far from the truth and as muddled as his previous declarations.

The Huerta government could not give any concession to the Pearson Construction Company for the building of a new railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec because the railroad which operates there now is not owned by an American company but is owned by the Mexican Government itself, the Pearson interests which built the railroad being partners in the enterprise.

The American-Hawaiian Steamship Company has a contract with the railroad for the transportation across the isthmus of the freight carried by its steamers plying on the Atlantic and Pacific.

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As the Mexican Constitution prohibits the holding of a general election in a period of insurrection, to comply with President Wilson's desire for a free and fair election, something must be done to induce the Constitutionalists to consent to a truce.—*N. Y. Times*, Monday, August 18.

We would advise the correspondent of the *Times* not to worry too much about this. Something *is* being done to induce the so-called constitutionalists to consent to a truce. The Government forces have taken every stronghold of the rebels in northern Mexico, and their leader, Mr. Carranza, after failing in his supreme effort to take Torreon, is now fleeing toward the American border while those rebels who have not surrendered or been killed have been broken up into small bands. The truce has already been declared.

## Straws

### Customs Receipts

The Mexican Customs receipts for last month, July, amounted to 3,352,827 pesos, against 3,388,698 pesos for the same month last year, showing a decrease of only one per cent. This in spite of the fact that a few minor ports of entry are held by the rebels in the north.

There could be no more eloquent testimonial of Mexico's great vitality than these figures, which constitute a strong denial of the assertion made in recent sensational reports that Mexico's trade has greatly suffered since the fall of the past administration.

## The Jewel of Inconsistency

If President Wilson's object in refusing to recognize President Huerta is to discourage armed revolutions in Latin America, to inculcate the idea of peaceful settlement of the internal affairs of southern countries, no one can dispute the sincerity of his purpose or the beauty of his ideals. But there is another side of the matter to be considered, and a thorough grasp of the actual facts of this side will convince any reasonable mind that ideals as to what other peoples should do must at times give way before conditions as they really are.

The Washington administration virtually says: "Our thought, our sincere object, our high purpose is that the Mexican nation, as well as all Latin-American countries, should cease armed strife and settle their internal difficulties at peaceful constitutional elections, and we will not recognize the government of any country which does not conform to our ideals."

But this is an untenable attitude when in practice it operates to defeat itself and forestalls the very results it seeks to accomplish. Such is the case in Mexican affairs. The actual conditions are such that President Wilson's highly ideal attitude has not only materially thwarted the efforts of the only government in Mexico to pacify a country that has been turbulent for several years, but it has actually lent strength to the revolutionary movements financed and fostered in the United States to overthrow the actual government of Mexico. "We will not recognize a revolutionary government, but we will encourage new revolutions." That's what it comes to.

They are going to have elections in Mexico just as soon as the country is pacified. One man has loomed large as the nation's hope for peace, President Huerta. The responsible people of Mexico look to him as the man of force and ability to preserve the integrity and restore the tranquillity of Mexico. First the lawless banditry and brigandage that infest the country in the name of revolutions must be stamped out with an iron-shod heel. The majority of Mexicans who are opposing law and order are not doing so because they are actuated by the high ideals which so become the American President. "Loot and no work" is their motto. Fire and dynamite and blackmail are their methods.

Now the point is this: By refusing on high-minded theory to recognize the Mexican Government President Wilson is actually giving aid to the very forces he professes to hold in such abhorrence. Is it any wonder that the class of Mexicans who thoroughly understand their country and are striving to pull it out of the fire of disaster resent the theoretical attitude of President Wilson? They are on the firing line. They are doing the fighting. They know the forces they must meet and how to meet them. And the friendship and moral support of their great neighbor, the United States, are denied them because a President must work out his theories. Is it not reasonable to misunderstand the man who when your house is burning, instead of running to your assistance, runs to his library and pulls out a volume on "Fire Prevention" and reads it while your house is in flames?

GEN. VICTORIANO HUERTA
Provisional President of Mexico

# WOBBLING AND BLOODSHED

That the Mexicans should know more about diplomatic etiquette than our defunct State Department is not strange, but that they should know more than the President is amazing, for he is supposed to know everything. He thought that he could find an easy job for a free-silver Bryan disciple by sending him on a battleship to mediate between President Huerta and the Mexican insurrectionists, and he is surprised and hurt because President Huerta calls his attention to the fact that an unaccredited envoy will be undesirable and cannot be received. Suppose that Mr. Lind should persist in forcing himself where he is not wanted and should be accidentally shot—such accidents happen in Mexico? Would that necessitate a declaration of war? Does the President want a war to add some gilt to his shabby administration? I cannot think so, because his refusal to recognize the accomplished fact of the Huerta presidency is based on his horror of bloodshed. In the course of his wide and deep studies has he ever happened upon any nation whose history is bloodless? Are there no blood stains upon the throne of England? Was the Republic of France baptized with milk and water? Why not refuse to recognize England and France and send them unaccredited Bryan heelers as Diplomatic Advisers? Why pick upon poor Mexico? Is it because Mexico is presumed to have no friends? This is another mistake, for England, France, Germany and Japan are as much interested in Mexico as we are. What could we say should President Huerta retaliate by pointing to the blood stains of three assassinated Presidents in our White House? The Mexican folly of the Administration has gone too far. The President and Congress—which had been ignored in the tomfool transactions up to last Saturday—have two sane, safe, wise courses to pursue. One is the grand Democratic policy of repairing the Republican blunder by offering to reinstate Diaz, the legal President of Mexico, duly elected by the Mexican people and exiled by the corrupt ring in the State Department. The other is to promptly recognize President Huerta, chosen by Mexican law and usage, so that he may obtain the funds required to pacify the country and establish a permanent government. The President's squeamishness about blood should not prevent his adoption of one or the other of these courses. His wobbling has already caused more bloodshed than Huerta's salvation of Mexico.—*Town Topics.*

# LOBBYGRAMS

Friends of Senator Fall, of New Mexico, emphatically denied last week in Washington the rumor current that Mr. Fall had been elected to the Senate through the influence of certain interests that had previously received a pledge from Mr. Fall that he would bring about intervention in Mexico. These friends say that this rumor was started by political enemies of Senator Fall who are envious of Mr. Fall's reputation for integrity and love of the people whom he represents. In fact, these friends say Mr. Fall was elected to the Senate owing to the enormous pressure brought to bear on the Legislature of New Mexico unanimously by the people of that State.

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It was reported in Washington that Senator Fall had given out that he would seek out the enemies that had started this rumor and demand a personal satisfaction. It was said that at this announcement all his enemies had scrambled for cover, for it is said the Senator from New Mexico has a reputation for bravery unequalled in the Southwest, and that he is heedless of consequences when his wrath is aroused. In this connection it was recalled that on the floor of the Senate only a short time ago, as calmly as if he had been receiving a check for dividends from his Mexican enterprises, and in spite of the fact that only three thousand miles separated him from Mexico City, he took his life in his hands and called General Huerta a traitor and an assassin. Just like that.

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The enmity of Senator Fall for General Huerta is said to date back to the time in which the latter inflicted a crushing defeat on Orozco, who for several months had held the whole state of Chihuahua. Senator Fall had publicly declared his friendship and admiration for the then rebel leader, and had made a plea in his behalf asking that the embargo of arms dictated by President Taft against the northern rebels be lifted and Orozco allowed to obtain from this country the necessary means to overthrow the Madero government. The eloquent plea had stirred to its innermost depth the soul of the American people but President Taft had stood firm.

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It has not been made quite clear why the warm friendship of Senator Fall has suddenly shifted from Orozco to the rebels whom he—Orozco—is now fighting, having consistently declared his allegiance to the present Mexican Government following the fall of Madero. The rebels of to-day whom Senator Fall so warmly befriends are led by the same men who formed the inner Madero circle whom Senator Fall so bitterly attacked a little more than a year ago. Of course the Senator from Mexico is a brave man and he does not hesitate to acknowledge a change in his opinions and likings, and to have the world know that he is a representative of the free people of New Mexico, and therefore at liberty to change his mind whenever he feels convinced there is a good reason to do so.

# ELPASOGRAMS

Some time ago the *Los Angeles Times*, which publishes more Mexican news than any other newspaper in the United States, had a correspondent in El Paso who about once a week sent in a thrilling story of Mexican outrages against Americans in the States of Chihuahua and Sonora. The stories were typical El Paso stories and were usually found to be groundless a few days after their publication. The *Los Angeles Times* decided one day to send into Mexico a reliable member of its staff, an ex-officer of the United States Army, and a man of long journalistic experience.

This man, whom we shall call Phillips, spent several weeks in the war zone sending in reports that conflicted with those sent by the El Paso correspondent. His reports were published under his own name and gave the true state of affairs, which was far from being as bad as the El Paso correspondent had represented.

On his way back to Los Angeles Phillips stopped in El Paso and investigated the correspondent. He found that this man represented various Eastern and Middle West newspapers besides the *Los Angeles Times*. That he indulged in copious libations once a week and the effects therefrom lasted about seven days, during which all the money he had at his disposal was exchanged for liquids. Every time he came to himself the correspondent would find himself minus all the cash he possessed at the beginning of the week and his credit exhausted. He would then sit at his desk, ponder a few minutes and then send out to all the newspapers he represented a "query" couched in the most attractive terms, usually like this:

"American family of five attacked by Mexican rebels. Two daughters assaulted, a brother killed, the rest fleeing. How many words do you want?"

The answer would soon come from all parts of the United States, and by that time he would have a red-hot story ready for every one of his newspapers. He would then go out and begin again to exchange the proceeds from the work of his fervid imagination for inspiring spirits.

Phillips returned to Los Angeles, and on the first night of his return one of the editors having been taken ill, he was asked to take charge of the telegraph desk. About midnight he received the following "query" from the El Paso correspondent:

"American family kidnapped by rebels in Sonora after desperate struggle in which man lost life. Women being dragged into the mountains. How many words do you want? This is hot stuff. None of your Phillips dope."

Of course this is funny, but not to Mexico, for it illustrates how misinformation of Mexican conditions is spread throughout this country. Misinformation which is capitalized by all the jingoes and self-seeking politicians.

Phillips passed the "query" around the office and the staff had a good laugh. The Mexicans, however, have not our sense of humor and, strange as it may seem, they cannot see the fun in this sending out from El Paso of the "hot stuff" that next morning is read in every nook and corner of the United States and in which they are always pictured as blood-thirsty villains attacking defenseless American women. Likewise they do not appreciate the humor of the correspondents in other border towns, particularly Eagle Pass and Douglas, who with an admirable and never-failing energy either through the Associated Press or other news agencies, spread daily reports of countless atrocities, usually the product of their fertile brains.

And we doubt whether it would be possible to instill into a whole nation this sense of humor which they now lack. Meanwhile they are helpless before the work that fans daily the flame of hostility of Americans against them.

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A despatch to the New York *Herald*, dated El Paso, August 17, informs the *Herald* of a supposed raid by Zapatistas in view of the Mexico Country Club near Mexico City. By what miraculous process did El Paso get news from Mexico City—two thousand miles south—before the *Herald* correspondent in that capital? The answer to this would be the explanation of two-thirds of the Mexican news published in this country. But then El Paso newspaper men are all well known for their wonderful feats of wireless, long-distance news gathering. In this they are only surpassed by the Associated Press correspondents in Douglas and Nogales.

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Another special El Pasogram to the *Herald* of August 19 announces that "General" Villa has broken camp at Ascension and has moved to attack a troop train moving from Juarez to Chihuahua.

This is the sixty-ninth time since June the fifteenth that Villa has broken camp at Ascension—according to El Pasograms—and each time he has done it to attack something or somebody. Fifty-nine times it was to attack Juarez and the remainder to stop trains to or from the south. The remarkable part of this is that newspapers continue to publish the news of Villa's attacks in all seriousness and to add the prefix "General" to his name! Even Villa, whose fame as a brigand dates back to the early Diaz days, smiles when some one tells him that in our newspapers he is respectfully called General!

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President Wilson's explanation of the American point of view in regard to Mexico and the mission of John Lind to the capital of that country reached M. Pichon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, two days ago. It does not call for an immediate reply.

Mexican securities were firm on the Bourse to-day. Shares of the Banco Nacional rose 5 points, Central Railroad shares 4 and Mexican Tramway Company shares 10.—Special cable despatch to *New York Sun*.

## Hale in Mexico

So Long As He Is There the Muddle Will Continue

Letter published in *New York Tribune*, August 19.

To the Editor of *The Tribune*.

Sir: Senator Penrose's resolution calling on the President and the State Department for information as to the status of William Bayard Hale in Mexico is timely—not only timely, but necessary—if there is to be a clearing up of the Mexican muddle.

Many Americans have asked themselves long before this why Hale was sent to Mexico, what are his powers and why he was given a copy of the State Department secret code—a most important document, that should under no circumstances be placed in the hands of a man who has taken no oath of office, who has no official responsibility.

Mexicans have marvelled at the sending of a man to their country who assumed a superior, patronizing air to a proud, sensitive people and on the first day of his arrival expressed himself fully and concisely as to how Mexico should be run. When the cat is let out of the bag it will be no surprise to many to learn that William Bayard Hale, the President's personal representative, is the *deus ex machina* of the muddled Mexican situation, and that his biassed reports have caused the misunderstandings and strained relations between two friendly governments.

In order to believe this it is not necessary to recall the personal history of Hale's career in Ardmore, Penn., some years ago, to which Senator Penrose referred, nor the unfortunate incident of a later date, when "McClure's Magazine" published an alleged Hale interview with the Emperor of Germany.

It is more vitally bearing on the present affair to recall that last year Hale wrote for "The World's Work" a series of articles in connection with Secretary Knox's visit to Central American republics, in which articles he showed utter lack of sympathy with or understanding of the Latin-American races.

These articles found their way to Central America and aroused considerable resentment there, undoing much that was the object of Senator Knox's visit. Was this the kind of man to send to Mexico to "check up" on the Mexican government and the able and experienced Ambassador Wilson? Was the fact that Hale has written in the magazines fulsome biographies and appreciations of President Wilson sufficient reason for intrusting him with so much irresponsible power? He went down there with preconceived ideas, and it is quite obvious that he did not let any evidence against his preconceptions bother him in the least.

Perhaps this is why the President retained him, even to the extent of making him confidential adviser of John Lind. The President's preconceptions and theories on Mexico are precisely the same as William Bayard Hale's, and neither seems minded to change them in the light of evidence, international law or common sense. Perhaps John Lind may see a light and save the day.

OLIVER HERBERT THOMAS.

DR. AURELIANO URRUTIA
Minister of the Interior

# PATRIOTISM AND POLITICS

When the question is of incurring or avoiding war with Mexico; when one sees the Administration rushing violently down a steep place in the country of the Gadarenes, and headed for the Sea of Galilee, is it not the time for remonstrance and expostulation? If not, at what point should public opinion intervene?

Mr. Henry Lane Wilson has been telling the President and the Foreign Committee of the Senate, and incidentally the country, of the settlement that he would recommend. His long service in Mexico and the protection which he succeeded in procuring there for Americans and American interests throughout a very trying time made him a most valuable witness and counsellor, and at least entitled him to a respectful hearing, which he received from the Senate committee, if he can scarcely be said to have received it from the President. In fact, the impression which he made upon the Senate committee was so favorable and so commended to that body his plan of pacification by the recognition of the Government of Huerta that the President induced the Foreign Committee of the House to withdraw the invitation it had given to the Ambassador to appear before it. The natural inference was promptly drawn that the President feared that the Ambassador's plan of pacification would discredit his own private plan, and accordingly took steps to muzzle the formidable witness. This has not exactly the air of taking the country into the confidence of the Administration.

The President's private plan of pacification has not even yet been publicly promulgated. But it is known by ambiguous givings out to include a scheme of "mediation" among the contending factions with the consent of their leaders. If the Governor of Pennsylvania, at what seemed a critical time in the history of this municipality, had "tendered his good offices" to Mayor Gaynor, District Attorney Whitman, Commissioner Waldo, Lieutenant Becker and Big Jack Zelig in the effort to bring about a peaceful and amicable solution, of which the first step should be the retirement of the Mayor, that proposal would doubtless have commended itself to some of the parties concerned, but hardly to the Mayor. The retirement of President Huerta, it is at least understood, is the ultimatum of President Wilson. And this though a stronger case for the recognition of a *de facto* government than exists for our recognition of the Government of Huerta has seldom been presented. He has been for months in the undisturbed and unchallenged control of the capital, of the army, of the ports and of all the machinery of government. His position is so strong that almost every power having relations with Mexico or interests in it has already recognized it, excepting only the United States, the recognition of which is more important to him by reason of its proximity than that of all the others together. With the recognition of the United States, it is plausibly alleged, he would find it feasible to negotiate loans that would give him the resources he needs to complete the pacification of the disturbed districts. It is as much to our interest as to that of Mexico that there should be some government there which we can hold accountable for disorders that endanger American persons or property, and which we can and must recognize for that purpose. The only obstacle that appears to the recognition which the interests of this country and of Mexico alike demand is the unquestionable fact that Huerta is the beneficiary of assassination, and perhaps the President's personal suspicion that he was himself accessory to the assassination by which he profited. But these are not "the arguments of states and kingdoms." The question for us is merely whether the Government of Huerta is in fact the Government of Mexico, not how it came to be so, and it is no more to be settled by the President's personal scruples about Huerta's "record" than by the authenticity of doubts about his marriage certificate, if he has them.

In these recent Presidential performances it is doubtful whether ignorance of human nature or of international usage is the more conspicuous. It was a fond imagination that Huerta would give up power before he was forced to do so, still fonder that he would burst into tears and abdicate when the President's personal scheme was proposed to him, enforced by the unintelligible eloquence of Mr. Lind. It was perfectly within the President's right, if he distrusted his official reports from Mexico, to supplement them by despatching personal representatives to examine and report to him upon the situation. John Hay pursued that course in the case of the Boxer rebellion in China in 1900 when he sent out Mr. Rockhill to supplement the reports of the resident Minister. It is true that the resident Minister was one of the old-fashioned and new-fashioned political spoilsmen who had been appointed without the least question of his fitness for the place, and that Mr. Rockhill was one of the qualified diplomatists whom Mr. Hay took such pains to attract and retain in our diplomatic service, and whom the present President and the present Secretary of State are taking equal pains to weed out,

# PRESS COMMENTS

## Huerta Rejects Mediation

General Huerta has done exactly what was to be expected in rejecting the suggestion of the United States Government for mediation.

The exact form in which this rejection comes to Washington is not as yet disclosed authoritatively to the public. Late dispatches from Mexico City hint at an impression prevailing there that it was accompanied by something in the nature of a harsh demand for recognition of the Huerta government within a specified time. We can only await the details. Confirmation of any such step by Mexico, it is certain, would come hand in hand with an announcement by Mr. Wilson's administration of a policy for instant adoption that would leave no doubt as to where the United States stood.

The errand of former Gov. Lind was a needless one, if the only plan he had to offer was that of mediation. The United States was informed before Lind sailed that mediation would not be accepted. There was every reason to believe that Huerta meant what he said.

Huerta has been making headway lately. Carranza, on the other hand, is rapidly losing ground. If he is not actually in flight, he is at least preparing for it. Somehow, either through domestic or foreign sources, Huerta is scraping money enough together to carry on the war with aggressiveness. He has practically destroyed Zapata, and he has Carranza on the run. The Sonora rebels are confined to a comparatively small field, and with Carranza out of the way they could not long resist Huerta. * * *

With every day's increase of strength on the part of Huerta, together with continued murder and robbery of Americans and other foreigners, the position of the United States grows more untenable. If Huerta should become strong enough to suppress brigandage as well as revolution, and would make the lives of Americans safe, the danger of intervention would be avoided, but the necessity of recognizing Huerta would become apparent. If Huerta should fail to develop such strength, or if, having the strength, he should fail to protect foreigners, the necessity for intervention would be clear. Evidently the Washington administration, sooner or later, must face the alternative of recognition or intervention, just as Ambassador Wilson suggested.—*Washington Post,* August 19.

## The Mexican Danger a Direct Result of a Muddling Policy

The Mexican entanglement was perfectly sure to become worse and worse as the result of the administration's weak, faltering and muddling course. The present situation, with a story about an "ultimatum" from General Huerta to President Wilson, is as hopelessly mixed as anything can be.

It is also a very dangerous situation. Any bandit or fool may at any moment light a train that leads to the powder magazine.

Of course, General Huerta is not in a position to deliver "ultimatums" to the United States Government. The only intelligent intention that could be attributed to him, if he has sent or ventures to send any kind of a coercive message to Washington, would be to make things worse in the hope that they might become better.

But such a course must be infinitely dangerous to him as well as to the United States.

If President Wilson and Mr. Bryan cannot or will not settle this mischievous controversy, American public sentiment should rise up, in good wholesome wrath, and compel them to do so.

Recognition of Huerta's Government, at the time when that government was recognized by certain European powers, would have obviated all this trouble. It would have left the United States Government not a whit less free to exercise its proper influence in establishing peace and justice in Mexico on as permanent and equitable a basis as is attainable.

It is a very bad symptom when so pronounced and consistent an advocate of peace on all occasions as Senator Burton is able to say that intervention in Mexico now appears to be inevitable. We earnestly hope that Senator Burton is mistaken. But if intervention is forced, it will be the legitimate result of the feeble policy that the Wilson administration has pursued from the beginning.—*Evening Mail,* August 19.

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(Patriotism and Politics—Continued from Page 8.)

The spoils Juggernaut has just now rolled at Constantinople over Mr. Rockhill, perhaps the most accomplished diplomatic officer in our service, with no more compunction than if he had been a Pittsburg Republican millionaire. Still, it was within the President's right to choose his own emissaries to Mexico, one of them the most ecstatic of his eulogists in the magazines, and to send them about the country equipped each with a copy of the State Department's secret cipher code, to tell him about the condition of Mexico. The Government of Huerta could ignore these emissaries and permit them to go about as tourists. But after the President had rejected the advice of our Ambassador to Mexico to recognize the Huerta Government, and removed the Ambassador for giving it, and had announced that his personal representative was going to Mexico in a man-of-war to propound a plan which, whatever else it included, included the retirement of Huerta, the Mexican Government could no longer ignore the incident.

It took the perfectly correct and unexceptionable course of notifying our Government that unless Mr. Lind brought credentials in due form recognizing the actual Government of Mexico, he would not be received by the executive head of that Government nor by any department of it, and that his presence would not be regarded as desirable. As if our course thus far had not been sufficiently irregular and tactless, the Secretary of State took upon himself to issue a reproof to the Mexican Government, declaring that it "should have waited" to hear what Mr. Lind was prepared to propose before declining to receive him. Mr. Bryan was, of course, far from foreseeing the infuriating effect on the Mexican mind that would be produced by the unconscious insolence of his admonition, an admonition that not even he would dream of addressing to a nation that he regarded as the equal of his own. But the effect was produced all the same. Mexican politics also cease at the water's edge, as Mr. de la Barra has just been reminding us in language of which the studied moderation does not conceal his amazement at our diplomatic procedures. Mexicans without regard to party are rallying to the support of a government which they regard as having vindicated the dignity of the nation. If the administration had been trying to strengthen the Government of Huerta it could not possibly have effected so much toward that end as it has done by this last phase of its effort to weaken that Government. The feeling of all Mexico is doubtless expressed by the Mexican journal which has declared that it was the assumption of Anglo-Saxon superiority in the mission of Mr. Lind and in the official explanations of that mission that "pained and shamed and angered" the people of Mexico.

It is no wonder that the diplomatic body at the Mexican capital is reported to be deriving amusement from our predicament. It must appear to that body that there is nobody in our State Department who knows how things are done internationally, and particularly what is "not done." Americans know that not to be the case. To be sure, Mr. Bryan has got rid of all such persons as he could. But there is no better authority on international usage than the counsellor of the Department, whose counsel was evidently not sought upon this occasion. Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the Charge d'Affaires at Mexico City, also presumably knows what is done in diplomatic usage, having been for ten years or more engaged in learning it, although it might be as much as his place is worth for him to advise his superiors that what they are doing is "not done." * * *

Is it not the part of "patriotism" rather to facilitate the retreat of the Administration from a perfectly untenable and ridiculous position than to encourage its persistence in a project which imminently threatens to turn from a farce to a terrible tragedy?—Letter in *New York Sun,* August 12.

# PRESS COMMENTS---Continued.

## SENATORS DEMAND WILSON MODIFY HIS MEXICAN POLICY

### John Bassett Moore of the State Department Said to Hold American Position Untenable in International Law—Leaders Fear Political Effect if Americans Suffer in Mexico.

By Herbert Corey in *New York Globe.*

Some of the bell Democrats of the House and Senate are getting mighty restive about President Wilson's Mexican policy. They say it may be gilt edged ethics. But it's poor politics.

John Bassett Moore—that same Moore picked out by the President himself to do the heavy thinking for the Department of State—thinks that the President's policy may be Galilean. But it isn't good law.

So that some of the statesmen—the very ones depended on by President Wilson to pull true and even in the congressional collar—have been knocking at his office door at all hours lately.

"Either take some decisive step to end this Mexican mess," they have warned him, "or look out for an area of high pressure. There's an inquiry gathering on the floor of the House—and if it comes it will come hard."

Some of these Democrats are members of the House and Senate committees on foreign affairs. They admit they do not know much about the Mexican situation. No one ever told them. But they know a lot about the situation in the 'Steenth district, back home.

"An inquiry from the floor would show that the Department of State has at all times been informed of every vital fact in the situation," they say. "Not all the Democrats in the House and Senate follow President Wilson because they love him. Some of them would break with him the moment they felt their course would be supported by their people. And remember that the tariff and currency bills may be great moral issues—but the murder of Americans is a greater moral issue—with a good deal of sentiment mixed in."

One of these Democrats is said to have stated the situation plainly to Secretary Bryan.

"It's about time that we forgot about the murder of Madero," said he. "He was a fine young man, but—strictly speaking—it wasn't any of our national business. It's time we got down to brass tacks, and recognize that it is up to us to protect Americans in Mexico, and not waste our time splitting moral hairs. It will be no defense at voting time to say:

"'We really couldn't recognize Huerta, you know. He was a perfectly horrid man. He had Madero killed.'"

Because the other folks might take the John Bassett Moore side of the argument:

"Perhaps Huerta did have Madero killed," is a rude way of phrasing his perfect diplomatic thought. "But when Madero was killed he wasn't president of Mexico—and Huerta was, in law and in fact. And if we are going to refuse to protect our own folks from murder and robbery because the perfectly private citizen of another republic was killed early one morning——

"What an elegant way of insuring themselves against annoyance is thereby pointed out to the active politicians of the small black-and-tan republics south of the line."

Moore did not revolt against the do-nothing plan of the President. He wasn't in sympathy with it from the start. He held that we were sticking our national nose into a pot that did not concern us when we undertook to refuse recognition to the administration of a sister republic because of some squeams about blood on the doorstep. But he confined himself to stating the international law and revealing the diplomatic precedents to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan when they were called for.

That Moore's job, anyhow. President Wilson appointed him as special counsellor to the Department of State because he is admittedly the chief authority on that sort of law and precedent in the United States. His publications on such dry subjects have been translated into a score of languages, and about fill a shelf in New York's new library—which is considerable shelf. He was secretary to the Paris commission, which cleaned up the Spanish war situation, by appointment of President McKinley.

"You gentlemen can handle the politics of the situation," he told the commissioners, "but when it is a matter of law, listen to Moore."

Two or three other presidents have asked him to ride herd on our loose diplomacy, because he is never carried away by anything but cold facts and hard logic and brass-mounted precedent. Sentiment and emotion don't move him. He never budges from the law. In his private capacity he might drop a tear on Madero's grave, but as the State Department's counsellor he would move that it be ruled out as immaterial and irrelevant. When he was asked about Huerta's title he rendered an opinion and went away. He wasn't called back until after Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson had been called hither from Mexico City—landing on these shores with a can of oil in one hand and a match in the other. Henry Lane set fire to the straw stack at once.

"Wilson," ruled Moore, dispassionately, "has broken the first eight rules of diplomatic service. But he's right about Huerta. Huerta is legally president of Mexico."

So that no more advice was asked from Moore until John Lind had been named as a sort of wild fowl envoy to fly down to Mexico and utter certain warning honks near the palace. Lind had orders not to talk to any one in Mexico except newspaper correspondents. Huerta fully coincides in these orders. A conversation which may have occurred between Moore and Bryan is gleefully reported by those who hang around:

"What," asked Mr. Bryan, "do you think Mr. Lind can accomplish down there, Mr. Moore?"

"He," said Mr. Moore, briefly, "can get his picture in the papers."

The Democrats who feel that the Wilson policy is not good politics have been greatly encouraged by the Moore belief that it is not good law. They are urging upon President Wilson that his objection to the Huerta title seems somewhat finicky, in view of the urgent need for some sort of action to put an end to a dangerous situation. They are to a man opposed to intervention—or almost to a man—and for the most part favor a recognition of Huerta. They are confident that Huerta can kill his own snakes as soon as he gets the chance. But they have made their position quite clear to the President.

"Take what action you please," they have said, "only take some action, and end this trouble. Because if you do not there is certain to be an inquiry from the floor, that will be backed by Democrats."

### A Disturbing Factor

If, as Dr. William Bayard Hale in an interview with the Mexican newspaper men declares, he has no mission private or public to the sister republic, it would appear to be time for him to withdraw his presence from the scene where he is a disturbing factor. His shadow looms up every once in a while and his common accrediting as private agent of President Wilson has not been a furtherance of the good-will of the two countries.

So far as may be ascertained, Dr. Hale has been of no service to either country, and the attack made upon him by Senator Penrose hinted significantly at the undesirability of Dr. Hale. The Mexican press is now bent upon making his further stay in Mexico unpleasant by playing up criticisms of him. If he has no mission there and is simply a traveling American he might keep himself more in the background and not feature as the man with the ear of Governor Lind. This kind of irresponsible observation of Mexican affairs is not apt to be of intelligent service to anyone.—*Baltimore American*, August 19.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week**

**and Learn What's What**

**Below the Rio Grande**

GENERAL AURELIANO BLANQUET
Minister of War

Aeroplane for the Rebels Smuggled in at Nogales with the help of a U. S. Marshall

## Pacification of Mexico

By M. Cervantes.

Revolution and even brigandage would have stopped in Mexico if arms and munitions of war had not been so freely furnished in the United States against a government that has received recognition by the great powers of the world, even though the White House has not extended him official greetings, and this has caused the Mexican people to think that the United States must have some special interest in the continuation of the disorders in Mexico, which, day by day, are undermining all authority, sapping the very life blood of the country and arousing every sort of hatred, envy and evil ambition among the lawless elements.

I firmly believe that this "special interest" must be centered entirely in governmental circles by pressure brought to bear in Washington, and I likewise believe that it is, indeed, the result of "special interest" and not the desire of the American people at large, who are more desirous of developing the relations of their country by the path of friendship; but, unfortunately, there undoubtedly exists a small group of unscrupulous persons who use every means in their reach to agitate and foment the rebellion in Mexico.

It is well known that in 1910 Francisco Madero had aid on this side of the Rio Grande to enable him to rise to be President of Mexico. He secured from the "powers behind the throne" at that time in Washington power, also in American territory arms in abundance, soldiers and even general officers, which he transported from this side of the border, and it was in this country that he established his principal revolutionary base.

With the fall of Madero the "Maderists," converted into "Carranzists," appealed once more to the American interests who had supported the Madero government. Venustiano Carranza's first step was to establish a base of operation in Eagle Pass and San Antonio, Tex. Carranza and his party are making every effort in order to have their belligerent rights recognized by the American Government, and for that purpose they maintain numerous commissions in Washington, and in the meanwhile it is reported that the Madero family is looking out for the financial end of the new political unheaval in New York.

In Sonora we have the clearest view of how matters stand. The Pesqueira party is dedicated to war, bloodshed and the destruction of property, and, like the Carranza movement, has established bases of operation on American territory, notably in New Orleans, El Paso, Tex., and Douglas, Tucson and Nogales in Arizona. In these places the revolutionists have their juntas, and they buy arms and munitions of war, and carry them across the border to the Mexican side. The revolutionists come and go as they please, without interference by the authorities, because it is reported that the vigilance exercised is for various reasons quite inadequate.

A new modification of the Monroe Doctrine, as propounded by Mr. Roosevelt, declared that "chronic disorder" in any of the countries of this hemisphere would justify intervention by the United States, and the grave danger of this new doctrine is at once apparent, for who shall determine when a state of "chronic disorder" exists? What if the "chronic disorder" be fomented from within the territory of the United States? When a situation which might demand intervention according to the above doctrine is of such easy production, who shall blame the countries that lie to the south if they continue suspicious of their powerful neighbor of the north?

Fortunately, the government of President Wilson is the most resolute antagonist of the Monroe Doctrine.

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On August 11, Venustiano Carranza and Julio Madero reached Durango with only about 150 men in a demoralized condition out of the seven thousand led by Carranza to the attack of Torreon. The two vanquished rebel leaders declared with a picturesque Spanish phrase, "Los Federales nos pegaron hasta debajo la lengua."—"The Federals beat us even under the tongue." Carranza has since left Durango and he is reported in the Sierra Madre heading either for Sonora or the United States.

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## Haven't Heard From Masson Lately

On August 11, Didier Masson, the aviator, and Joaquin Bauche Alcalde, while flying over Guaymas, were shot by the Federals and nothing has been heard of them since.

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## Oil on Troubled Waters-Pierce

Frederick Upham Adams makes his home in Kingston, N. Y., where Mr. Henry Clay Pierce has his favorite country place.

Mr. Adams is a clever writer and is said to have had personal charge of the most important publicity campaigns waged by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company.

His most remarkable work in this respect has been in connection with the now famous Mexican oil war initiated and still waged by Henry Clay Pierce, first to retain and then to regain the monopoly of the oil industry in Mexico.

Mr. Adams is one of the few men who could relate the true inside story of the incipiency and continuance of the Mexican turmoil, but it is not likely that he will.

The Aguila Oil Company was organized about six years ago with British and Mexican capital under Mexican laws. It obtained concessions for the exploitation of oil fields in Mexico which in a few years have become the greatest fields in the world.

The Waters-Pierce Oil Company, then a subsidiary of Standard Oil, for many years had wielded absolute control of the Mexican market, and when the Aguila Oil Company, not content with being merely a producer, entered the field as a seller of oil and by-products, it broke into what had come to be regarded by the Waters-Pierce Company as its exclusive and perpetual property.

Immediately the powerful resources of the Waters-Pierce and its parent company, the Standard, were brought into activity to squash the rival infant.

The usual methods of price-cutting were employed and terrific pressure was brought to bear on the Diaz government and financial interests in Mexico to have the concessions to the Aguila Oil Company revoked, and to obtain on the other hand such facilities as would render it impossible for the British company to prosper or break the Pierce monopoly.

The Diaz government stood firm against pressure and thereby hangs the tale of late Mexican revolutions.

For a few years Mexico profited by a great reduction in the price of oil and gasoline, but it has since paid dearly for that temporary gain.

Adams spent several months in Mexico in 1909 directing the publicity campaign for the Waters-Pierce in this oil warfare. He made advertising contracts with all of the leading newspapers and periodicals of the republic and many of the smaller publications.

These contracts were unusually large. The Waters-Pierce had until this time advertised but sparingly, merely to cultivate the goodwill of the press, and this no more than was absolutely necessary to lull opposition to their possession of the whole trough.

Frederick U. Adams first tried to obtain from every publication the exclusive rights for advertising oil and gasoline. With few exceptions the publications were unwilling to exclude from their columns other oil concerns.

By the offer of good rates and large yearly contracts Adams succeeded, however, in stipulating that advertising of other oil companies should be published in display form only and reserved the exclusive right for the Waters-Pierce Oil Company to make use of reading notices and articles. For this privilege a special rate was agreed upon and willingly paid by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company.

After that Adams went to London and wrote a series of articles in the *Standard* concerning the struggle going on in Mexico, publishing also a pamphlet entitled "The Oil War in Mexico."

Several of his articles on Mexico have been published in this country in the guise of contributions by an independent writer.

The last one was published in the New York *American* of last Sunday (August 17) and it tells how "Mexico is a republic where graft is the only ruler" and how "the few educated out of the ignorant millions *keep the country in turmoil!*"

In what purports to be a sociological and political study of the Mexican population, Mr. Adams, who poses as an expert on Latin-American affairs, says first:

"It is doubtful if one-half of the qualified voters of Mexico know or ever will know that Madero was elected. There are millions of Indians divided into probably one hundred tribes, speaking as many tongues and dialects, none of whom speak a word of Spanish, and none of whom are Mexicans save in name. These natives are Indians pure and simple, and they are no more concerned with the fate of Mexico and the plotting of its mercenary factions than were the aborigines of New England over the religious disputes between its early white settlers. There are probably about one million male Mexicans of voting and fighting age who are fitted by education and position to participate in self-government. This is the responsible Mexican million, and it constitutes the class which must be induced or forced to exercise its responsibility or to surrender it. The fundamental defect with this responsible million is that most of its members either do not know the rules which prevail in a democracy, or decline to abide by them."

And then, almost in the same breath:

"At last the people of Mexico had carried out an actual experiment in self-government. They knew Madero to be a humane man and a true lover of democracy.

"They had actually elected, for the first time in the history of Mexico, the members of both houses of their congress, and had chosen by votes the governors and other elective officers in the respective States. After all of the centuries of despotism it was announced to a delighted world that democracy had been born in Mexico."

We leave the comments to the readers and only call their attention to the fact that while the Waters-Pierce Oil Company enjoyed unhampered and absolute monopoly, Mexicans were no grafters in its opinion! They only became so when they attempted to shake the yoke imposed by the American oil concern. But, really, that the Waters-Pierce Oil Company should call Mexicans grafters!!!

If this did not entail such a tragedy for poor Mexico, it would be a side-splitting joke; one that even the Mexicans themselves could not fail to appreciate.

Undoubtedly it must have drawn a broad smile from the increasing number of those familiar with the intimate relations which have existed between the Madero family and the Pierce interests.

The most peculiar phase of this incident, however, consists in the fact that the article was published by the New York *American*, owned by W. R. Hearst.

Mr. Hearst more than any other man is responsible for the public's knowledge of Standard Oil methods and has been styled by Mr. Henry Clay Pierce as "one of the greatest calamities that have affected the United States."

Has Mr. Hearst changed his mind about Standard Oil, or has he become unknowingly a collaborator of Mr. Pierce's press agent?

## MEXICAN EVENTS

Jesus M. Rabago was appointed Subsecretary of the Interior August 12th. Mr. Rabago is a brilliant lawyer who made a great reputation as a clever journalist during the Madero régime. He was the editor and publisher of the *Mañana*, which consistently opposed the Madero administration. He terminated publication of this periodical the day after Madero's fall.

On the same date two other lawyers of note, Mr. Leopoldo Rebollar and Mr. J. Tamariz, the latter prominent in the Catholic party, were appointed respectively Subsecretary of Foreign Relations and Subsecretary of Public Instruction.

Not since the famous Centennial festivities in September, 1910, had Mexico City witnessed so brilliant an official function as the banquet given by President Huerta to the departing British Minister, Mr. Francis Stronge, on the night of August 16.

Chapultepec Castle was reopened for the first time since the fall of Madero, and the most prominent men in political, financial and intellectual circles attended the banquet, which took on added significance in view of the refusal of the United States to recognize *de jure* the Huerta government and of the presence of Mr. Lind in Mexico City.

President Huerta in significant terms toasted the departing Minister and his sovereign, whose friendship for Mexico has been clearly demonstrated. The Brtish Minister responded with a toast to President Huerta, whose admirer he declared himself to be.

# MEXICO

A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs

VOL. I.—No. 2 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1913 FIVE CENTS

## Why is "Mexico"?

The success of our first number and the many congratulations received from many quarters greatly encourage us to continue with added vigor in the publication of this review of Mexican affairs.

We beg to reply to two of our readers who ask, "Why is MEXICO?" and "Do you not think that MEXICO presents too strongly the side of the Mexican Government?"

We decided on the publication of MEXICO because we became convinced that there existed a field for a weekly review that would devote its space to Mexican affairs, and especially to commercial and social relations between the people of Mexico and those of the United States. We are now concerning ourselves with the political relations because the Mexican question, as it is called, is at present in the foreground.

MEXICO is not interested in the discussion of personalities except when it finds it absolutely necessary in order to correct false impressions caused by the publication of distorted facts. We believe that shortly the Mexican question will be disposed of to the satisfaction of both the United States and Mexico and that upon the re-establishment of complete peace in the Southern Republic, the increase of commerce and the strengthening of friendly relations between the two countries will be such as to make our venture a highly profitable one.

To the second question we wish to reply frankly that in effect our policy is decidedly in favor of the present Mexican Government and that we are anxious to present its case as we see it and to the best of our ability. We do not think it necessary to present the case of rebels and bandits because we believe that they have had a full hearing in the daily press, while we feel that no proper hearing has been given to that overwhelming majority of Mexicans who are anxious for peace and, irrespective of political creed, have rallied to the support of the present Mexican Provisional Government in spite of all the birth-faults which it may have.

We firmly believe that a great injustice has been done to Mexico in the press of the United States.

We firmly believe that a great injustice has been done to Mexico by the Washington administration. We aim to help the American people to sense this injustice, and if we can even in a small degree attain our aim we shall have earned the support of both Mexicans and Americans.

# FRIENDLY THOUGHTS FRIENDLY WORDS

We do not reproduce here the Presidential message on Mexico or the reply made by Minister of Foreign Affairs Gamboa to the proposals presented by Mr. Lind because we assume that our readers are by this time fully acquainted with both documents.

We reproduce, however, Mr. Gamboa's answer to the supplementary suggestions made by Mr. Lind the same day on which President Wilson read his message to Congress.

This we do because it clearly emphasizes our contention that the policy of the Washington Administration toward Mexico is the result of ignorance of conditions, people and laws as they exist in Mexico. This, we believe, is the most charitable construction which can be put on that policy.

The reply of Mr. Gamboa to the first proposal is forceful and convincing. It shows, besides, in our estimation, a dignity born of consciousness of right, an admirable self-restraint in the face of a gratuitous and unprecedented action on the part of a friendly nation.

It is one of the clearest and most courteous diplomatic notes ever written under such delicate circumstances.

The remarks made by some newspapers that Mr. Gamboa's note was ironical in its tone because it repeated the words "Mr. Confidential Agent" and never used the name of Mr. John Lind, only serves to accentuate the lamentable ignorance which prevails in certain quarters. It is the usage in all diplomatic communications never to use the name of the person to whom communications are addressed, but only the title, and this occurs with marked frequency in all diplomatic notes.

It is, besides, clear to any one having some knowledge of Spanish that the translation of the note is not accurate and that certain terms and phrases have been rendered into English in such a way as to make them sound ironical, perhaps, when they are simply forceful and statements of facts.

The President's message has been approved by the majority of Congress and of the newspapers. This was to be expected. For the same reason that even political and personal enemies of Provisional President Huerta have rallied behind him in this controversy with the United States, so even the political enemies of President Wilson have deemed it proper and patriotic to approve the President's message.

We must express deep regret, however, that an appeal should have been made to the patriotism of the American people in order to force them to endorse a policy which has been based on prejudice and misinformation and which to the eyes of the world must appear as unwarranted and unjust.

We wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that most of the points contained in the President's message were forecasted several days ago and with marked insistence by the press of this country, accompanied usually by the statement that they had been revealed by some "high Government official."

On the other hand, no inkling was given in Mexico by the Government of what the exchanged notes contained. The Mexican Government in this case gave an excellent proof of its self-restraint, even though it might have been to its political advantage to have given out by piecemeal and "unofficially" information as to the negotiations that were being carried on, as was done by the "high officials" in Washington in order to create favorable public opinion and have it crystallized by the reading of the Presidential message.

As this publication has for a fundamental purpose the bringing about of a better common understanding between the Ameri-

can and the Mexican people, we do not hesitate even in the face of this general approval to express our belief that the majority of the American people while rallying loyally to the support of President Wilson's policy and believing as we do that it has been dictated by the loftiest ideals, are not convinced that in practical effect such a policy is either just or expedient.

We do not hesitate to express this belief, because we are anxious to convince the Mexican people that there are many Americans, a host more than they now believe, who ARE their friends.

In discussion of the President's message we shall confine ourselves in this number to considerations of a few points, reserving a full analysis and discussion for following numbers.

The President's message is consistent—as it must have been—with the attitude heretofore assumed by the Washington Administration. It reveals a sincere desire to help and undisputable good intentions. It is the most striking example of model thought coupled with a most unfortunate lack of knowledge and grasp of conditions evidently due to misinformation received through persons whose opinions were preconceived. Opinions and misinformation which found peculiarly receptive minds, in which definite thoughts had been moulded by first impressions and beliefs and, once moulded, could not be recast.

The Mexican situation presents so many complex phases that no one can grasp it who has not made it an object of careful and long study. The mere gossip heard at the capital is not sufficient and should not form the basis for an international policy.

The President's message says:

> "The present circumstances of the republic, I deeply regret to say, do not seem to promise even the foundations of such a peace. We have waited many months, months full of peril and anxiety, for the conditions there to improve, and they have not improved. They have grown worse, rather.
>
> "The territory in some sort controlled by the provisional authorities at Mexico City has grown smaller, not larger. The prospect of the pacification of the country, even by arms, has seemed to grow more and more remote; and its pacification by the authorities at the capital is evidently impossible by any other means than force.
>
> "Difficulties more and more entangle those who claim to constitute the legitimate government of the republic. They have not made good their claim in fact. Their successes in the field have proved only temporary. War and disorder, devastation and political chaos seem to threaten to become the settled fortune of the distracted country."

What better proof than this that the whole attitude of the administration has been based on misinformation? For is it not a fact that according to all reports, official and extra-official, conditions in Mexico HAVE greatly improved, especially from a military standpoint?

This is convincingly demonstrated in the Gamboa note, but even if we should not wish to take into consideration that diplomatic document, have not all dispatches received of late from Mexico confirmed it?

Is it not to be deeply regretted, very deeply indeed, by all good Americans that such misinformation should have been embodied in a Presidential message? And is it not a fact that none of the assertions made in this message are supported by proof and definite statement of facts? We intend to prove with facts and to the full satisfaction of all our readers in our next issues that conditions in Mexico as they refer to the reestablishment of peace HAVE improved.

Moreover, we affirm now, knowing that we cannot be contradicted, that if the United States had recognized the Provisional Government of Mexico and had enforced a strict observance of the neutrality laws conditions in Mexico would be far better than they are now. Also that no sufficient time or moral support has been given to the Mexican Government to accomplish the task which it has set for itself. For we do not know of any country in which order has been restored in a few weeks or months after brigandage and rebellions had held sway for more than two years.

All Europe was clamoring for peace and order in the United States and was crying out for a settlement at the time of our Civil War. But it took five years to decide that war and many years more to reestablish peace and order in the South. Ten years elapsed after the finish of the Civil War before the last vestige of irresponsible banditry disappeared from our country. And the Washington Government then did not even dream of proposing an armistice to Jessie James.

No country, no people has ever or will ever pass suddenly from a dictatorship into the full enjoyment of democracy. A country has, as a rule, the government which it deserves to have and is capable of having. The political evolution of a people even though it be favored by geographical and ethnological conditions as in the case of the United States, is in all cases necessarily a slow one. France broke the yoke of autocracy, plunged into a debauch of so-called democracy and reeled back into Napoleonic despotism. Then slowly advanced again toward democracy. Greece of all ancient nations was the one that most rapidly changed from autocracy to democracy and it took Greece one hundred and forty years to do so.

The United States to-day is still fighting for pure democracy, for free, honest elections, for a truly representative government, and yet the United States has led the world in the application of democratic principles for more than a century.

How, in the name of common sense, can Mexico be expected suddenly to emerge from a dictatorship and three years of anarchy into a full-fledged smiling, happy, smoothly running democracy?

How can Mexico be expected all at once to "set up a universally acknowledged political authority," when under Porfirio Diaz's peaceful rule there were Mexicans that still lived in a tribal state and did not even know of the existence of a central government that had been in power for more than thirty years?

Democratic Government in Mexico, as in all other countries in a greater degree, can be only relative.

In regard to the proposals mentioned in the message we have no comments to make in this number, but we wish to know if any of our readers can tell us of an instance in the history of any country in which the sovereignty of a friendly nation was more boldly attacked and so gratuitous an affront offered to the head of another government.

As to the earnest urging of all Americans to leave Mexico, we can only point out to the cry of protest which has been raised by all Americans living in Mexico. They will not leave the homes they have made and abandon the fruit of their toil. All they ask is that the support of this country be given to a government that is able to restore order and has the honesty of purpose to do so.

The reply of Mr. Gamboa to the supplementary suggestions of Mr. Lind is reproduced in another column. As we have said, it emphasizes the ignorance of Mexican affairs prevailing in the Washington administration. The Mexican Constitution forbids a Provisional President from being a candidate to succeed himself, therefore the showing of personal animus against General Huerta in the American proposals was not only uncalled for but tactless, to say the least. But then we are teaching the world a new kind of diplomacy.

Of this note we transcribe the following paragraph:

> You add furthermore, Mr. Confidential Agent, that the President of the United States of America has authorized you to say that, if my Government "acts immediately and favorably upon the foregoing suggestions," that same President will express to American bankers and their associates assurances that the Government of the United States of America will then look with favor upon the extension of an immediate loan sufficient in amount to meet the temporary requirements of the present Mexican administration.

This, charitably called a "suggestion," was indignantly rejected by Mexico, of course, as susceptible of being construed by a self-respecting government as an attempt to bribe.

Verily our stupendous tact must astonish the world! But what of this marked change in the President's policies in regard to American financial activities abroad as announced at the time in which the Chinese loan came under discussion and which policies forced the American bankers to withdraw from any participation in that loan?

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**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week**

**and Learn What's What**

**Below the Rio Grande**

# LOYALTY OR JUSTICE, OR BOTH?

We have read with interest the Washington report to the effect that members of Congress, irrespective of party or affiliations, have declared their intention of "standing by" President Wilson in his attitude toward Mexico. We have also observed that many of the newspapers have expressed editorially the same intention of supporting the Washington administration in its "Mexican policy." This even in those newspapers that in the past have held that a prompt recognition of the Mexican government would have been the best solution of the so-called Mexican problem.

We find all this quite natural and easy to explain. When the Washington administration, realizing the false position in which it has placed itself in regard to Mexico, makes a national issue of a question which in other hands would have been simply a matter of negotiations between the State Department and the Mexican Foreign Office, it is to be expected that the people of the United States, whether they agree or not with the President's policy, would rally to its support. When President Wilson, perceiving that his stand of non-recognition is untenable in the face of international law and customs, makes an appeal for the loyalty of the American people, it is quite natural that a large portion of the people, whether they believe him right or wrong, should respond loyally to the appeal.

Between the Mexican government right and the American government wrong the American people will select the latter, if an appeal is made to them on the grounds of national pride.

This loyalty, admirable as it may be, does not constitute justice.

The methods of the Washington administration to obtain popular support may be good politics, but we doubt if in the end they will give fruitful results.

National pride and loyalty are admirable, but national justice is still more admirable.

Yet if the people of this country prefer loyalty to the Washington administration to justice to their neighbor, they should at least be honest about it and divest themselves of that cloak which they so proudly wear, the cloak of superiority in dealing with other people.

If the people of this country wish to put might before right, well and good, but then they should not say: "We are better than the people of European nations. We are different. We are fairer. We are more civilized!" They should throw the cloak to the winds and say: "We do not care whether we are right or wrong, we are doing what we are doing because we have the power to do it, and that ends the whole question."

From a political point of view it is interesting to look under the surface of this loyalty, especially as it refers to the support given President Wilson by the Republican members of Congress.

The simple fact that a man like Senator Fall is an apparently enthusiastic supporter of President Wilson's policy in regard to the Mexican government should be sufficient to make President Wilson suspicious and to put him on his guard.

It has been often repeated of late in political circles in Washington that the Republican support was due to the belief among Republican representatives that President Wilson had put himself in a very embarrassing position and that no attempt would be made on their part to make him change his policy toward Mexico, as Mexico may prove just the right sort of a rope—and of the right length—that they have been hoping President Wilson would take hold of.

This is good politics, too.

However this may be, we must acknowledge that the Washington administration has demonstrated a past master's ability in playing the publicity game and we believe that it should congratulate itself on the immediate results, although in the long run truth will out.

It having become evident that in order to save itself from foreign criticism and comment, the Washington administration was making an appeal to the patriotism of Americans in general, the Washington correspondents of newspapers and news agencies have become in regard to the Mexican question the official mouthpieces of the government.

We cannot help but believe that the delay of the President in taking the public into his confidence was largely due to his desire that the "news" and supposed facts should have sufficient time through the able work of the press to permeate the public mind so that at the right moment it should be receptive to his own ideas and suggestions.

Unfortunately for the administration and in spite of the loyal support of the press, many facts have cropped out which at least in part destroy the effect of the publicity work so cleverly initiated. There are a great many thinking Americans who will not allow blind patriotism to obfuscate their judgment.

The principal points which, upon the information received by "high Government officials," according to its own statements, the press tried to impress on the people's mind have been:

That the proposals made to the Mexican government were **mediation** or **peace** proposals, which, if accepted by the Mexican government, would insure an immediate re-establishment of order throughout the Mexican Republic.

That the United States was trying to bring about an agreement between "the two factions" in Mexico.

That foreign powers, including those of Latin-America, and especially France and Japan, were backing the policy of the United States.

That Provisional President Huerta in his answer to the American note had stated that the President of the United States was not supported in his policy of non-recognition by the majority of the people of the United States.

That the note of the Mexican government was couched in flowery and sneering terms, constituting an insult to the United States.

Day after day, sometime changing in form but not in substance, these points have been repeated in most of the Washington messages published throughout the country, reinforced by even stronger headlines.

"Peace proposals rejected," "Huerta defiant and sneering," "Europe backs the United States" are some the mildest titles that have come under our observation.

Dissecting these statements we fail to find any evidence that they are borne out by any facts. And as after all a large number of American newspapers are fair it has not been difficult to find in the same columns the refutal of the statements mentioned above.

Can any one familiar with Mexican conditions as they exist to-day and as they have existed affirm that the proposals presented by John Lind to the Mexican government were peace proposals? The most that can be said for them is that they were made with the INTENTION and HOPE on the part of President Wilson that they should bring about peace.

But **facts** and the opinion not only of the majority of thinking Mexicans, but also of almost ALL Americans and other foreigners living in Mexico make it clear that such proposals were not **peace** proposals, but simply proposals for the elimination of General Huerta from the Mexican political field. Moreover, that the elimination of General Huerta at this juncture instead of having as an effect immediate peace would mean anarchy. We reproduce in another column an interview with Mr. Dobson, an American resident of Mexico for twenty-two years, a man without political connections with any other parties and groups in Mexico. We could fill these columns and many more with similar opinions, but our space is limited and this particular statement serves to exemplify the opinion which prevails in Mexico.

Yet in the face of this almost unanimous opinion, President Wilson, probably owing to a personal dislike of a man whom he believes guilty of evil deeds, judgment of which after all pertains strictly and only to the Mexican themselves, has insisted on a policy of non-recognition and elimination, and, of course, the administration has called them **peace proposals.**

The second statement we have read for days: That the Washington administration will allow **"both factions"** to buy arms. That it will forbid the importation to **"both factions"** from the United States, etc.

Both factions? Does not this statement form part of a preconceived plan to misrepresent conditions in Mexico? Can anyone truthfully assert that there are two factions in Mexico fighting for power?

# WE CONTEND

That as far as the United States is concerned there is no Mexican trouble or problem except through the existence of lawless conditions in various sections of the republic and the failure of the United States to recognize the constitutional government of Mexico and so lend its aid to the efforts that government is making to stamp out such conditions.

That President Wilson's attitude toward the present Mexican government has been based on mental and temperamental prejudices rather than on a straightforward, practical and effective understanding of conditions.

That if maintained President Wilson's attitude will force this country into warfare with Mexico neither called for by conditions in that country nor desired by the American people.

That President Wilson made up his mind as to Mexico before he knew all the facts, and has consistently held to his prejudgments irrespective of facts.

That President Wilson by his attitude is in effect fomenting rebellion in Mexico.

That President Wilson, whether he knows it or not, is acting toward Mexico exactly as American oil and land interests want him to act.

That President Wilson is interfering with the internal affairs and politics of a neighboring nation in a manner that is prejudicial to our friendly relations with the countries of Central and South America.

That President Wilson has made up his mind that he will not recognize the present provisional government of Mexico and because he does not like to back down from that position he is shaping his policy on a prejudice.

That the people of the United States are more or less uninformed as to Mexican history and present conditions and many of them will follow blindly the path of the President.

That in calling upon this natural, unquestioning loyalty to support him President Wilson, as head of a powerful nation, is acting unjustly toward a weaker neighbor.

That President Wilson has consistently given undue weight to private sources of information that agreed with his point of view and as consistently ignored all sources of information that might legitimately change it.

That the attitude of the President toward Mexico is fraught with grave possibilities for the people, the future and the destiny of the United States and should not be assumed or undertaken without an open, unbiased, unprejudiced mind.

That President Wilson's mind is prejudiced, for the simple reason that he has determined from the beginning of his administration not to recognize the present government of Mexico and has let it be understood without denial that he never will, no matter what changing circumstances might dictate or the best interests of his country demand or the peace of Mexico require.

That President Wilson is keeping this whole Mexican question alive to the detriment of his own administration and of the United States, because in the beginning, without full knowledge, he took his stand and heaven nor hell can move him.

## LOYALTY OR JUSTICE, OR BOTH?—Continued

On one hand, there is a Mexican government, provisional, but **a government,** declared and recognized as such by the Mexican Congress and the Mexican Supreme Court, which, good or bad, has the support of all those Mexicans who wish to see peace promptly re-established in their country. And they constitute the majority of Mexicans. There is a government that has been recognized as such by all foreign powers except the United States. There is a government that is exercising all the functions of government, supported by the army and navy, and having possession of all the country with the exception of the State of Sonora, where, however, it holds the principal city and port, Guaymas.

There is **a government** that has demonstrated its ability to safeguard foreign interests and lives wherever its forces are in command.

On the other side there are many factions and bands. There are the Sonora rebels, fighting, they say, for State rights, whatever that may be. There are the Carranza rebels, fighting for "constitutionalism" and employing bandits like Villa and Ortega and Pereyra and Contreras, who pillage and loot. There are Zapatistas, De la Oistas, and many other "istas," bands of marauders and brigands. Yet we read of "both factions" and "cessation of hostilities" and "early, fair elections," etc., etc.

The third statement, emanating from Washington, has been to the effect that foreign powers, including those of Latin-America, have backed the United States and brought pressure to bear on General Huerta **to accede to the American demands.**

To this it was added that France would not receive Mr. de la Barra as Mexican Minister. But here and there—sometimes in obscure corners it is true—we read a message from Paris stating that de la Barra will be received, that the French Foreign Office never thought of even addressing a note to the Mexican government, a denial of the French Minister in Mexico City to the same effect, a message from Berlin that the German government's relations with Mexico continue very friendly, and on August 27th, in the N. Y. *Times,* one of the best informed and fairest newspapers in this country, we read the following:

> It was made plain prior to the conference that the Government here had been led to hope that Mr. Lind's mission would be successful through the friendly sentiments expressed to him by diplomatic representatives of foreign countries in Mexico City. But it has now been learned that no government had instructed its agent in the Mexican capital to bring pressure to bear upon President Huerta to concede the propositions made by the United States. At the White House the statement was made that all the information the Government possessed as to active efforts by Great Britain, France, Japan and other countries to bring Huerta to look favorably upon President Wilson's peace plan had been obtained from newspapers. Mr. Lind, it was said by officials, had not given in his dispatches the name of any nation that had been showing this friendly attitude toward the United States.

Finally in the Gamboa reply we read:

> Second, because certain European and American governments, with which Mexico cultivates the closest relations of international amity, having in a most delicate, respectful way, highly gratifying to us, made one of their good offices to the end that Mexico should accord you a hearing, inasmuch as you were the bearer of a private mission from the President of the United States.

**That Mexico should accord Mr. Lind a hearing**—not that Mexico should accept the proposals of Mr. Wilson. A slight difference.

The two assertions mentioned last we have seen repeated for several days in most of the messages from Washington—except in the New York *Times*—both purporting to cast a slur on President Huerta and on the Mexicans in general, aiming to carry the impression that they had no knowledge of how to deal diplomatically with this country and trying to bring out the supposed superiority of American diplomatic ways. We read all this until President Wilson reads his message to the Committees of Foreign Relations and then the next day we see the following:

> This reply, which was handed to Envoy Lind, is addressed to "Mr. Confidential Agent," and is characterized by those who saw it as one of the most admirable and finished State documents ever drawn.—*N. Y. American.*
>
> At to-night's conference the President read to the committees not only the full text of his own message, but the notes exchanged between John Lind and Huerta. One of the committeemen said afterward the Huerta note, written by Foreign Minister Gamboa, was one of the finest State papers he ever had seen.—*N. Y. Sun.*

But the Gamboa reply published in all newspapers is the best refutal of the statement that Mexico was "sneering."

The game of publicity has been well played from Washington, but we wish to ask of all fair-minded readers: Where does fairness come into this?

Will the ultimate results be the ones sought by the Washington administration?

# AMERICAN OPINION IN MEXICO

New York *Evening Sun*, August 23.

With twenty-two years of practical business experience in Mexico adding weight to opinions that were manifestly free from bias, Alver R. Dobson, President of the American Book and Printing Company of Mexico City, analyzed to-day for *The Evening Sun* a sequence of vital problems affecting the disturbed present and dubious future of the Mexican republic.

Mr. Dobson's opinions had the double value of being free from the puzzled patriotism of those Americans who fail to understand the lack of protection from this Government to our interests in the republic to the south as well as from the doubtful counsel of those who have mixed up in Mexican politics long enough to have an axe to grind.

Some of Mr. Dobson's conclusions were startling. All of them were interesting. They covered conditions before and subsequent to the arrival of John Lind in Mexico City, Mr. Dobson having left there a week ago Wednesday. He arrived in this city yesterday on the Ward liner *Mexico*.

A brief résumé of the points made in the interview follows:

PREDICTS REIGN OF ANARCHY.

If the United States withholds recognition of the Huerta Government for six months longer that Government seems destined to fail through financial weakness, and a reign of anarchy will probably follow.

William Bayard Hale, a diplomatic sleuth, is responsible both for the retirement of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson and the failure of the Wilson Administration to recognize Huerta.

Whatever the faults of President Huerta, he is 1000 per cent. stronger than any other leader in sight.

John Lind can do nothing to relieve the situation unless he is accredited to Mexico in an official capacity with an official title.

The Americans in Mexico are, almost to a unit, behind the Huerta régime.

Through the present chaos American industries in Mexico are losing approximately $1,000,000 a week.

Both among native Mexicans and the foreign residents of the country, Henry Lane Wilson was the most popular Ambassador of any nation assigned to Mexico in the last two decades.

Contrary to general opinion, the assumption of the Presidency by Gen. Victoriano Huerta was made constitutionally.

A movement is on foot to expel William Bayard Hale from Mexican territory under Article 33 of the Constitution, relating to the activities of "pernicious foreigners."

INTERVENTION DANGEROUS.

American intervention will only throw upon the United States the very work which President Huerta is now carrying on.

On account of the slipshod method of this country in dealing with the situation the more intelligent people in Mexico feel American intervention to be almost a certainty, and they look forward to it as the only means of restoring business stability, the impression being that it is probably too late now even if the Huerta régime were recognized, for stability to come out of chaos.

Huerta will never voluntarily resign from the Presidency.

"There is plenty of money in Mexico," said Mr. Dobson, "but it is tied up in the banks. The continued refusal of the United States to recognize Huerta has bred an uncertainty that has almost paralyzed business. The last two months have been the worst since the low ebb of the Madero régime.

"The continued financial stability of Mexico is dependent on immediate recognition of Huerta by this country. Only two instalments of the French-British loan of 20,000,000 pounds have been paid, and it is understood that no more payments will be made this year if the United States holds up recognition.

"If Huerta fails to get this money he will be unable to pay his soldiers; in that event they will revolt; anarchy will reign supreme. Huerta is now paying the soldiers under him more money than was ever before paid to the Mexican military forces.

"Victoriano Huerta may not be an ideal ruler, but he is so much stronger than any other man in Mexico that no comparison can be established. If he cannot quell the revolutions in the north no man can. Carranza is a much overrated man. As a leader Maytorena, who is conducting the revolt in Sonora, is stronger than he.

"Carranza has fooled the Washington officials by placing himself at the head of a so-called 'Constitutional' party. The name sounds fine, but, as a matter of fact, Carranza was plotting a revolution before the downfall of Madero. The only trouble was that Huerta was first."

HUERTA MORE DEMOCRATIC.

Mr. Dobson explained that, although President Huerta assumes certain autocratic powers in handling affairs of the army and the treasury, the Government is really more democratic than it ever was under Madero or Diaz. Regular elections are held and the Congress and Senate perform their normal functions. . . .

"There seems to be a misconception about the manner in which Huerta assumed the Presidency," said Mr. Dobson. "However much one may object to certain features of his programme, one must admit that the thing was done legally. After President Madero and Vice-President Suarez were thrown into prison they signed papers of resignation from office. Of course, we cannot tell what pressure was brought to bear on them, but the fact remains that their resignations were placed before the Mexican legislative bodies.

"As a result of these resignations Pedro Lascurain, Minister of Foreign Affairs, automatically, under the Constitution, became President. He remained in office for fifteen minutes—long enough to name Huerta as his Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then he resigned and Huerta automatically became President. The whole matter was passed on by the Mexican Congress.

HUERTA MAKING GOOD.

"The general impression in Mexico is that Huerta is making good, but he had frightful odds to meet. Madero found $68,000,000 in the national treasury. He left it bankrupt. In his brief rule Huerta has brought about some degree of financial stability and has increased the army from 15,000 to 80,000 men."

Mr. Dobson said that when William Bayard Hale arrived in Mexico he freely admitted that he had three purposes: To have Ambassador Wilson recalled; to prevent recognition of the Huerta Government; to forestall intervention by the United States.

## News of the Week.

Specials to the Universal Publishing Service.

Mexico City, August 23.—Reliable information was received here to-day from rebel sources that dissension among the chiefs of the Carranza forces after their defeat at Torreon had culminated in the killing of Calixto Contreras and Oreste Pereyra, the two foremost leaders in the unsuccessful attack on the city. Whether the killing of the two leaders was ordered by Carranza himself or was the result of a squabble among his followers it is not clear. Venustiano Carranza has not been heard of since he left Monclova, driven by the advancing Federals.

San Antonio, Texas, August 24.—There is a persistent rumor here that Venustiano Carranza, the rebel leader has been dead these four weeks. It has been proven that the telegraphic answer sent to two New York newspapers some time ago stating that Carranza would not accept mediation was in fact sent by the rebel junta at Eagle Pass. At that time Carranza was reported at Cuatro Cienegas and he could neither have received the messages of the newspapers nor replied to them. Later he has been reported as leading the attack on Torreon and afterward retreating to Durango. But as a matter of fact no one has seen Venustiano Carranza since the fight at Monclova. The departure of his brother Jesus is ascribed to his desire to find and recover the body of the leader.

Mexico City, August 24.—Matamoros de la Laguna (Coahuila). Gomez Palacio, an important industrial centre near Torreon, and Ojinaga, a port of entry on the American border, have been occupied by Federals. These are strategic points and their falling into the possession of the government forces means an early cleaning out of rebel bands from the State of Coahuila.

To-morrow direct rail communication between Mexico City and Laredo will be re-established. Two Cubans were arrested here to-day upon evidence having been obtained that they had been commissioned to kill Provisional President Huerta. Documents were found in their possession showing the complicity of two congressmen belonging to the "renovadores" group. This group is formed of former Madero adherents.

# GAMBOA'S REPLY

## TO SUPPLEMENTARY SUGGESTIONS OF JOHN LIND

Yesterday I had the honor of receiving from your hands a note in which you are pleased to state that, although you have no instructions from the President of the United States of America, from the scope of your instructions you reply to the note of this Government, given to you through me, of the 16th inst. You are pleased to repeat from those same instructions the paragraph which, translated, says literally:

LIND'S INSTRUCTIONS.

*We wish to act in the present circumstances under the inspiration of the most lively and disinterested friendship. We propose, in all that we do or say by reason of this serious and intricate situation, not only to maintain the most scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and independence of Mexico, and we consider ourselves obligated to that respect by all the considerations of honor and right, but as well to give all possible proofs that we are working only in the interests of Mexico and not for any person or group of persons who might have claims relating to themselves or to their properties in this country and who might consider themselves with a right to demand their settlement.*

*What we intend is to counsel Mexico for her own good and in the interest of her own peace and with no other object of any kind. The Government of the United States would consider itself discredited, if it had in mind any selfish or ulterior motive, considering that the negotiations in hand concern the peace, welfare and prosperity of a whole people.*

*We are working, not with selfish interest, but in accordance with the dictates of our friendship toward Mexico.*

CHARGES INCONSISTENCIES.

In spite of the fact that, at the beginning of the note which I now answer, you state that you lack instructions from the President of the United States of America, after the statement which I have reproduced above you state in the name of that same President that the method indicated in my note of the 16th inst., in so far as it concerns the recognition of the present Government (which I may say in passing is far more than a *de facto* government, as you have chosen to qualify it) or of any other future Government of Mexico—this you add—is something which only the United States of America may decide, which, in the exercise of its sovereign rights in this respect, will not hesitate, especially in time of serious domestic troubles, to consummate in the manner which, in the judgment of the United States of America and not in that of Mexico, may be best for this latter.

You add that the President of the United States of America sincerely and ardently believes that my Government will see in the suggestion of his excellency, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, the most feasible plan for serving our vital interests and for insuring the speedy re-establishment of our domestic tranquillity.

PROPOSITION REPEATED.

And always in the name of the President of the United States you submit to the consideration of my Government the three following propositions:

1. *That the election called for the 16th of October of the present year (the note sent to the foreign office by Mr. Lind stated October 26 and not 16) shall be held in accordance with the constitutional laws of Mexico.*

2. *That President Huerta, in the manner originally indicated by the President of the United States of America, give the assurance called for in paragraph C of the original instructions, a paragraph which says literally "The consent of General Huerta to agree not to be a candidate in the coming election for President of the republic."*

3. *That the remaining propositions contained in your original instructions shall be taken up later, but speedily, and resolved as circumstances permit and in the spirit of their proposal.*

AID FROM BANKERS.

You add, furthermore, Mr. Confidential Agent, that the President of the United States of America has authorized you to say that, if my Government "acts immediately and favorably upon the foregoing suggestions," that same President will express to American bankers and their associates assurances that the Government of the United States of America will then look with favor upon the extension of an immediate loan sufficient in amount to meet the temporary requirements of the present Mexican administration.

At the end of your note, Mr. Confidential Agent, you express the hope of your Government that my Government will judge it consistent with the best and highest interests of Mexico immediately to accept such propositions, stating that they are submitted in the same spirit and to the same end as the original proposition, but in a more restricted form, to the end that my Government may act within its faculties without the co-operation or aid of any other outside factor.

It appears at once, Mr. Confidential Agent, that in this case the proposal of his Excellency, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, is not to remove himself an iota from the position originally assumed by him, for, notwithstanding the time consumed since the 16th, the date of my reply, to the 25th, in which you delivered to me your second note, which I am here answering, the essence and even the form of his original instructions are the same with the aggravating feature well qualified by you as "more restricted."

For my part it would have been sufficient to answer this note in its totality by reproducing the whole of my note of the 16th inst., as negative, as categorical, as I have the honor to reproduce it in this present note.

But the president *ad interim* wishes to carry his forbearance to the last point, and to the end that Mexican public opinion, which is so justly disturbed by the present tension in the diplomatic relations between the two countries, and also to the end that the various foreign governments which have offered their good offices in the most delicate possible manner—I am glad to repeat that this has been their attitude, and not less pleased to express grateful acknowledgment thereof—may be duly informed, has authorized me to reply to you in the following terms:

I will begin by taking notice of a highly significant fact. Between the night of the 14th instant, when I received the sheets containing your instruction—not directed to any one and calling the present administration "the persons who at the present time have authority or exercise influence in Mexico"—and yesterday, some progress has been made, in that now the constitutional president *ad interim* (see paragraph 2 of the new propositions) is called "President Huerta," and in the whole course of the note the personnel of his administration is referred to as the *de facto* government.

But inasmuch as this or that qualification is of no importance, upon the ground that all the representations of your Government have not been initiated except with ourselves, which gives us, upon the supposition that we have not been dispossessed of it, a perfect political and moral responsibility to clear up the present divergence, I intentionally limit myself solely to point out the facts.

If your original proposals were not to be admitted, they are now, in the more restricted form in which they are reproduced, even more inadmissible, and one's attention is called to the fact that they are insistent upon, if it be noticed, that which the first proposals had already defined.

Precisely because we comprehend the immense value which is possessed by the principle of severeignty which the Government of the United States so opportunely invokes in the question of our recognition or non-recognition, precisely for this reason we believed that it would never be proposed to us that we should forget our own sovereignty by permitting that a foreign Government should modify the line of conduct which we have to follow in our public and independent life.

If even once we were to permit the counsels and advice (let us call them thus) of the United States of America, not only would we, as I say above, forego our sovereignty, but we would as well compromise for an indefinite future our destinies as a sovereign entity, and all the future elections for president would be submitted to the veto of any President of the United States of America.

And such an enormity, Mr. Confidential Agent, no Government will ever attempt to perpetrate, and this I am sure of, unless some monstrous and almost impossible cataclysm should occur in the conscience of the Mexican people.

# COMBING THE NEWS

"I never had such a warm reception as the people of Mexico, particularly the ranchmen, the middle class and even the upper class, have shown me," Mr. Lind said. He paid a compliment to the courtesy and kindness of the Mexican people, and talked with his callers about American farming and its methods, which are new to this country.—*John Lind at Vera Cruz.*

## "Strong Should Not Impose Upon Weak"

*New York World.*

The Hague, Holland, Aug. 22.—Congressman James L. Slayden of Texas, a delegate to the International Peace Congress now in session here, discussing the Mexican situation, said to *The World* correspondent:

"I am not sufficiently well advised of the current conditions in Mexico to express any view as to what policy President Wilson should adopt, but I am sincerely anxious that some plan should be adopted, which will be mutually satisfactory to both governments.

*"I do not think a stronger government ought to do anything which will imperil the sovereignty of a weaker one."*

Whatever the President's disposition might be toward the other proposals he made it plain, it was said, that he stood firmly and would continue so to stand on his insistence that Huerta should resign and that he should not be a candidate for re-election. It has been the opinion of many Senators and Representatives in Congress that the negotiations would have had a better chance of success if these terms had not been included in the peace programme. *A large number of Congressmen believe that the President made a mistake in giving greater weight to moral than to practical considerations* in his effort to bring about a restoration of normal relations in Mexico. In their opinion the Lind mission would have gone forward with considerable hope of success had President Wilson accorded formal recognition to the Huerta Government. But the President, evidently believing that Huerta was responsible in a large measure for the death of his predecessor, Francisco I. Madero, has declined to consider the so-called practical aspect of the matter, holding that the United States Government would have cause to be ashamed should it recognize Huerta's right to the office of President of Mexico.—*N. Y. Times, August 27.*

In the foregoing lines is to be found the cause of all the Mexican trouble: the personal beliefs, likes and dislikes of President Wilson, strengthened by the biased information received from his personal representative, the ex-reverend.

## Mexican Rates Restored

### Through Freight Now Accepted Under the Old Tariff

The through freight rates between New York City and points in the Mexican interior will be restored this week by the resumption of the Railway Association of Mexico tariff 3-C, which was cancelled several weeks ago by the National Railways of Mexico. The Ward Line will accept shipments under the 3-C rate again, beginning with their steamer leaving here on Thursday for Tampico and Vera Cruz. Under this tariff the Ward Line accepts freight allowing the charges to be collected from the consignee.

A storm of protest came from shippers to Mexico when the 3-C rate was cancelled about the middle of last month. Since that time shipping to the points in the Mexican interior has been practically at a standstill. At that time the Mexican Government ordered the railroads to publish rates in Spanish and to quote in Mexican currency per 1000 kilograms, irrespective of the fluctuations in exchange.

It was impossible for American lines, whose settlements must be made in gold, to undertake to maintain a uniform rate when the Mexican currency was gradually depreciating. All rates were at once cancelled, which meant that goods for shipment to Mexico would be set down by the steamship line at the Mexican port if the freight was paid in advance. The liability of the steamship company would cease there and the vendee would be obliged to arrange for the transportation inland.—*New York Sun, August 26.*

## GAMBOA'S REPLY (Continued)

"We entertained the belief, in view of the extraordinary interest which the President of the United States of America has shown in our internal affairs, that both he and his government would be apprised of the precepts of our constitution in electoral matters. Unfortunately, we are compelled to recognize that we were laboring under an error.

"In effect, the amendment of Articles 78 and 109 of the constitution, promulgated November 7, 1911, contain, among other provisions, the following, viz., that a cabinet minister acting as provisional President cannot be elected either President or Vice-President for an ensuing term. This precept, which I permit myself to transcribe for the information of the Government of the United States of America, incapacitates the present constitutional *ad interim* President from figuring in the forthcoming elections, and if it had been taken into consideration by his excellency, President Wilson, before undertaking to impose on us the conditions in question, and which we cannot admit, the present state of affairs between us would have been obviated without detriment to our dignity or to the *amour propre* of the President of the United States, ill engaged in this groundless controversy.

"Let it be understood that the *ad interim* constitutional President cannot be elected either President or Vice-President at the elections already called for October 26, because he is forbidden by our own laws, which are the sole arbiters of our destinies, but never because of the indication, however friendly or disinterested, of the President of the United States or of any other ruler, however powerful or however weak, all being equally respectable in our estimation.

"Allow me to say that, so far, at any rate, the President of the United States is the only person who has spoken of the candidature of the *ad interim* constitutional President at the forthcoming elections. Neither the solemn declarations of the said high functionary nor the smallest of his acts, all of which have been directed to bringing about complete pacification of the republic, which is the supreme national aspiration and which he is resolved to achieve at all costs, warrants the suspicion that such are his purposes or intentions.

"It is matter of notoriety that there does not exist in the country a single newspaper, a single club, a single corporation or a single group of private persons that have launched such candidature on the tapis of discussion. What, then, is the ground for the gratuitous suspicion of the President of the United States and for his demand that the constitutional *ad interim* President, in view of such suspicion, shall contract obligations never imposed up to the present on the Government of any sovereign nation?"

The question having been set forth, as I have had the honor of doing in this reply, his excellency, Mr. Wilson, will have to withdraw definitely from his present attitude at the risk that his motives, which I take pleasure in acknowledging, are, as he himself quotes them, friendly and disinterested, altruistic and without ulterior ends—at the risk, I repeat, that they may be wrongly and differently interpreted by all the other nations which look upon our present internal conflict with more or less interest.

And although the President of the United States of America should take an altogether different stand from the universal viewpoint, which considers differently an administration under the conditions in which our own is at present (the best proof of my assertion is the unconditional recognition of the foremost Powers of the world, among which the United States of America occupies such a prominent and legitimately conquered rank), he will have to cease to call us a *de facto* Government, and will give us the title of *ad interim* constitutional Government, which is the only one to which we are rightly entitled.

REFUSAL OF OFFER OF FUNDS.

Permit me, Mr. Confidential Agent, not to reply for the time being to the significant offer in which the Government of the United States of America insinuates that it will recommend to American bankers the immediate extension of a loan which will permit us, among other things, to cover the innumerable urgent expenses required by the progressive pacification of the country; for in the terms in which it is couched it appears more to be an attractive antecedent proposal to the end that, moved by petty interests, we should renounce a right which incontrovertibly upholds us at a period when the dignity of the nation is at stake.

I believe that there are not loans enough to induce those charged by the law to maintain that dignity to permit it to be lessened.

# COMBING THE NEWS

## Freight Traffic Resumed.

Special Cable Despatch to *The Sun.*

London, Aug. 25.—The general European agent of the National Railways of Mexico announces that the issuance of through bills of lading to interior destinations of Mexico via Vera Cruz and the Interoceanic Railway has been resumed.

The above arguments in favor of returning stability and peace in Mexico are unanswerable. They show what the provisional government has accomplished in the short space of six months, despite the antagonistic attitude of Washington. Of course, Washington may deceive itself into thinking it is not antagonistic, but facts of unfriendliness speak louder than the well-modulated voice of fine-sounding platitudes.

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(By Telegraph to *The New York Tribune.*)

Mexico City, Aug. 23.—Washington's attitude continues to cause concern and perplexity here, both among Mexicans and foreigners.

The announcement in to-day's dispatches that the United States will continue to insist on the resignation of General Huerta, or a statement of his intention to resign, as well as on his elimination from the Presidential race, comes as a distinct disappointment to all who believe that Huerta is the one man capable now of restoring peace and putting the country on its feet again and giving it another chance to recover.

*The general conviction is that the replacement of Huerta at the present time, so far from remedying the country's evils, would plunge it into worse disorders and render the situation desperate.* In particular it is held that any substitute for Huerta who might be regarded as owing his position to outside pressure or the dictation of the rebels would be viewed with intense animosity and would be quite incapable of controlling the situation.

Mexican newspapers point out that movements against the government, except in Sonora and partly in Coahuila, represent lawlessness pure and simple, which any administration would have to deal with, and assert that an overwhelming majority of Mexicans and foreigners at the capital consider Huerta better fitted for this task than anybody else.

*El Imparcial,* speaking of the dinner which the French Minister, Paul Lefaivre, will give on Monday night at the French Legation to Huerta and his Cabinet, says: "This banquet is considered significant, owing to the proofs of extreme cordiality which France has lately given to our republic."

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Mexico City, August 25.—Minister of Finance Gorrostieta denied emphatically to-day the rumor that the government was making use of the reserves of the Mexican Banks. He affirmed that on the contrary the government was taking steps to further guarantee these reserves. Signor Gorrostieta besides branded absolutely false and unfounded the rumor published in the United States that the army had not been paid regularly. He stated that not only was the army fully paid up to date but would continue to be paid regularly and that not a single case of discontent or indication of disloyality had been reported. Likewise he said that employees in all branches of the government would continue to receive their usual salaries.

# LOBBYGRAMS

Senator Fall bought a copy of MEXICO in the New Willard on Tuesday and greatly enjoyed the reference to himself. In showing it to his friends he expressed especial delight at the fact that at last there was one publication which rendered him justice, which, without bias, testified to his reputation for bravery, integrity and to the great love felt for him by the people of New Mexico. He expressed also the intention of addressing himself to the American people through the columns of MEXICO, taking them into his confidence as to the exact reasons why he is the friend and apologist of every man in Mexico who bears arms against the government.

MEXICO will welcome the Senator's explicit declarations in this respect.

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## Arms Question up Again.

The vexing question whether the United States should or should not raise its embargo against the sale of arms to the "constitutionalists" and other bands of revolutionists came to the front again to-day through the receipt by Senator Fall of a telegram of inquiry from the Shelton Payne Arms Company, at El Paso. This despatch said that the Shelton Payne Company had just shipped to federalists at Juarez 130 rifles and 97,000 rounds of ammunition, this being the initial shipment of an order for 1,000 rifles and one million rounds of ammunition, the shipment being authorized by a permit of the United States government. The Shelton Payne Company asked Senator Fall if it could fill an order for five carloads of arms and ammunition which "constitutionalists" desire to purchase.—*N. Y. Herald,* August 25.

Senator Fall, we understand, will soon explain why the Shelton Payne Company, dealer in arms and ammunition, has sent him the foregoing telegram of inquiry. The explanation will contain a statement that Senator Fall has no direct or indirect participation in the profits of any company manufacturing arms and ammunition.

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Colonel E. M. House, who has been called the Cardinal Richelieu of the Washington administration, is said to have been very indignant when upon his arrival in Boston several weeks ago, he was shown a clipping of the Boston *American* purporting to relate the true significance of his journey to Europe.

Colonel House while in Europe was accompanied by Mr. Hugh Wallace, at various times associated with the Rockefeller and Pierce interests, and the news item intimated that Colonel House's mission to Europe was to break up the negotiations carried on by the Mexican Government with European bankers for the obtaining of a loan. Mr. Hugh Wallace did not return with Colonel House and he is reported to be still in Europe. It also reported that strong influence is being brought to bear on French and English bankers to the end that no further loans be made to Mexico.

Official Washington is said to have been puzzled by reported unusual movements in the last few days in the offices of Senator Fall and Senator Penrose. It has been explained, however, by friends of these two Senators that they were arranging their personal affairs so as to be able to abandon at an early date their useful activities in the Senate and proceed to the Mexican border to lead an invading army into the Southern Republic. This, the friends explained, was due to the fact that Fall and Penrose wished to demonstrate their sincerity of purpose in advocating intervention and show to their constituents that they would be the first ones to give up their lives in order to protect American interests in Mexico. Moreover, Senator Penrose was about to sever his connections with Standard Oil and Senator Fall about to dispose of his Mexican mines so that no one could intimate that they were actuated by personal reasons, but were giving up their lives simply for love of the American people. It was stated on good authority that the greatest regret was felt in the Senate at the probable losing of Senator Fall. This regret was especially felt by members of the Foreign Relations Committee to whom the impartial and disinterested work of Senator Fall has been of great assistance.

A great send-off will be tendered Senator Fall by the people of New Mexico—it is reported—before he goes to fight those wicked Mexicans and preparations will begin at once to give him an adequate reception on his return—when, it is assured, he will carry the scalp of his arch enemy General Huerta.

Senator Fall's friends state, however, that the people of New Mexico will have to change the reception into a funeral, as the Senator is determined to offer his life as a holocaust to the people whom he is so faithfully and consistently serving.

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## Was He Killed?

Special to *The Washington Post.*

Denver, Colo., Aug. 20.—"I never expect to see my cousin alive again," says John Lind, cousin of President Wilson's personal envoy to Mexico. Lind is in Denver, stopping on his way to Los Angeles.

"John Lind is a man of fearless character, and takes chances that no ordinary man would take. I have heard of his taking early morning walks in Mexico where Americans hesitate to go at midday.

"I have not heard directly from my cousin since he went to Mexico, and I expect that he will be killed by Mexicans any moment. We are of the same name, and as boys were companions. John Lind is a one-armed man, but even at that would not hesitate to go into any dangerous gathering of Mexicans or any one else and resent personal attack at the risk of life."

# Nailing Them

Coincident with the departure from Mexico City of Mr. Lind was the general exodus from the Mexican capital of Americans. The report received by the State Department was to the effect that the train bearing Mr. Lind to Vera Cruz was filled with Americans who were leaving hurriedly for the United States.—N. Y. *World.*

The best answer to this is contained in the following despatches:

Mexico City.—The departure of Mr. Lind is the only subject of discussion among Americans here. The general opinion among them seems to be: "The American Government be hanged, we will not get out. We have our business obligations to attend to, our contracts to carry out and our properties to protect. It cannot be possible that the American Congress will stand for such a proposition as this."—N. Y. *Sun.*

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Mexico City.—The leaving of Mr. Lind failed to cause the expected alarm in the American colony and none will leave on the steamship leaving Vera Cruz Thursday. The ball given by the American Club Saturday night showed an unexpectedly large number of American families here. A few of the business men have sent their wives and children out of Mexico, but from the present indications the colony is reduced to the size at which it probably will remain until the situation becomes more acute.—N. Y. *Herald.*

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Paul Lefaivre, the French Minister, denies receiving a cable from the French Government instructing him to make representations to the Mexican Government upholding the attitude of the United States. He said he had received only the same instructions as other legations here got regarding the Mexican situation.

Lefaivre was plainly exasperated at the publication of the announcement regarding the stand of the French Government.—*N. Y. Sun, August 27.*

Instructions received by all legations in Mexico City were to the effect that the Ministers should inform the Mexican Government that their respective governments would view with satisfaction the granting of a hearing to John Lind by the Mexican Government, even though Mr. Lind carried no proper credentials, and was simply a personal representative of the American President. These instructions did not refer to the Mexican Government's acceptance of the United States proposals.

Reports of dissatisfaction among the Federal soldiers at the delay of the Huerta Government in paying them off have strengthened the belief that Huerta's position is growing weaker. According to these reports, two Federal garrisons near Vera Cruz have revolted. Soldiers are said to be growling in many sections of the republic. Huerta, it is said, has not now in his treasury enough money to pay his army three weeks ahead.

There has been absolutely no confirmation of this report. On the contrary the Federal Army continues loyal to a man. It is one of the many reports spread daily in order to give weight to President Wilson's declaration that "the conditions of the Southern Republic are growing worse."

Hermosillo, Sonora, August 25.—A Federal cavalry detachment which moved out of Guaymas yesterday attacked the Constitutionalist outpost to-day. It was repulsed in a sharp fight.

The rebel commanders regard the attack as a feint to cover the real movement of Federal troops out of Guaymas by sea and land to Mazatlan, the seaport city of Sinaloa. The rebels are strongly fortifying their positions around Mazatlan.

The above Associated Press message is typical of all others sent out from the Sonora border. In the first place the rebels do not hold Mazatlan, which is in possession of the Federals and is far away south from the seat of disturbances. The Federals have not abandoned Guaymas, but have advanced instead toward Hermosillo, after inflicting a severe defeat upon the rebels north of that port.

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## The London *Times* Says Editorially

"The world will read with a certain bewilderment the President's statement that 'if Mexico can suggest any better way in which the United States can show its friendship we are more than willing to consider the suggestion.' Not only Mexico, but all the foreign residents of Mexico and every Government whose nationals possess interests in that country have already pointed out a 'better way.' It is a simple and, we believe, an effective way, and it consists in America's following the example already set by other powers and recognizing Huerta.

"As to America's insistence upon a general election as a means of regularizing the status of the Mexican President, Mr. Wilson can hardly be unaware that there has never yet been a genuine poll of the people of Mexico, that elections there are automatically 'made' by the party or ruler in control, and that to hold one now with the idea of testing the real sentiments of the people would be little less than a farce. Huerta would no doubt be willing to go through with the farce if it were not for the American stipulation that he is not to play the principal rôle in it. That is a demand with which President Wilson can hardly expect him to comply. It is difficult, indeed, to resist the suspicion that in thus emphasizing its purely personal objections to Huerta the United States Government may be jeopardizing its best chance of assisting the country of which, for the first time, at all events, he is the effective ruler."

"We are glad to call ourselves the friends of Mexico, and we shall, I hope, have many an occasion, in happier times as well as in these days of trouble and confusion, to show that our friendship is genuine and disinterested, capable of sacrifice and every generous manifestation."—President Wilson's message

MEXICO'S REPLY.

I can defend myself from my enemies, but God preserve me from my friends.

## The Present Government is the Constitutional Government of Mexico

There cannot be any legal ground for withholding recognition, for the Huerta government is in every respect a constitutional government. Upon their arrest Madero and Pino Suarez resigned from the offices of President and Vice-President respectively. Their resignations were accepted by Congress sitting in extraordinary session. By virtue of article 83 of the Mexican Constitution, Pedro Lascurain, Minister of Foreign Affairs automatically became President *ad interim.* In the exercise of his executive power he immediately appointed Gen. Victoriano Huerta, Minister of the Interior, filling the vacancy left by the resignation of Rafael Hernandez. Subsequently Pedro Lascurain formally resigned his office and his resignation was accepted by Congress. Thus automatically and in accordance with the Constitution the executive power devolved upon Gen. Huerta, Minister of the Interior, as the office of Minister of Foreign Relations had been left vacant. All this was in strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the Mexican Constitution and with the common agreement of Lascurain, chief of the Madero Cabinet, the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and the Supreme Court aided by the best legal talent of Mexico, all keen and conscientious in maintaining unbroken the constitutionality of the Mexican government.

It may be contended by those denying the constitutionality of the Huerta government that the foregoing proceedings took place under revolutionary coercion. Of course, neither Porfirio Diaz nor Madero resigned until forced by a successful revolution, but both their resignations were equally effective and the succeeding governments equally constitutional.

There was not the slightest question as to the constitutionality of de la Barra's government under similar circumstances.

Moreover, Madero's resignation was taken to Congress by Lascurain, Madero's friend and chief of Cabinet, and was accepted by a Congress in which the Maderists held the balance of power.

Later, on April 1st last, at the formal opening of the ordinary session of Congress, this body with almost all of its members present, formally recognized the constitutionality of Huerta as provisional President. In other words, the legislative and judicial powers of the previous administration have declared the constitutionality of the present one.—*Los Angeles Times, July* 20.

# PRESS COMMENTS

## The Mexican Danger

The change in the attitude of President Wilson toward the Mexican problem is not encouraging. The promise of a message on the subject to Congress at this time, to be delayed three or four days, indicates a desire to get an expression of public opinion, to shift, in some measure, the burden of responsibility which hitherto he has insisted upon bearing without help. The intimation that the forthcoming message will suggest a "show of force" by the United States in Mexico is, we hope, made without authority. Already the international situation is so involved that only wisdom and prudence in every succeeding action of our Government can avert trouble. A "show of force" in the sister republic at this time would have perilous results. Huerta's followers would then have the support of Zapatistas, Carranzistas, Vasquistas, of the Church Party, and the remnant of the Cientificos against any outside interference.

The President's action in sending a personal envoy on a secret mission to Mexico has been generally approved, or at least not harshly condemned, because of the common belief that the President's information regarding the Mexican situation was more complete and sounder than the people's; in short, that he knew what he was doing. Somewhat disturbing reports as to the plans of the mission have been ignored. But it seems that the reports were well founded. Mr. Lind has made proposals to the Mexican Executive which have been rejected, and the negotiations are possibly at an end. It is obvious that in the present critical situation no proposal which could be thus rejected should have been made. The mission is a failure, and our relations with Mexico are more delicate than ever.

In the circumstances a full report of the conditions in Mexico, as Mr. Lind sees them, seems to be called for. He is believed to be a man of clear vision and practical common sense. If his report should indicate that the Government of Gen. Huerta is strongly supported, that his control of affairs is reasonably firm, the duty of our Government is obvious. The mistake that has been made should be rectified. Pride should not influence President Wilson longer to withhold recognition. The acknowledgment of his error would be more manly than to persist in a wrong course. If, on the other hand Mr. Lind could show that Huerta's power is waning, that fact should be made known to the American public.

Inevitably the promised message to Congress recalls Mr. McKinley's message before the outbreak of the Spanish war, just as Mr. Lind's visit to Mexico is a reminder of the visit to Cuba of Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, whose report on his return was so enlightening to the Senate and the people. The two cases, however, are not otherwise similar. *No humane reason could justify our interference in Mexico as matters now stand, yet our present course is tending toward more or less interference, if not positive intervention.* Whatever the President's intention may have been, and we have no doubt that he was assured that his efforts as a mediator were well advised, the action of our Government thus far has increased Mexican hostility to us. *We must reckon in all our dealings with Latin America with the bad influence of the ill-judged acts of previous Administrations.* That our proffer of good offices should be subject to suspicion is inevitable. *It is surely not our business to dictate to the Mexican people who should govern them, or to take sides against an established Government,* whatever opinion we may entertain of the means of its establishment. The opponents of the Government at the Mexican capital are split up into many factions without community of interest. They have no coherence, and the sole object of some of them is plunder.

Continued interference with Mexican affairs must tend to a rupture of all international relations, if not to war. If war is precipitated, the Administration will have a difficult, an impossible, task to justify itself before the people, and the political party it represents will need many years to live down the evil repute thus fastened upon it. It is a part of good statesmanship to recognize frankly its own errors, if errors have been committed, and rectify them in the most generous manner.—*New York Times.*

## The Mexican Muddle

If it is true, as indicated in some of the Washington dispatches, that the reason to be set forth by President Wilson, in his message which is to announce to Congress the failure of his mediation mission, for the continued withholding of recognition from Huerta's Government will be the obvious fact that it is "dictatoral" and in the hands of few men, it seems that the gravity of the situation will be greatly increased. The same argument might have been made against Madero's Government, which was hotly opposed in various States and in the Federal Congress of Mexico from first to last. The same argument, also, might have been urged against the long successful Government of Porfirio Diaz by Presidents Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft.

Mexico in the long run will have the kind of Government that best suits it. If it amounts to a dictatorship, that is Mexico's affair. We cannot govern Mexico. The only essential fact to be ascertained concerning Huerta's Government is whether it is a Government that can govern. Mr. Lind by this time ought to be able to enlighten the President on this point. But we must infer that the Washington correspondents who are anticipating the message are only guessing and that President Wilson will have a stronger argument to advance in support of his policy of non-recognition than one which would apply equally well to other nations of the world whose Governments we cheerfully recognize.—*N. Y. Times.*

## The Mexican Situation

The defeat of the forces of Venustiano Carranza at Torreon seems to have been a decisive one for that body of the insurgents, and his retreat to Durango to join Thamas Urbina will surely cause the federals to follow his trail to that city, and to endeavor to drive his forces still farther west or destroy them.

The battle at Rodriguez, about 100 miles south of Eagle Pass, resulted in another victory for the federal troops, while the clearing of the Mexican Central line from Chihuahua to Juarez cannot fail to give important advantages to the federals of that section.

The military operations for the past three weeks have been exceedingly favorable to the troops of the Huerta administration, and the insurgents have not scored a single notable victory since they drove back Ojeda's column into Guaymas about one month ago.

The federal troops have been able to secure these advantages largely by reason of the difficulties experienced by their opponents in procuring arms, ammunition and military supplies from foreign countries.

The Huerta administration holds every port of Mexico, and such supplies as reach the insurgents are brought across the United States boundary line into Mexico, a boundary line patrolled by United States troops to prevent such materials being sent into a country with which we still preserve friendly relations while not according recognition to its government.

The administration of the United States cannot well recognize Carranza under these conditions, nor Zapata, nor Urbina, nor Pesquiera, so it has made no mistake in endeavoring to open up negotiations with Huerta, as the head of a de facto government, negotiation looking to the restoration of such peaceful and orderly conditions in Mexico as that country enjoyed under President Diaz.

It would seem that our duty to Mexico does not go so far as to permit us to say who shall be or shall not be president, nor does it call for an intervention as between the Mexican Government and those in insurrection against it, nor is it incumbent in any way upon the part of the Government of the United States to provide a constitution for Mexico; but our duty to our own citizens resident in Mexico and those who have interests injured or endangered by the chaotic conditions existing there does require that this government shall give full protection to them in life, person and property.

Huerta was elected provisional president by the Mexican Congress; he is acknowledged as such by the courts of Mexico, is obeyed as such by the federal army, supported as such by large numbers of the Mexican people, recognized as such by several foreign nations, and seems to be in position to protect American citizens to a fuller extent and throughout a greater area than any other of the Mexican leaders.

# PRESS COMMENTS---Continued.

If it is peace we desire in Mexico it can only be obtained by sustaining those in authority in that nation or by intervention which will enable the United States, through war, to arrive at peace.

Peace will never come to Mexico so long as revolutionary armies, squads of insurrectionists, bands of bandits, or insurgent sympathizers are able to obtain supplies of war materials from other countries.

Porfirio Diaz was overthrown by Madero through the latter's arming of his followers with foreign supplies.

Orozco, Zapata and the other insurrectionists against Madero kept up the strife through these means, and from the same sources.

The antagonists of Huerta are dependent to-day upon military supplies from our country to continue the struggle.

The administration of President Wilson will not be able to find more than two ways of maintaining peace in Mexico, one by a powerful Mexican army under a vigorous and influential president of Mexico, the other by the army of the United States, directed by the President of the United States.—*Washington Post.*

## U. S. Morally Responsible

In the United States a legend has been popularized to the effect that the Mexican Revolutionists are restorers of law and order, champions of justice and martyrs of a blind and brutal system, maintained solely for the gratification of tyrants. This belief has been spread both by the sentimental and exaggerated literature of revolutionists themselves and also by the false reports of those dishonorable spirits who see in a continued state of disorder in Mexico an opportunity to benefit themselves.

Perhaps it was owing to the wide acceptance of this false idea that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate received and heard a statement from the person of a revolutionary adventurer, Eduardo Hay, who, as a soldier of fortune in 1910, together with others of his ilk, was recruited on American territory by Francisco I. Madero, equipped on American territory and carried to Mexico to effect an uprising against a country friendly to the United States—a country where both natives and foreigners were enjoying the tranquillity afforded them by the peace and progress of the government of General Porfirio Diaz.

Mr. Penrose openly demanded recently in the Senate protection for the lives and interests of some Americans in Mexico, and I would call attention to the fact that the necessity for this demand is due entirely to the protection accorded on American soil to the so-called "political refugees" who, in fact, have been tools in the hands of certain American interests dedicated to encouraging revolution in Mexico since 1910.

Which party in Mexico, Senator Penrose, has received from your compatriots every aid and comfort on both sides of the Rio Grande? On close inspection these men of the revolution do not shine as heroes, but appear in their true character of ordinary bandits. Carranza, whose dream is to become a sort of oriental despot, makes all haste toward the border line whenever he sees afar the flash of the federal guns, but at the same time does not hesitate to permit his barbarous mob to sack undefended towns, and in their drunken revels to ravish the helpless women. On top of all Carranza and Maytorena secure funds on this side of the frontier at usury to carry out their plans and are allowed the use of the rays of the searchlights of the American cruisers to enable them to slay, from the cowardly security of the darkness, the government soldiers who represent law and order.

Can we believe that a revolution which respects neither property nor lives, nor any kind of honor, really fights for the standard of the constitution?

How is it possible to expect that a rebellion marked by blood and ignorance can ever give the Mexican tranquility under the serene rule of justice?

If it is noble, Mr. Penrose, to demand protection for the lives and interests of some of your countrymen in Mexico would it not be still nobler to use your powerful influence in the Congress and through your gift of oratory seek to prevent the fomenting of revolutions along the frontier of a friendly country? Tell the Senate that it is neither just nor honorable nor humane to allow this mixed mob of American and Mexican bandits who style themselves "constitutionalists" to secure arms and munitions in the United States with which to destroy the lives and property of your compatriots and other foreigners in Mexico, thus making the United States morally responsible in part for these outrages.—*Letter in Baltimore American, August 25.*

## Henry Lane Wilson Right

When Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson came to Washington recently to report on conditions in Mexico his statements produced great surprise in this country. This surprise will be heightened as time passes, and as his declarations are more fully appreciated it will be seen that this eminent diplomat has given an entirely truthful statement as to conditions, without any beating about the bush.

Ambassador Wilson has said that the revolutionists have not secured complete control of any state in Mexico, and this is a proven fact. For example, it has been stated that the Maytorena party controls the State of Sonora; nevertheless they have neither been able to take the important part of Guaymas nor overpower the loyal forces which have their headquarters in that city, so that it is quite evident that Maytorena does not control the whole state; and, furthermore, he cannot be sure how long he will be able to hold Hermosillo and other places of importance.

In the other states of Mexico the rebels only hold the ground that they tread, and they must be constantly on the move to avoid the advance of the government forces, yet the American press continues to publish maps purporting to show that the rebels are in control of almost the entire republic, representing small isolated spots which they declare are the last strongholds of the government.

The statements of Ambassador Wilson bring out the situation in its true light and do justice to Mexico, in spite of the pernicious activities of those interests along the border who look with longing eyes on the mineral wealth of Northern Mexico; in spite of the tissue of lies propagated by agents of the Madero family; in spite of the peevish fumings of senators or of those partisan American newspapers who would make the public believe that Ambassador Wilson is a solemn liar and influenced by the Mexican Government, when, in fact, he is an apostle and a martyr to the truth.—*Letter in Baltimore American, August 23.*

Tut, tut! The President, in a moment of senseless anger, has apologized abjectly to Great Britain for an offense that was not committed. He reminds me of my dear friend, the late Girardus P. Hiltman, of the Lotos Club, who used to get entangled in his language and exclaim, "You tell him that if he doesn't apologize to me I'll apologize to him!" *Reuter's Agency* published the foolish story that the Powers of Europe had based their recognition of Huerta upon the speech of the American Ambassador. So soon as this canard reached Washington our Ambassador Wilson said that he did not believe that any such statement had been made by the British Foreign Office, and that, if it were made, it was untrue, as the speech referred to was written by the Spanish Ambassador and approved by all the other diplomatic representatives in Mexico. Thereupon the President hastily cabled an apology to the British Foreign Minister, who had not the slightest idea what it meant, and he sternly rebuked Ambassador Wilson by sending him a copy of the apologetic cablegram, which was equivalent to a tap on the wrist. All the chancelleries of Europe and South America are now roaring with laughter at our State Department, and this is not pleasant. The reason why the President lost his professorial pose is that he has become aware that the true policy of the United States is to recognize Huerta as Provisional President, and that the unofficial, uncredentialed mission of Bryan's agent, Mr. Lind, is a mistake. Why not rectify the mistake at once? The only practical thing that Mr. Lind can recommend is the provisional recognition of Huerta, and this Ambassador Wilson has urged already.—*Town Topics.*

# "MEXICO"

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## Maligning Dr. Tupper

From Los Angeles comes the news that Henry Allen Tupper, D. D., at a banquet given in his honor by General Jesus Carranza, brother of Venustiano Carranza, declared that he was convinced that the United States should allow the Carranzistas to obtain "all needed arms." Dr. Tupper is special peace delegate of the International Peace Forum with headquarters in New York! And he pleads for arms for the rebels of North Mexico!!

There must have been something more potent than grape juice passed around at the banquet board to have brought so astounding a statement from the peaceful doctor. Arms for the bandit bands of beleaguered rebels that they may continue their slaughter of the innocent, their rapine, pillage and blackmail! Surely the doctor is misquoted. Arms for the lawless elements whose motto is "Loot and No Work!" And the Reverend Tupper is a delegate of peace!

No more barbarous suggestion could possibly be made by the worst enemy of Mexico. It is an encouragement of all the unbridled and licentious passions of the roving bands of outlaws whose ignorance and restlessness have made them the tools of ambitious and corrupt politicians. Perhaps Dr. Tupper will next suggest to Germany that it would be desirable to furnish arms and ammunition to the I. W. W. in the United States. There would be nothing more wild, barbarous or irresponsible in the latter suggestion than in the first.

Let us in charity hope that Dr. Tupper has been maligned by his rebel hosts.

## Selfish Americans

Mexico City.—Further expressions of protest against the mediation plan submitted by the United States Government are frequently heard among Americans here.—*N. Y. Sun, August 27.*

But of course Americans in Mexico think of their selfish interests only, have no high purposes and are ignorant of Mexican conditions.

Fortunately for them knowledge will be supplied to them by the shining lights of the Washington Administration.

## What Do We Get?

Of course, it is not considered good form nowadays to consider the administration's policies from the standpoint of practicality. If the theories behind them are rhetorically convincing it is not expected that any further proof of value is necessary or desirable. Nevertheless many sensible people who manage somehow to retain a practical point of view have been sordidly selfish enough to ask themselves what possible good can accrue to the United States from a continuation of our truculent opposition to the present Mexican government.

If the purpose of the United States were to promote further difficulties in Mexico with the idea of making intervention inevitable and assuring to this country more territory, then our attitude would be readily understandable. But we profess not to have the slightest intention to do any such thing.

If the United States wants to meddle in Mexican politics with the object of putting in power there a party or group that would assure privileges and concessions to American interests, that attitude also would be understood at least. But a Democratic administration wouldn't dare countenance such a program and the people of the country would have none of it.

If our idea is merely to show Mexico how strong and powerful we are, that is simply puerile, dangerous and pernicious and gets us nowhere.

If we aim simply to teach all Latin-American countries a lesson in democracy we are doing so at the expense of prestige, friendship and commercial relations.

What are we to get out of this whole Mexican muddle? Nothing, save unnecessary trouble and tension, international misunderstandings, a reputation for meddling and bulldozing in Latin-American countries and the ever-present possibility of being forced by our own actions into a war we do not want.

## Root

"I am entirely in accord with President Wilson," said Senator Root, "in his policy of non-intervention in Mexico. As to the proposition that has been put forward by some that the United States should permit the free exportation of arms and ammunition into Mexico for the use of both sides in the present civil strife, I am opposed to any such thing. I am against making the United States a basis of operations in a civil war in any of our neighboring countries.

"It began when Madero accomplished the overthrow of Diaz. Madero was an idealist, a theorist, and a dreamer and tried to apply principles in the governing of Mexico for which the Mexican people were not ready or prepared."—Interview in the New York *Times,* August 24.

Senator Root has done more than any other living American, with the exception, perhaps, of John Barrett, to bring closer the people of the United States and those of Latin-America and to create a common understanding. Senator Root is one of the few men in this country that have a thorough knowledge of Latin-American affairs and of the Latin-American people.

## Fairness

John Lind goes to Mexico and the jingo press publishes "inside information" that Lind will be murdered, that Lind will be attacked by the Mexican mob, that Lind will be treated without consideration, that he has gone in the midst of savages, etc., etc. Even his cousin in an interview says: "John Lind has only one arm, but he is a brave man. He knew he was taking his life into his hands going to Mexico, but he went unflinchingly."

John Lind is received with courtesy, is treated royally by all classes of Mexicans. He finds that he is much safer in Mexico than he would be in New York. Then we read in that same press: "Huerta has weakened. The Mexicans are afraid of us. The mere presence of John Lind has overawed them," etc., etc.

John Lind at the eleventh hour made additional proposals to the Mexican government, which asked twenty-four hours to answer. John Lind and Minister of Foreign Affairs Gamboa jointly asked President Wilson to postpone the reading of his message, to give the government sufficient time to frame its answer. These are the facts. But we read here: "Huerta asks for one day's grace. The tottering Mexican government adopts mañana tactics," etc.

And yet we love to tell the whole world as often as it will listen to us that we are the fairest people on earth.

## Under No Circumstances!

No matter what the context of the news despatches from Washington, no matter how hopeful or optimistic they may seem, somewhere in them you will find the statement daily repeated, that the administration will not under any circumstances recognize the provisional government of Mexico. Not under any circumstances! If it is wise? Never. Wisdom is the argument of fools. If it is politic? "No, sir, our business is not to be politic; it's to carry out our program." If it's the best thing for Mexico? "What do we care about Mexico? We must preserve a single-track mind." If it's the best thing for the United States? "What? We are the United States."

The average citizen doesn't care much whether President Wilson recognizes Huerta or not as long as the even course of business is not impeded with Mexican Crises, Mexican Ultimatums and War with Mexico. Not so with President Wilson. He cares. If he gives in now, if he changes his attitude everybody will know that he made a mistake from the start. And a man who makes one vital mistake may make another. Who then would have faith that he has not been mistaken about the currency and the tariff and the trusts, about Sulzer in the State of New York and Mitchel for the mayoralty, Bryan as Secretary of State, McAdoo and McReynolds? President Wilson *will* not make a mistake. He *will* not. Therefore he can't. But——

## A SILVER LINING HALE LEAVES MEXICO

# MEXICO

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## THE SHAME OF FLIGHT

It is difficult for any red-blooded citizen to consider calmly the import of the Administration's "advice" that all Americans in Mexico leave that country, particularly when the motives that dictated that "advice" are fully understood.

Part of the press of this country may have deemed it proper to show its loyalty to the Government by approving its course in this respect, but it is hardly conceivable that it should fail to realize the loyalty which it owes also to the thousands of American citizens who live in Mexico.

And it is absolutely inconceivable that it should fail to realize the disastrous consequences which will be suffered by those heeding the advice of the Administration. These consequences can hardly be overestimated.

First, Americans leaving Mexico of their own volition will not have any right, according to international law, to claim damages for the losses which they will suffer by the simple fact of their absence.

A wage-earner, an employee or the owner of a business or of a ranch cannot claim from any Mexican Government, present or future, indemnity for the losses which he will suffer by abandoning his employment or his property for causes entirely foreign to the will of that Government.

Second, the Government of the United States has declared its determination to consider the Government of Mexico as a *faction* and to interpret the neutrality laws as applying equally to the Mexican Government and to the rebels.

This is tantamount to extending a tacit recognition of belligerency to the rebels. In this case it cannot hold the Mexican Government responsible for any damage which the property of American citizens might suffer after their departure from Mexico. In fact, it is doubtful, according to international law, if after such a declaration it could *legally* enforce the payment of claims whether Americans remain in Mexico or not.

Yet this Mexican Government controls nine-tenths of Mexico and is extending rapidly its authority, bidding fair to obtain full control within a short time.

To this the Washington Administration may retort that it is doing its utmost to prevent this obtaining of the full control by the Huerta Government and that its "advice" to American citizens to leave Mexico is the lever with which it expects to overturn the hated Huerta.

Thus the meaning of the mysterious words in the President's message:

* * * * *

The rejection of our friendship makes them new and will inevitably bring its own alterations in the whole aspect of affairs. The actual situation of the authorities at Mexico City will presently be revealed.

* * * * *

The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down.

* * * * *

is now made clear.

The Washington Administration, baffled by a firm and logical rejection of its impossible proposals, in order to carry its point and make the Mexican Government yield, decided upon forcing an exodus of Americans from Mexico.

As it is not to be supposed by any one conversant with Mexican conditions that President Wilson's proposals if accepted would have brought about peace and order in Mexico, it must be concluded that the proposals were merely intended to eliminate President Huerta from the political field.

Americans must fling to the winds the fruit of many years of labor. They must abandon their property. With their wives and children they must rush out of the country and become unwilling refugees.

"Why," they ask, "when we are contented here, why must we become paupers? Is there going to be a war, invasion, intervention?"

## Appoint John Lind Ambassador

## Continue Friendly Negotiations

## Enforce Neutrality Laws

## Demand Protection for American Lives and Property

Here is a ***positive*** program, a ***practical*** policy, one that will commend itself to every fair-minded American. It is a policy that will get results. It will not signify any retreat from the Washington Administration's friendly efforts to bring about peace and better conditions in Mexico. It will mean simply that the Administration wants to place itself in a position where it can without unnecessary tension and misunderstanding further those efforts. In a position where it can demand the fullest protection for American lives and property in Mexico and press the just claims of American citizens for settlement. It will silence the cries of the jingoes for armed intervention by removing the slightest necessity for it. It will squelch the intrigues of self-seeking Mexican politicians and American financial interests who foment disorder in Mexico and supply across the border the weapons and ammunition for the bandits.

**THIS IS A BIG MANLY AMERICAN POLICY. IS IT GOING TO BE THE PRESIDENT'S?**

"No, we are firm against intervention, but we do not like General Huerta and want him to step out of office, so you must be willing to ruin yourself to please us!"

"But we have never been treated as well as we are now, and we who live here and *know* feel sure he can bring about peace if he is given a fair chance. Those of us who have suffered have suffered at the hands of rebels and bandits. Why don't you recognize and lend your support to the only government that since the days of Porfirio Diaz has shown the ability to re-establish order?"

"Oh, we cannot do that because we have said we would not. We believe that General Huerta was responsible for the killing of Madero and we cannot recognize him!"

Thus the Washington administration, in order to satisfy the personal animus which it obstinately holds against General Huerta, does not hesitate to resort to the forcing of thousands of Americans out of Mexico, unmindful of the irremedial ruination which the exodus would bring upon thousands of American citizens.

Such a policy is not difficult to qualify. It could be justifiable in the eyes of the world only in the case of its being the immediate forerunner of a declaration of war—and such a war could never be justifiable.

Fortunately for justice and humanity Americans in Mexico with few exceptions, and these are confined almost entirely to those who have nothing to lose, refuse to leave and to be ruined.

They are undoubtedly loyal to their Government, but they require a more potent motive for the President's wish that they should abandon everything they have than his personal dislike of General Huerta and his refusal to recognize the Huerta government.

These men have toiled in Mexico, have made their homes and their friends in Mexico, and have a better understanding of Mexican conditions than the Administration.

A few may have personal motives for acceding to the President's request and praising his action, but in general they refuse to be instruments and victims of a policy for which they cannot see any justification. One of them, interpreting the sentiment of their great majority, declares emphatically in the *Mexican Herald:*

> Charles E. Cummings, superintendent of the Mexican Telegraph Company, wired from Mexico City yesterday to the company's headquarters in New York, No. 68 Broad Street:
>
> There is a strong reaction here from the first scare caused by President Wilson's command to leave Mexico. I think a very small proportion of the American colony here will go. To-day's *Mexican Herald* publishes an interview with several Americans, including myself. I stated that during thirty-two years' residence in Mexico I never received better treatment than now, and that if it comes to the worst between the two countries I am willing to trust the safety of myself and family to the hospitality and protection of the Mexican people. I am in a better position than any one a thousand miles away to judge as to the safety of myself and family. We are living in a civilized community, not in darkest Africa. I and my family will stay here even in case of open hostilities.

If the consideration of all that the "advice" means to Americans in Mexico were not sufficient to arouse the indignation of patriotic Americans, the knowledge of how the exodus plan is being carried out will bring them to the boiling point. Let our readers consider carefully the following from the press:

[BY MEXICAN CABLE TO THE HERALD.]

MEXICO CITY, Mexico, via GALVESTON, Texas, Monday.—The need of transports to take American refugees home is expressed in urgent telegrams received here to-day from refugees now in Vera Cruz. Persons in good circumstances who were unable to realize quickly on their businesses, and therefore were compelled to accept assistance, protest indignantly against the fact that Washington is offering only steerage accommodations. They declare they will refuse to leave.

The most conservative estimates place the Mexico City American colony at two thousand.

Those Americans who are remaining are indignant at the treatment accorded refugees and comment bitterly on the conditions which would have prevailed at gulf ports had all the Americans here followed to the letter the Washington warning. The attempt to place American refugees in the steerage of already overcrowded merchant vessels is regarded by the colony here as an insult to every American in Mexico.

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HERALD BUREAU,
No. 1,502 H STREET, N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Monday.

William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, finds himself confronted with several complications growing out of the President's insistence that all Americans should leave Mexico. To-day Representative Flood, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted to Mr. Bryan letters from a large American sugar company in Vera Cruz, asking to whom its property should be intrusted if President Wilson's policy to have Americans leave the country is to be followed literally.

This is but one of several representations of the same character that have reached the Department of State through Senators and Representatives. Many of the communications received from Americans in Mexico strongly criticize the administration policy as being unnecessary and calculated greatly to embarrass American interests.

There is a disposition at the Capitol to question whether Americans who suffer from a strict interpretation of the President's recommendation may not have a good claim for damages against the Government of the United States.

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"It is clearly evident," commented Mr. Scrymser, "that Señor Camacho cannot understand why a stampede from Mexico should be wanted. It is a most cruel order and it has ruined the credit of Americans in Mexico. Those men could not buy a thousand dollars' worth of goods in New York City now. We can only wait and hope that conditions will calm down. My company has fifty men in Mexico, but none of them is coming out."—N. Y. *Sun.*

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The Americans affected have stated so forcefully what it means to them to obey literally the President's warning that the Administration is about convinced that they are entitled to something more specific than the President's rather general statement in his message to Congress.

Large numbers of Americans in many parts of Mexico are unable to see in the immediate situation in their vicinity any reason why they should abandon all their properties and business enterprises and come to the United States, where they have no means of self-support.

Many Americans declare that they stand to lose much or all that they possess by leaving now and are inquiring what their Government is prepared to do to enable them to preserve their property rights in Mexico in case of quitting the country. According to reports received here many American colonies have elected to remain where they are until the Washington Administration throws more light on the situation, as it is viewed from afar.—N. Y. *Sun.*

# Who Are the "Constitutionalists"?

The New York *Herald* published a few days ago an interview with Mr. Francisco Escudero, ex-Speaker—one of the many—of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies and at present member of the Maderist junta in Washington.

Mr. Escudero stated that:

> "In reality the present struggle is but a continuation of the revolution of 1910. The ends for which the constitutionalists, representing the masses, are now fighting, represent merely a desperate effort of a domestic people to obtain emancipation from social and political bondage under the domination of the classes, personified in the Huerta government of to-day."

And

> "We only aspire to see the national honor vindicated, the assassins and corrupt politicians of Mexico City punished according to law and the people permitted to select their President free from military pressure or baleful influence of any sort. With Huerta ousted from power an absolute state of peace would follow within forty-eight hours and a new era begin."

"If Señor Huerta should retire and some good man be named to succeed him, pending the elections, what would be the constitutionalist attitude?"

"I might quote Mr. Bryan," replied Señor Escudero, "and say that we will not cross any bridges until we come to them. But I can add this—that under no circumstances will we enter into any compromise that will admit of the machinery of government remaining under cientifico or reactionary control even for a brief period. An election would be a farce under such circumstances."

"Have you any one in mind for Provisional President who would be acceptable to the constitutionalists?"

Señor Escudero hesitated and, after a moment's reflection, gave this rather cryptic answer:

"If that question were put to me officially, I would not hesitate to communicate by telegraph with Governor Carranza asking instructions."

MEXICO is thoroughly in sympathy with those Mexicans who seek to better the lot of the Mexican masses and believes that many social and political reforms are necessary to

# COLQUITT!

Governor Colquitt's blood boils at 32° Fahrenheit. He cannot help it—he was born that way, and he will die that way. This is only a forecast, a logical one considering the belligerent character of the Napoleonic governor of the Lone Star State, because Colquitt is Napoleonic in appearance and in dreams.

He does not agree with that part of the Administration's policy which opposes intervention in Mexico. The only redeeming feature, by the way, in our humble opinion, of that policy. How could he? It deprives him of all the Napoleonic glory to which he was born.

Governor Colquitt wants to lead an army into Mexico. He would rather be an invader than a governor.

But Colquitt knows how to wait. They know that on the border, and some sheriffs and deputy sheriffs are trying to help the governor along by accelerating the passage of arms and ammunition across that border, at the points where the few United States troops are conspicuous by their absence. And they make a little money on the side! And the governor dreams of future profits and glory!

Colquitt the conqueror!

Even the alliteration is perfect. How those words jingo—jingle, we mean. Poor Colquitt, he is getting a little obese for a conqueror, but he still dreams!

And that meeting at Colorado Springs! What an opportunity! "Andacem fortuna adjuvat"—fate is certainly good to the brave! Women were there, men were there, *reporters* were there! One hand behind his back, the other in front sunk deep in his low-cut vest—he wore one that night—stooping a little, chin on his breast, eyes gleaming from under the protruding brow, the high, pale forehead casting back the rays of a thousand lights, he stood—"Napoleon at Austerlitz!" gasped an admiring beauty. In the awe-full silence the divining words reached his ears! At last there was a woman who had sensed his hidden greatness, his true rôle.

"I would lead" (the reporters made a mistake and wrote *send*) "an army into Mexico," he roared, and the big hall shook, the women shivered.

"I know I am treading on dangerous ground, but the United States should not stand by while American women are subject to atrocities!"

How Napoleon would have envied him, and he did, because he is reincarnated in Colquitt, and Colquitt envied himself that night.

Some day Colquitt, the conqueror, will settle his score with all the Presidents of the United States who have held him in check so long. Meanwhile there on the ramparts of Austin at dawn and at sunset he treads up and down, unmindful of the dangerous ground, his conquering gaze turned to the south where fame impatiently awaits and calls!

## WHO ARE THE "CONSTITUTIONALISTS"?—Continued

the future welfare of the Southern Republic. That these reforms cannot be brought about by revolutions and that the evolution of the Mexican masses will not be sudden and to be effective must be entrusted to an honest and strong government like the present, we will demonstrate in other articles.

Meanwhile the statements made by Mr. Escudero must be analyzed because of the prominence given them by the *Herald* and their apparent plausibility.

We purposely use the word *apparent* because on close examination these statements reveal the true attitude of the Carranza group.

They say in effect:

"We do not accept any compromise or mediation. Only in the event of the leaders now in power and *all* their adherents being "punished" and driven out of the country and of our getting hold of the reins of government shall we consent to an election.

"The elections under the present government would be a farce. *We* must manage those elections. One of our men must be the President.

"Mexico must be saved, but *we* must be the ones to save it."

It is the same old story. They are out and they want to get in. There is no man acceptable to them if he is acceptable to the others. It must be a man of their exclusive make.

But in the event of their "getting in," those who are now supporting the present Government, and they seem to be in a majority, would be out. And then they would have just as much reason for rebelling and wishing to get in as their present opponents.

But the greatest flaw in the so-called constitutionalist cause is not so much in the attitude of its leaders as in their personality.

Without discussing here the sincerity of their purpose, we wish to bring home to our readers the following incontrovertible facts:

The principal leaders of the Northern rebellion, either in the field or at the head of juntas in this country, are:

Venustiano Carranza, Governor of Coahuila under the Madero régime, counselor and intimate friend of Francisco Madero, from whom he received during seven months $200,000 per month for the supposed maintenance of a State militia.

Maytorena, Governor of Sonora under Madero.

Pesqueira, the power behind the throne in Sonora during the Madero régime.

Sanchez Azcona, private secretary to Francisco Madero and general right-hand man of Gustavo Madero.

Felix Sommerfield, chief of Madero's secret service.

Romero, brother of Mrs. Francisco Madero.

Francisco Escudero and Isidor Fabela, Gustavo Madero-made Congressmen and his spokesmen in Congress.

Julio and Raoul Madero, brothers of Francisco Madero.

These men, who claim to be fighting for political and social reforms, were all directing heads of the Madero revolution and of the Madero administration. Not one among the leaders who did not form part of the Madero's intimate political family.

These men have all been tried and found wanting. They were responsible for Madero's failure. They had their chance and they threw it away, and brought their country to the brink of complete ruination.

And they had the greatest opportunity that any Mexican administration ever had or will have for a long time.

Because Francisco Madero was rolled into power on top of a popular wave.

Because, besides enjoying an enormous personal fortune, he found a splendid national credit well established and abundant reserve funds in the national treasury.

The men who are now leading the Carranza rebellion are the same men who led the Madero administration; the same men who failed to make good the promises made before the triumph of the Madero revolution. The same men who, instead of putting into effect the reforms needed by the masses, and on the promise of which Mexico was plunged into turmoil after thirty years of peace, governed for their own exclusive benefit and impoverished the country.

The same men who sent Francisco Madero to his doom.

Can the statements of these men be accepted as sincere, or in any case can it be believed that these men could "come back" and make good?

Even supposing these men were sincere, how could they be expected to accomplish in the future what they failed utterly to accomplish in the past when the circumstances were *all* in their favor?

A restoration of the Madero régime would have no popular support of any kind. There is no "come back" after such a failure.

The mismanagement—to use a charitable word—and the continued rebellion of these men have drained the national treasury.

No; the fight of these men to regain the power lost is a losing fight.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week and Learn What's What Below the Rio Grande**

President Huerta and a Group of Americans in Mexico City

# TEXANS AND TEXANS

There are Texans and Texans. While the first are still helping rebellions, honestly earning a few cents by smuggling arms and ammunition, and rejoice in the troubles of the Southern neighbors, the latter are prey to sober thoughts.

For these Texans have come to realize that the troubles which so willingly and enthusiastically they fostered and nursed are fraught with serious consequences.

Take for instance San Antonio and El Paso, the two gateways to Mexico. It will require some time for San Antonio to arise from the slumber into which it was plunged by that powerful narcotic, the interruption of free traffic with Mexico.

In the peaceful days, when the hated despot Diaz guided Mexico's destiny, an average of one hundred and fifty persons a day—fifty thousand persons a year—for one reason or other stopped off in San Antonio for one or more days on their way to or from Mexico. Ten thousand dollars a day—as an average—were spent by Mexicans in dry goods alone bought from the San Antonio stores.

Then San Antonio became the cradle of the Madero revolution. How fondly, how enthusiastically the Texans nursed that infant! The Madero revolution was successful and died, others were born and all were guided and assisted in their first step by the ever-ready Texans.

The Mexican visitors began to dwindle, traffic on the Laredo route was still open but light, no longer the Mexicans from northern Mexico went to San Antonio to replenish their empty wardrobes. They had Madero, but they had no money. Finally the Laredo route was closed and San Antonio went to sleep.

El Paso competed with San Antonio in extending tender care to the infant Madero revolution and in raising a few more of its own. El Paso became a regular incubator of revolution and a few persons made money (they are still making it, *vide* Senator Fall's correspondents, the Shelton Payne Arms Co.); but with the closing of the Chihuahuan route, El Paso lost an average of thirty thousand dollars per diem.

When a community loses a million every month, that community begins to sit up and ponder.

Both San Antonio and El Paso have come to the conclusion that revolutions in Mexico only benefit a few Texans but in the end are not very profitable ventures for the two cities.

And as in Texas there are men who think even though they are lovers of liberty—in Mexico—and all that sort of thing, they realize that what San Antonio and El Paso and other bordering communities have suffered on account of the Mexican trouble which they so generously fed, is nothing compared to what all southern Texas would suffer if the trouble continued to grow. These men know that if the rebellion continues to degenerate into anarchy, intervention by the United States will be sure to follow. Intervention would mean conquest of Mexico, of territory to the south of Texas.

This, which may appeal to the belligerent impulses of some "liberty-loving" Texans does not appeal to these men who think. Because they know that within two years of the conquest of Mexico one half of the population of Texas would have moved south into Mexico. There lands are cheaper and better. There the farmer can raise fruit and vegetables from two to three weeks earlier than in Texas and, the barrier of the border destroyed, the farmer from Mexico would be able to ship its cheaper products to the northern markets far ahead of the Texan farmer.

Of course, the Texas farmer would go into Mexico if he found it convenient and profitable, as the farmer in the northwest is going into Canada.

And yet there is nothing that Texas needs as much as population! Nothing.

Intervention in Mexico would set Texas back a hundred years at least. It would mean its ruination in loss of population, loss of production, loss of real estate values, loss of general business.

These men who think *know* it and to those who bewail the losses they have suffered on account of the Mexican revolution they are the first ones to say:

"You got what you deserved, for you nursed the trouble, but for God's sake, stop it while there is still time."

## An American Version

F. W. Page, an American resident of the State of Jalisco, Mexico, is visiting Washington, and staying at the Occidental. He made the following statement without qualifications to solicitous friends inquiring as to conditions in Mexico:

"Your American newspapers are foolish. They talk about Americans being in danger. Why, I could go to any Mexican and tell him I wanted protection and I would get it. That talk is all rot and I think that the newspapers should be prosecuted for sending out such news."

## The Final Court

It is well within the prerogatives of President Wilson to refuse to recognize any government of any nation. Nobody disputes this fact. But the court of universal public opinion is the final arbiter of the right and justice of such refusal.

## Can You?

In his latest note to Secretary Bryan, pressing the solution of the California Land question, Japanese Ambassador Chinda insists that it be settled, not in the courts, but "by diplomacy." Can you blame him?

# FALL'S FALSE STATEMENT

To support the declaration of President Wilson that in regard to Mexico the United States and other great Powers do not stand on the same footing, the New York *Herald* published editorially on September 3d a tabular statement compiled by Senator Fall.

The purpose of this is to demonstrate that the value of American interests in Mexico is one-third greater than the Mexican interests, more than three times greater than the value of British interests and almost eight times greater than the value of French interests.

That Senator Fall should resort to a misrepresentation of facts we are not surprised. No one is surprised. Senator Fall is well known.

But it is greatly to be regretted by all friends of the "other Americans" that the *Herald*, a newspaper which until lately has enjoyed the esteem and respect of all Latin America, should either become unwittingly a blind tool of Senator Fall, as *Leslie's Weekly* fell, or should purposely use false and captious statements to pursue the jingo policy which evidently it has set for itself.

The game which is being played with the help of certain newspapers by all the worst enemies of President Wilson and his Administration is obvious even to the casual observer. The wonder is that the Administration should be blind to it. Its spokesman in Congress, Senator Bacon, exclaims: "We are delighted at the support which we have received from all quarters irrespective of party lines." How naive!

The fact is that all those who are opposed to the carrying out of the reforms which the Wilson Administration has undertaken have welcomed the President's attitude in regard to Mexico because they have realized that it is a pitfall of perilous possibilities for him. Nothing would better please these political opponents than to see the present Administration involved in an international difficulty that would prevent or delay the passage of the tariff, currency and other bills.

For that reason they have placed themselves on record as being in favor of the President's attitude toward Mexico. The pity is that the personal sentiments of President Wilson should make him an easy mark for his opponents and that poor Mexico should simply serve as an instrument in a game of internal politics.

The effect calculated to be produced by publication of the misguiding tabular statement of Senator Fall is that the people of this country upon reading it should say: "Why, if we own more property in Mexico than the Mexicans themselves, shouldn't we take Mexico?"

We reproduce here the tabular statement of Senator Fall as published by the *Herald*. We shall call the attention of our readers to the most glaring and deliberate misrepresentation of facts in this statement:

| Class | Valuations | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | American | English | French | Mexican | All Other |
| Railway stocks | $235,464,000 | $81,237,800 | ..... | $125,440,000 | $75,000 |
| Railway bonds | 408,926,000 | 87,680,000 | $17,000,000 | 12,275,000 | 38,535,380 |
| Bank stocks | 7,850,000 | 5,000,000 | 31,000,000 | 31,950,000 | 3,250,000 |
| Bank deposits | 22,700,000 | ..... | ..... | 161,963,042 | 18,560,000 |
| Mines | 223,000,000 | 43,600,000 | 5,000,000 | 7,500,000 | 7,830,000 |
| Smelters | 26,500,000 | ..... | ..... | 7,200,000 | 3,000,000 |
| National bonds | 52,000,000 | 67,000,000 | 60,000,000 | 21,000,000 | ..... |
| Timberlands | 8,100,000 | 10,300,000 | ..... | 5,600,000 | 750,000 |
| Ranches | 3,150,000 | 2,700,000 | ..... | 14,000,000 | ..... |
| Farms | 960,000 | 700,000 | ..... | 47,000,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Live stock | 9,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 47,450,000 | 3,800,000 |
| Houses and personal | 4,500,000 | 680,000 | ..... | 127,020,000 | 2,760,000 |
| Cotton mills | ..... | 450,000 | 19,000,000 | 6,000,000 | 4,750,000 |
| Soap factories | 1,200,000 | ..... | ..... | 2,780,000 | 3,600,000 |
| Tobacco factories | ..... | ..... | 3,238,000 | 4,712,000 | 895,000 |
| Breweries | 600,000 | ..... | 178,000 | 2,822,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Factories | 9,600,000 | 2,780,000 | ..... | 3,270,200 | 3,000,000 |
| Public utilities | 760,000 | 8,000,000 | ..... | 5,155,000 | 275,000 |
| Stores, wholesale | 2,700,000 | 110,000 | 7,000,000 | 2,800,000 | 14,270,000 |
| Stores, retail | 1,680,000 | 30,000 | 680,000 | 71,235,000 | 2,175,000 |
| Oil business | 15,000,000 | 10,000,000 | ..... | 650,000 | ..... |
| Rubber industry | 15,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 4,500,000 | 2,500,000 |
| Professional | 3,600,000 | 850,000 | ..... | 1,560,000 | 1,100,000 |
| Insurance | 4,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 2,000,000 | 3,500,000 |
| Theatres | 20,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,575,000 | 500,000 |
| Hotels | 260,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,730,000 | 710,000 |
| Institutions | 1,200,000 | 125,000 | 350,000 | 74,000,000 | 200,000 |
| Total | $1,057,770,000 | $321,302,800 | $143,446,000 | $792,187,242 | $118,535,380 |

*Railroad stocks.*—The figures given above represent the value of the control owned by the Mexican Government in the National Railways of Mexico. As the Government controls nearly 14,000 kilometers of railways out of a total of 20,447 kilometers, and one-third of the remaining 6,447 kilometers is owned by British companies, how can Americans own 235 millions or nearly double the stocks owned by the Mexicans themselves?

*Railroad bonds.*—Nearly one-half of American interests, more than four hundred millions according to the above statement, are represented by railway bonds.

Now, even Senator Fall must know that very few Mexican railway bonds are held in this country, although largely placed through American brokers, and that the great majority of Mexican railway securities, about three hundred and fifty millions out of the total, are held in Paris and London. The quotations of Mexican railway securities are always reported from these two European exchanges. This cuts off more than one-third of the supposed American holdings.

*Bank stocks.*—The total capital stock of banks from the above statement would appear to be $79,050,000, of which Senator Fall asserts $7,850,000 belongs to Americans. Accepting for the present this last amount as correct, the total capital stock of Mexican banks—PAID UP—was on the first of June, 1912, $175,894,800, besides an emergency fund of $65,325,069.12, making a grand total of $241,219,869.12. What became of the other hundred and seventy millions or so? Why is it excluded from Senator Fall's carefully compiled statement? And mind you, this "small" difference belongs all to Mexicans or Europeans.

*Mines.*—Senator Fall states that the value of American mining interests in Mexico is $223,000,000 while that of Mexican mining interests is only $7,500,000. For the present we shall remark that the value attributed by Senator Fall to American mining interests may be the nominal value of mining stocks owned by Americans, but is about five times as large as the actual value and many more times as large as the actual investment made. The most preposterous statement of all, however is that which attributes to Mexican mining interests a value of only $7,500,000. The mining interests of Don Pedro de Alvarado alone in the State of Chihuahua represent more than twenty millions. Don Pedro de Alvarado is the man who some years ago offered to pay off the national debt of Mexico.

The mining interests of Luis Requena are estimated at more than five millions. The interest of the Landa y Escandon family in one mine alone, the Dos Estrellas, is more than seven millions. Those of Jose Limantour and of the Limantour estate in the same company amount to several millions. Besides, there are hundreds of mining companies owned exclusively by Mexicans.

*National bonds.*—Supposing that the figure given by Senator Fall as to the amount owned by Americans is correct, and we doubt it, because most Mexican bonds held in this country have been unloaded on Europe, what has become of the total national debt which on June 30, 1912, amounted to $454,627,294.68? We shall tell Senator Fall. The bonds of this national debt are held *almost entirely* in France. In France where most of the railway bonds are also held. Not in the United States.

*Ranches and farms.*—This is another startler! According to the Senator the value of ranches and farms owned by Americans in Mexico is $4,140,000, while the total value of the remaining ranches and farms owned by Mexicans is $61,000,000! In other words, the total value of farming lands in the Republic of Mexico with the exception of those owned by Americans is sixty-one millions. Yet the area of the Republic of Mexico is 764,000 square miles and there are individual land owners whose separate property is valued at ten millions and more!

*Houses and personal.*—What has been said before can be applied to this item. Accord-

ing to the Senator that compiled the statistics all the city real estate of the Republic of Mexico is worth $127,000,000. As a matter of fact, the real estate value in the City of Mexico alone is many times this amount.

*Professional.*—The professional value according to the Senator is $3,600.000 for Americans and less than half that amount for Mexicans, when the proportion of professionals is at the most one American to one thousand Mexicans.

But why continue in the examination of this statement? The above is sufficient for the present to demonstrate the gross attempt to deceive the public.

The fact remains that in recent statistics compiled in France it was shown that French interests in Mexico have a value of between six and seven hundred million dollars. If the actual value of American investments were calculated it would be found to be less than five hundred millions.

But the grossest and most malicious statement is that which purports to show that the interests of Americans have a greater value than those of the Mexicans themselves.

As to foreign colonies in Mexico, it must be noted here that the Spanish colony is by far the largest, the Spaniards in the City of Mexico alone numbering nearly 20,000, while even in the last days of the Diaz rule the American colony in that city never numbered more than six thousand.

## Minister Gamboa on the American Exodus

"I consider the action premature and incongruous, as Americans here are not in danger. This is not a country of Boxers. There is no evidence that Mexicans are preparing to massacre Americans. I have not heard of any demonstrations against Americans, nor even insults.

"Mexico has 400,000 citizens in the United States, yet we are making no move to remove them, as we have no fear that they will be lynched.

"Furthermore, the action of the United States in sending merchant vessels to remove Americans from Mexico is incongruous. If Americans can be removed in merchant ships, that is a sign that they are not being massacred, as then the ships would carry away only corpses. If they are being massacred, then send warships, not merchant vessels.

"There are many instances, even when nations are at war, of foreigners remaining in the country which is at war with their nation. Many Frenchmen remained here through French intervention and continued to live here to ripe old age.

"I am inclined to believe that the Washington Administration is attempting to force Mexico's hand by sensational measures. The removal of Americans is calculated to cause unwarranted excitement here and in the United States."

## FAIR PLAY FOR MEXICO

# MEXICAN NEWS

## Improved Conditions

Conditions in Mexico have improved. The territory controlled by the provisional Government has grown larger, not smaller. This despite the moral support given rebels and bandits by the United States, owing to the continued policy of non-recognition, and to the material support received by opponents of the Government in the form of arms, ammunition and money.

In fact:

Early in the month of March the traffic between Laredo and Mexico City was interrupted by bands of rebels who roamed the territory between Laredo and Monterey and between Saltillo and San Luis Potosi. The railroad was out of business for a stretch of about five hundred miles. Venustiano Carranza held Saltillo, capital of Coahuila, and Monclova, the third largest city of that State.

The railroad between Laredo and Mexico City is now in operation, the adjacent territory having been entirely cleaned of rebels and bandits.

Saltillo and Monclova are in possession of the federal forces, as well as Torreon and other cities of importance. Although the mountainous part of Coahuila is infested by rebel bands, they do not hold a single city with the exception of Piedras Negras on the border. The rebels have also been driven from the State of Nuevo Leon and in the State of Tamaulipas they hold only Matamoros and are still infesting the Huasteca, a small mountainous region to the west of Tampico, while in the month of April they had cut the railroad between Ciudad Victoria and Monterey and between Tampico and San Luis Potosi.

In the State of Zacatecas the rebels have been driven to the mountainous part, and the capital, the city of Zacatecas, which they held in April, is now in possession of the Government forces.

In the State of Chihuahua communication between Chihuahua and Juarez on the border was cut for three months, the rebels holding the northwestern part of the State. Communication has been reopened between Chihuahua and Juarez, the Northwestern railroad is being repaired and trains are running on nearly half its length. The rebels in the State of Chihuahua have been broken into small bands and the entire State is controlled by the Government forces.

The States of Durango and Sonora remain almost entirely in the hands of the rebels, but the States of Morelos, Tabasco and Campeche have been entirely pacified with the exception of the district of Jonatepec in Morelos.

Guerrero has also been entirely pacified and in the State of Michoacan, where in April the rebels held almost absolute control, they have now been scattered and the remaining bands driven to the mountainous district of Tacambaro.

The State of Puebla as well as that of Morelos has been cleaned of Zapatist hordes and Zapata with a few followers is making a last stand in the mountains of the State of Mexico, after three years' successful control by his bands of the entire States of Morelos and Guerrero and part of the States of Puebla and Mexico.

## How Huerta Works

Special Cable to *The New York Times.*

Mexico City, Aug. 31.—President Huerta is not showing the results of the recent strain. He continues in good health and spirits, despite his six months of continual work, averaging sixteen hours daily, and the terrible mental strain. He is keeping in close touch with the situation, although refusing to express opinions regarding its developments.

He is not often seen in public, although he drops in at a small tea room in the Avenida San Francisco at 6 o'clock every afternoon. On such occasions he is accompanied by two aids in civilian dress, and occasionally by some visiting Governor or high army officer.

When the President is seated the aid invariably telephones some member of the Cabinet, requesting his presence, whereupon President Huerta drinks his tea and discusses affairs of state and the events of the day.

The Presidential guards are not in evidence except on official occasions, or at the Palace or the President's residence.

The President's desk resembles that of a war minister rather than of a president. There is a war map under a glass and every military move is recorded.

Huerta personally watches and frequently directs military operations. He keeps a close watch on the officers and commanders, many of whom he knows personally. Practically no officer above a captain comes to the capital without calling on the President. All state that he is always acquainted with the recent campaigns and the deportment of his officers and has a word of commendation, advice and occasional censure for them.

Members of the official family say that they are unable to keep pace with Huerta, as he frequently works thirty-six hours without resting. Cabinet Ministers are frequently called to his residence in the small hours of the morning for consultations or execution of orders and the drafting of decrees.

Despite his many occupations, he generally finds time to drop in at some barracks, address the recruits, and occasionally review them, personally giving orders. Asked why he did this, he said:

"This is my recreation. I am a soldier, and I enjoy it."

It was learned to-day that the Government was intentionally withholding news. It does not desire to force the action of the United States and possibly complicate or increase the tension caused by the Wilson exodus order.

Officials say: "It is the United States' next move. Let it make it unhindered."

# NAILING THEM!

## Oh, Munsey!

This paper has expressed heretofore, and still entertains, the belief that the wiser course would have been to lift entirely the embargo on arms and let both sides in Mexico get arms if they could. We have believed, and still believe, that the more effective course would have been to give all factions a fair chance.—*N. Y. Press,* August 31.

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A great ray of light, it seems, was let into the black shadows down in Mexico by a little glitter of gold.

In the American horror of treason and assassination there was no moral force. There was no mental appeal in the offer of a friendly nation to restore physical order and to insure human safety. There was no diplomatic power in the warning of the Chief Magistrate of a hundred million people in this country that he might be compelled to strike Mexico a heavy blow.

In all that there was nothing for the sensitive and proud Huerta to concede or to consider. Dignity and honor could tolerate none of it. It must all be rejected, promptly, rudely, insultingly.

But a slight hint of a loan! Money! With exchange at 250, 260, 275—perhaps after President Wilson's message, even higher—with exchange like that, gold!

It's for that "principle" that pretty nearly all of them play the political game down there. They hold the government for it, they let go of the government for it, they start revolutions for it, they become bandits for it. All the politics down there is gold-greedy. Somebody buying his way into power for what more can be got out of it. Somebody else trying to buy one or the other off, or somebody else trying to buy both of them off.

When, therefore, in the American negotiations there was a mention of a loan—money—gold—the Huerta Government suddenly sat up and took notice of our friendly interest in a neighboring nation; everybody else sat up and took notice.

Such a thing to those in Mexican politics looked like real business. And so, in the Mexican way, spurning the very suggestion of a price—the insinuation of a bribe—the uncompromising hands down there clutched eagerly for it, the harsh voices appealed softly to Lind to come back, the blood-smeared arms opened affectionately to embrace him. Oh, Mexico!—N. Y. *Press,* August 29.

The indignant rejection by the Mexican Government of the proffered gold is the best denial of the malicious lie contained in the foregoing editorial, which is typical of those published by the Munsey newspapers against Mexico, but:

A great ray of light it seems was let into the black shadows down in the Munsey newspapers by a little glitter of gold.

In the troubles of a friendly neighbor, in the appeal for fair play to a powerful people, there was no moral force for the Munsey newspapers.

There was no mental appeal in the plea of a great majority of Mexicans that they be allowed to restore peace and prosperity in their own country. In all that there was nothing for the generous and high-minded Munsey to consider. His horror for evil deeds, his love for freedom could tolerate none of it. It must all be rejected.

After all, Mexico in peace under a Mexican Government offers no field for the sale of arms, or groceries, or for the establishment of Trust Companies.

But a slight hint of probable profits by some of the companies in which Munsey is interested! Profits! With trouble keeping up, railroad tracks destroyed, and later, after intervention, large orders for rails placed with the Steel Trust. Steel and profits!

It is for "principle" that Munsey plays the political game. He publishes newspapers for it; he gives a fortune to the Progressive Party; he advises fusion with Republicans; he helps the trouble along in Mexico so as to force intervention and prevent the Wilson administration from carrying out the proposed reform of the tariff and currency revision. All for principle!

His chief arminger, Judson Welliver, in Washington has frequent and secret conferences in the office of Hopkins, the self-acknowledged representative of rebels and bandits, and then writes editorials that all the Munsey papers reproduce, and of which the foregoing, for the truth which it contains, is a fair example. All the politics of Munsey are principle-greedy.

When, therefore, in the American negotiations a probability of further trouble was evident, and therefore the probability of a realization of the Munsey aspirations—the Munsey newspapers sat up and took notice of our friendly interest in a neighboring nation.

Such a thing to those in the Munsey politics looked like real business. And so in the Munsey way, spurning the very suggestion of a selfish interest, just for the love of fair play and for patriotism, the uncompromising hands of the Munsey coterie clutched eagerly for the opportunity, the harsh voices softly praised Wilson's policy, the money-smeared arms opened affectionately to embrace him. Oh, Munsey!

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## Italy Praises Wilson's Policy

ROME, Italy, Friday.—The energetic but courteous attitude of the United States toward Mexico is favorably judged in Italy, according to the *Giornale d'Italia,* in an article to-day commenting on the Mexican situation.

It says that President Wilson has given proof of political and diplomatic capacity of the first order.—New York *Herald.*

The *Herald* combed the press of Europe and finally found the *Giornale d'Italia,* which approved Wilson's "policy."

If at least it had been *La Tribuna,* which is recognized as the Italian authoritative newspaper on international matters and usually the mouthpiece of the Italian Government——

## The Legal Status

President Wilson will yield nothing on this question, as it involves the very principle of the contentions of the United States Government that Huerta is not the Constitutional President of Mexico. If Huerta was acknowledged Provisional President by Washington, he would be prevented under the Mexican Constitution from being a candidate for President at the elections.—New York *Sun.*

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The big rock ahead in connection with a renewal of negotiations lies in Gamboa's demand that Huerta's Government be recognized as the *ad interim* constitutional government. Huerta wants this as a vindication in the eyes of the Mexican people and the civilized world.

If the United States grants his government recognition in the fashion desired by Señor Gambo, Huerta feels that his accession and his subsequent acts will be legalized.—New York *Evening Mail.*

Recognition or non-recognition by the United States will not change the legal status of General Huerta.

His acts are legalized by the declarations of the Mexican Congress and the Mexican Supreme Court. No one else has any right or power to legalize the acts of President Huerta. The recognition or non-recognition of Washington cannot affect the Mexican Constitution. Besides, President Huerta has been recognized as such *de facto* and *de jure* by all other great Powers.

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## Vultures

(Special to *The New York World.*)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.—Secretary of State Bryan has directed Charge d'Affaires O'Shaughnessy at Mexico City to immediately inquire into the report, not credited here, that the Huerta Administration has been promised or received financial aid from Mexican banks and foreign financiers. Mr. O'Shaughnessy is expected to report to-morrow or Tuesday.

The condition of the Huerta treasury has been of the utmost interest to President Wilson, as it is understood here that the financial fabric is about to break down and that the fiat notes issued by Mexican banks are likely to greatly depreciate in such an event.

Whether or not the above report really reflects the true attitude of the Washington Administration, it has been repeated so frequently that we are forced unwillingly to give it some credence. It can hardly be said to enhance our national dignity and prestige in the eyes of the world, when each day the Washington Administration is represented as watching the financial condition of the Huerta Government like a vulture watching a struggling man dying of thirst as he tries to make his way to an oasis in the desert. Watching and wishing that he will never reach the waterhole! It is the nature of a vulture to feel that way, but, no, we cannot believe that it is the mind or the wish of anybody in power at Washington.

# LOBBYGRAMS

The oldest man in the Senate is Augustus Octavius Bacon, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He holds the chairmanship by virtue of the seniority rule of the Senate, "the most deliberative body in the world." This is a superlative well earned by the Senate through its custom of letting every man talk until he drops from exhaustion on any important proposition intended to be held up or side-tracked. Senator Bacon sees the President frequently on the Mexican situation and then reports to his committee that everything is "fine," from the standpoint of the White House. There are Senators who think the Foreign Relations Committee could conduct its business with more benefit to the country and less friction with foreign governments, if there were a little less "optimism at all costs."

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Senator Penrose, he of Pennsylvania, took to Secretary Bryan some days ago an alarmist wire from Americans said to be in bad shape in Durango. Penrose, after vainly trying to see Secretary Bryan in the State Department, finally caught up with him at luncheon. Senator Penrose tried to read to the Secretary his cable message telling of the desperate straits of Pennsylvanians in Durango. He read one line and the Secretary of State called his confidential messenger.

"Tell Mrs. Bryan to be sure to have my clawhammer suit and not my Tuxedo for the dinner to-night," he ordered.

"Many persons have been killed," read the enthusiastic Penrose.

"Get John Purroy Mitchel on the long distance," said Secretary Bryan to his messenger, without apparent interest in what the rotund Senator from Pennsylvania was reading to him.

Penrose recited the names of men who were supposed then to have been killed in Durango, all Pennsylvanians. It might be said that the persons all have been accounted for since.

Secretary Bryan broke in on the reading of the all-important message again to direct his messenger to be sure to tell Mrs. Bryan to have his "clawhammer" and not his "Tuxedo" suit laid out for him for the dinner that evening.

Senator Penrose became so disgusted that he left, feeling resentment, and the next day made his terrifying speech in the Senate in which he urged that the rebels and bandits be recognized as belligerents, and that the embargo on selling them arms and ammunition be lifted.

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It is quite obvious by this time to all intelligent observers that it is possible to apply professorial methods and the birch rod with good effect in dealing with New Jersey legislators, with anything but failure in shaping the acts of a Democratic caucus and the Democratic majority in Congress, although some wise men are beginning to have their doubts about this, but when it is a matter of laying down rules and threatening dire punishment, like dunce caps and corner isolation in a schoolroom, for the sovereign government and people of another though weaker nation, Bryn Mawr and Princeton methods must be discarded.

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President Wilson fondly thought that his head-master speech to the classroom of the world would turn the nice boys and girls of the class against the naughty Huerta who had put a tack in the professorial chair, and that he would then place the unruly Huerta face to the wall in the corner of the room, "singularly isolated." But all the world's a stage, not a schoolroom, and good school teachers are not necessarily good players.

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## Huerta Tells "The World" Americans Need Not Leave

Special to *The World*.

Mexico City, Aug. 29.—President Huerta received the correspondent of *The World* this morning at his residence. After listening attentively to the full text of President Wilson's declaration, which in complete form was first published here to-day, and requesting that the portions urging Americans to withdraw be repeated, he said:

"Let *The World* say that I do not find it convenient to add anything at the present time in comment upon your honorable President's words above what has already been expressed on the part of this Government by its Foreign Minister in his notes, excepting this: I respectfully declare that, in my belief, his warning for his compatriots to abandon Mexican soil is not needed. This I leave to the judgment of the Americans in Mexico, who are the best witnesses. I am convinced of the good intentions and offices extended to them by this Government.

"Our determination to safeguard the lives not only of Americans but all other foreigners has always been so plainly and unequivocally expressed and adhered to that it is not open to doubt or debate.

"Should the creation of circumstances, which can be depended upon not to arise with this Government, render it advisable, in their opinion, for Americans to go from Mexico, that protection which in this moment we are giving shall continue to be extended until those who flee are under their own flags. And protection shall continue with them so long as, by inclination or the demands of business responsibilities, they choose to continue on Mexican territory, where the authority of the *ad interim* constitutional Government of Mexico is effective.

"I am saying nothing which every fair-minded American in Mexico will not now admit to himself to be true."

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Americans must be puzzled at the reference made in the newspapers to many members of Maderist juntas in this country as ex-Speakers of the Mexican Congress. The fact is that every month, according to the Mexican parliamentary practice, a new Speaker is selected by Congress, so that almost every member of Congress has at one time or other been a Speaker.

# EL PASOGRAMS

The El Paso Liar has reaped a harvest this week and we regret that we have no space to reprint the latest El Pasograms. However, here are a few of his exploits:

Carranza and his forces are attacking Chihuahua.

The troop and provision trains from Juarez to Chihuahua have been seized by the rebels at Gallego near Montezuma.

American music is no longer permitted to be played by Mexican military bands.

General Bravo shot six Americans at Torreon.

The late Edward Hayes was the president of a lumber company.

John J. George, an associate of John Hays Hammond, has been captured in Sonora.

Torreon is in the grip of famine and disease.

*Later* we hear that:

Chihuahua is not being attacked and Carranza is heading for Sonora. The troop and provision trains arrived safely at Chihuahua. Mexican bands don't care what music they play. No Americans were shot by General Bravo or any other general. Hayes was a bookkeeper twenty years old. George turned up safe and well. Torreon has plenty of food and medicine and conditions are not so bad.

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Provisional President Huerta, a graduate of the Chapultepec Military Academy, for fifteen years a general in the Mexican Regular Army, former chief of the Hydrographic Commission, is often referred to in the New York *Herald* as *Señor* Huerta.

Villa, a bandit well known from the Diaz days, in the *Herald's* "El Pasograms" is usually styled *General* Villa.

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## Those Savage Mexicans!

Huerta ordered special trains and other facilities placed at the disposal of Americans desirous of leaving the country. He stated that hearing that the funds of the United States had been exhausted, and that only steerage and third class passages were being offered, he had ordered that funds be given the refugees to enable them to travel in the comfort to which they had been accustomed, and to which they were entitled.

A high Government official said: "We desire that the Americans who leave Mexico carry with them the remembrance of the comfort and safety which have characterized their stay in this country, rather than the possible penury and poverty of the place whither they are going."

# COMBING THE NEWS

*The New York Sun* of September 1 published an interview with an American resident of Parral, Chihuahua, Mexico, which throws considerable light on the feeling of Mexicans toward Americans within their borders. It appears that this American recently personally conducted a wagon train with $500,000 worth of silver bullion from Chihuahua to El Paso over 340 miles of mountain defile, arroyo pierced mesa and waterless plains, and although he traveled through sections that are scenes of disturbance he had no difficulty whatever in reaching his goal unharmed with his treasure intact.

William A. Stewart is the man who did this. He explains in the interview that in all the years he has been in Mexico he has never had any difficulty with any individuals, parties or factions in the country for the simple reason that he minded his own business and did not take sides in the fights among Mexicans themselves. He tells how in case of internal strife Americans make the mistake of "taking sides, speaking their minds, waving the American flag, hinting of trouble if they are touched and announcing that they would do this or that."

Stewart's attitude is well expressed in the following announcement he made to the Mexicans:

> "I've got nothing to do with the politics of your country; I don't care who is in power. I am going ahead obeying the law and living up to my contracts and I want this known: I am going to look to the offices and respect them, not the men. If I have any taxes to pay I am going to the tax office and pay them. I don't care who is there to take them. If I have any customs duties to pay, any clearances or entries to make I am going to the customs house and pay them. I don't care who is there to take the money nor how he got there. If I have to receive the O. K. of the Presidente Municipal on anything I'm going to the office and have the man installed there do the work. I am going to present my bills for lighting the streets to the same old office in Parral and I want whoever is there to pay them. That is all; you can go on settling your own political differences in your own way, I am not interested."

As a consequence of living up to this sensible policy Mr. Stewart claims all Mexicans as his friends and they are equally happy to call him friend, and he is undisturbed in his business and his peace of mind. On the contrary, those who get into difficulties with the Mexicans and are the first to call for American intervention are those who, thinking to advance their selfish schemes, meddle in Mexican politics and make enemies accordingly. There is a good lesson in the experience of Mr. Stewart for not only individual Americans engaged in business in Mexico, but for the large American corporations, especially oil corporations, and also for the Washington Administration. Americans are welcome in Mexico, American capital is welcome in Mexico, the friendship of the United States Government is wanted by Mexico, but not at the expense of Mexican nationality and not with officious meddling in Mexican politics.

## Heading for the Tall Timber

Refugees who left Durango last Monday and who arrived here to-day say that the forces under the rebel commander Carranza were moving to make another attack on Torreon that day. The rebels were rather cowed by their recent defeats around Torreon and were suffering from desertions and lack of ammunition, but there are about 8000 available armed men.

General Carranza has gone to Sonora via Parral to secure ammunition.—*N. Y. Sun,* August 28.

## Straws

Securities of all companies having important financial interests in Mexico were very strong again to-day. Mexican railway issues were actively in demand on all the foreign markets. Here, National of Mexico second preferred on small transactions ran up above 16, a gain of 7 points from the low figure touched last month at the time of the receivership rumor. In American Smelters, which sold ex-dividend, the rise was extremely rapid, being helped by an old outstanding short interest which has never had a chance to cover.—*N. Y. Globe,* August 29.

## Mexican Exchange Lower

The fall of 20 points in the past two days in the rate of Mexican exchange may be taken as an evidence of an improvement in the general situation. Last week and during the forepart of the current week the rate was established around 2.75 to 2.80. Advices received from the Mexican offices of the International Banking Corporation report a drop to around 2.60. The National Railways of Mexico, through its offices here, announced to-day the restoration of daylight service on the line running from Mexico City to Laredo. This line for direct through service from Mexico City to the border has been tied up for a period of four months, with only partial operation on different stretches of the run. The restoration of the Laredo line service will materially increase the total mileage of the system now in operation.—*Evening Sun,* August 29.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week and Learn What's What Below the Rio Grande**

## Recognition or War

"War with Mexico is inevitable unless the United States Government changes its policy with regard to that nation. The Administration at Washington is just beginning to realize the full gravity of the situation confronting it."

This statement was made to *The New York Sun* by John W. De Kay of New York, who has lived in Mexico for fourteen years and founded a meat packing business there which represents a capital of more than $14,000,000. Mr. De Kay has just returned from Paris, where he held a long conference with Porfirio Diaz, former President of Mexico.

"The United States is confronted with a crisis in its history not even second to that of the Civil War," he went on. "The Administration, not understanding the peculiar conditions in Mexico and the characteristics of the Latin people, had theorized in the matter and attempted to apply the principles of this country, which are thoroughly representative, to a country which cannot understand them. Mexico never has had a representative Government and will not have one for a long time.

"President Wilson has the best of intentions, I am sure, but he does not grasp the real situation. The best intentions which may actuate a man or Government will be mistaken by another nation and believed to be hypocritical if the intentions are the result of a misapprehension, as is the case with President Wilson.

"Mexican credit is becoming more and more restricted. Suspension of payment or the re-establishment of her borrowing facilities is now all that awaits her. The failure of the United States to recognize President Huerta has meant that other nations will not lend money, because they realize that intervention is not only likely, but practically inevitable.

"The United States has a billion dollars invested in Mexico. England, Germany and France another billion invested in the country. What is going to happen? Will the United States continue to play the rôle of the Sunday school teacher and say: 'No intervention, come what may'?

FEARS EUROPE'S INTERVENTION.

"Suppose the United States does that—refuses to intervene despite the stand of Mexico as regards its debts. It is easy to see what England, Germany and France will do. They will demand that the United States intervene, and if the United States refuses to do so they will take it upon themselves to intervene and collect the money due them. It is inevitable.

"Let us say that the United States should finally, in order to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, intervene in Mexico. Have you any idea what that will mean? It will mean that an army of at least 250,000 men will be needed to subdue the country, because intervention by the United States will reunite the warring Mexican factions. But even after we have subdued the Mexicans the situation will be little improved. It will mean that we will have to keep a standing army there for twenty-five years to maintain peace.

"That is the situation which confronts us and to which many citizens are trying to

# PUBLIC OPINION

Viva Mexico! She has a heart of gold, that country, and a few kind words have melted it. At present she nearly bursts with joy and gratitude. For what said El Presidente Wilson? "We are your next friends."

Happily, Christian Science has many adherents down yonder, and they are of the greatest service in interpreting those honeyed syllables. "Next friends! Oh, sweetness! Remember what her 'next friends' did to Senorita Eddy."

All is now merry as a wedding bell in consequence, so the Americans are packing up. Into the big Saratoga trunk go their railroads, their banks, their trolley lines and their real estate, along with other knicknacks accumulated during their residence in Mexico. They are in high spirits. At last some hope of protection! Over and over again they read Mr. Bryan's letter. "Come home, and all will be forgiven."

Thanks to their patriotic enthusiasm, they believe his every word, and have confidence that, once they get back to the States, the strong arm of the Administration will clasp them to its bosom.

Doubtless! But who will protect the Administration? Which reminds us.—*New York Tribune.*

## A Defender of Huerta

May I crave a few sticks of space to object to your saying that "he (the President of the United States) has absolutely united the country behind him." For one, I want to be written out of the category in which the President has united the country.

Early in the Administration of Woodrow Wilson, Gen. Huerta sent a personal, unofficial emissary to this country to discuss the situation that is now coming to a crisis. He received not even the courtesy of a hearing. He was an accomplished scholar, a Cornell graduate, a friend of America and Americans, a Member of the Mexican Congress, in every way the peer of John Lind and W. B. Hale, but he got short shrift and a snubbing. And then we, in our conceit, send men to demand a hearing where we refused to give one. What kind of people are we? No wonder we unite behind a man who is capable of leading us into such a quagmire of bewildering diplomacy. If we must have an unjust and indefensible war, let us hope that the men on the firing-line will be the blundering leaders who have invited it.

It is true, as you say, that Huerta waded through slaughter to the Presidency. So did George Washington. But the slaughter was not of Huerta's making. No more was the assassination. Whatever of slaughter and assassination there was was due to the "amiable" and insane Madero, and the chief reason that Huerta has not been able to deal more successfully with the terrible situation that confronts him is the dogmatic and unreasonable attitude of the United States Government.

You say that Señor Gamboa is "dealing with names and shadows" and that Huerta "waded to power through treachery and blood," and that "all the world knows what the actual process was." There is one little bit of the world writing this letter who has read every word that has come out of Mexico on the subject, who knows nothing of the kind, and who does not yet know that "the shelling of the national palace and the assassination of Madero" were in any possible way due to the acts or the volition of President Huerta.—Letter in New York *Evening Post,* August 29.

## Dollar Diplomacy

One of the first manifestations of the Wilson Administration's foreign policy was the withdrawal of Government support of American participation in the proposed sextuple

## RECOGNITION OR WAR—Continued

close their eyes. It is not a theory but an actual fact which demands a solution—and a rapid solution.

"I am in personal correspondence with President Huerta and I realize his position. I have just concluded a conference with former President Diaz in Paris. Here is what he said:

"'I will return to Mexico only should peace be restored or should the United States intervene.'

"That is the attitude of all Mexicans. They may fight among themselves, but should any other nation step in they would present a solid front. The Mexican is proud. He does not fear death. They in Mexico do not deceive themselves. They know that the United States is powerful enough to conquer them. Still that does not matter to them. They will fight to the last man to keep their independence.

MEXICO BEHIND HUERTA.

"Americans do not understand the situation in Mexico. The same can be said of the Administration. The Mexican people as a whole are behind Huerta. Those who are opposing him are only bandits. I received a letter yesterday from a personal friend in one of the disturbed states. He described vividly the atrocities perpetrated by the outlaws. He told of citizens being killed for their refusal to submit to exorbitant demands for money.

"I am in a position to show absolutely when the proper time comes the exact nature of those who are heading the present revolution in Mexico. I will show that the leaders of the rebels, instead of being actuated by lofty humanitarian motives, are corrupt and avaricious and fighting merely for personal aggrandizement. I have papers to prove that Madero during his lifetime paid large sums of money to leaders of the present revolution, and that they have violated one after another every armistice they have formed.

SEPTEMBER 15 DAY OF PERIL.

"Before long we shall see a great deal of trouble in Mexico which many have not expected. The order to withdraw from Mexico is taken by the Mexicans as an indication that America is contemplating war. On September 15 Mexico celebrates her Independence Day. It is on that day that I fear there will be a move to attack Americans. The move will not be made by the Federalists, but by the rebels, who will try to place the blame on Huerta.

"The United States has made demands of Mexico which no nation could consider. Neither the United States nor any other nation has the right to dictate to the Mexicans whom they should or should not have for their President. That is a question for them alone to settle.

"The United States in its effort to solve the problem should give the Mexican Government this ultimatum:

"'We will recognize you provided that, on October 16, you will hold your national election and then elect a President fairly. Unless you abide by that election we will withdraw our recognition.'

"In that way, and in that way only, can the United States preserve her dignity, give Mexicans a fair chance to solve their present trouble, prevent war and act the rôle of a disinterested friend. To make such a proposal to Mexico would mean that Mexico would grasp the opportunity to show to the people of the United States and to the world that it is trying to end its present discord. It would mean that the people could elect their own President and that the nation, backed morally by the recognition of the United States, could put down the present reign of terror caused by the bandits and I am able to say authoritatively that the necessary resources are available.

NEED AMERICA'S AID.

"So far Mexico has been hampered. It could subdue the rebels within sixty days, in my belief, provided the United States gave its moral backing.

"President Wilson fails to understand that the revolt now going on is merely the work of bandits. The conditions in Mexico, the geography of the country, enable a few men to hold off a thousand.

"Unless the United States takes this stand it will mean anarchy, chaos and war.

"The United States is great enough to admit it has made a mistake. A small nation cannot do that and preserve its dignity, but we can. I hope we will."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

loan to China. The President had no use for "dollar diplomacy" as exemplified in this loan, which was to be secured by revenues derived from antiquated and, in some instances, burdensome taxes. He announced on March 19:

> The representatives of the bankers through whom the Administration was approached declared that they would continue to seek their share of the loan only if expressly requested to do so by the Government. The Administration has declined to make such request because it did not approve of the conditions of the loan or the implications of responsibility on its own part, which it was plainly told would be involved in the request. The responsibility on its part which would be implied in requesting the bankers to undertake the loan might conceivably go to lengths in some unhappy contingency of forcible interference in the financial and even the political affairs of that great Oriental state. The responsibility of our Government implied in the encouragement of a loan thus secured is plain enough and is obnoxious to the principles upon which the Government of our people rests.

In one of Mr. John Lind's notes to the Mexican Government appears this passage, which Senor Gamboa diplomatically hints is in the nature of a bribe:

> The President of the United States of America further authorizes me to say that if the *de facto* Government of Mexico at once acts favorably upon the foregoing suggestions, then in that event the President will express to American bankers and their associates assurances that the Government of the United States of America will look with favor upon the extension of an immediate loan sufficient in amount to meet the temporary requirements of the *de facto* Government of Mexico.

Of course, this wasn't intended as a bribe. But isn't it "dollar diplomacy"?—*Washington Post,* August 30.

## The Censorship

To the Editor: Judging from the newspaper reports it would appear that President Wilson has had some very poor advisers, and the result is the present muddle in Mexico. The first mistake our President made was in not recognizing Huerta at the time that he was recognized by the various foreign governments. That recognition would have given him force in his own country, enabled him to finance his operations, and by this time the so-called rebellion in Mexico would have been quelled.

I do not see by what right we exercise a censorship over the morals of other countries. To my knowledge it has not been done by any other nation in international difficulties, and our attempt to bring it into play now has proved disastrous.

Another mistake I am afraid our President has made is, if the press quotes him correctly, exacting from Huerta the promise that he would not be a candidate for President in the coming elections. I fail to see what right any government or any individual has to make a demand of that character, and Huerta very justly declined to acquiesce. This request places President Wilson in rather an embarrassing position. The very making of the request itself will popularize Huerta among his own people, and will make him all the more determined to become a candidate. He will probably be elected, and then what will Mr. Wilson do? He will be compelled to recognize Huerta, whether he wishes to do so or not. If there is any reason that justifies our President in making what appears to be a most unjust demand on Huerta the American people are not aware of it.

The situation at the present time is a very strained one, and, from the Mexican point of view, full of dramatic possibilities. I venture to make the prediction that Huerta will within a very short time resign in favor of the younger Diaz and will appoint General Trevino or General Blanquet his Minister of War and bide his time until October, become a candidate for election, and by thus martyrizing himself he will make himself the idol of the Mexican people. All this would have been avoided if Mr. Wilson had in the beginning recognized Huerta.—Letter in Baltimore *American,* August 30.

## Huerta's Strength

Huerta's strength lies in four things: first, his personality, which is that of a strong man, seeking an end by direct methods; second, the support of the Catholic party, which is the only party in Mexico with organization and dependable membership—it is very strong, but it is not in the majority, and for that and for no other reason its members are supporting Huerta, waiting for a chance to slip in some man closer to their reactionary ideas; third, the support of the Haciendados, or large landowners, who seek in Huerta the only man who stands between them and spoliation; last but not least, Blanquet. Blanquet, now Minister of War, is one of the old Diaz type, absolutely fearless and absolutely merciless. —"An American Resident" in *The Outlook,* August 30.

## The Wilson Style

The address on the Huerta affair in its expression is worthy of a sweet girl graduate. In its structure it reveals a mind which has never solved the final processes of orderly thought. The habitual use of the adjective "very"; the long array of sentences and paragraphs which say almost nothing and reveal only a bewildered mind, afford a pitiable contrast to the points made by Senor Gamboa in reply to the absurd demands of "Mr. Confidential Agent" Lind.—Letter in New York *Sun,* September 1.

"Given the moral support of the United States Government, General Huerta can put down the so-called revolutions in Mexico and ultimately restore the republic to such a state of pacification as existed when Porfirio Diaz was in his prime as ruler," declared F. W. Page, an American, owner of mining interests in Jalisco and other states, with headquarters at Guadalajara, who is at the Occidental. Mr. Page has spent the best part of fifteen years in Mexico, mingling much with the lower classes as well as the upper classes of Mexicans.

"I realize that whatever views I may have will not avail against the policy of the administration," continued Mr. Page, "but I am nevertheless convinced that no man without long residence in Mexico can hope to understand conditions in that country. Neither the President nor his advisers can acquire a correct view of the situation by sending agents there. The Mexicans do not dislike Americans personally, but as a nation we are despised and mistrusted. It is all very well to deny a government recognition on the ground that the government was acquired by brutal force and assassination. We are not dealing with the same conditions in Mexico nor the same kind of people that exist in the United States. No one can deny that Porfirio Diaz governed Mexico well and wrought a wonderful change from the condition when he took the reins of government until a few years before he left the republic. Diaz came to the head of the Mexican nation much in the same manner as Huerta did. He forced his way by arms into the captal, was elected president, and maintained his rule with the sword. This government did not recognize Diaz, as I remember, when he was provisional president, nor for some time after he had been elected

"Huerta, in my opinion, can restore order in Mexico if given a chance, and he can maintain that order, but he will have to pursue the same iron methods that Diaz used.

"American lives and property can be assured of greater protection with Huerta at the head of the government than they could under any other man, for whatever may be said about the manner of his accession, the truth is that Huerta to-day is far the strongest figure in Mexico. We are advised—Americans are advised to leave Mexico. Years ago the United States Minister to Mexico, in one of his official documents, stated in unmistakable terms that Mexico offered greater opportunities for small and large American investors than could be had here in the United States. Many Americans went there, acquired and built up properties that are valuable, all they possess.

"If the United States could by benevolent occupation restore peace, it would be a better way, perhaps, than any other, but such an undertaking would involve an army of 400,000 men, the expenditure of many millions, and fifteen years of campaigning, and then it could be done only by educating the masses in Mexico."—Interview in *Washington Post.*

# "MEXICO"

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## Appoint Lind Ambassador

The appointment of an American Ambassador to Mexico with instructions to coöperate effectively with the Mexican Government in protecting American life and property and in bringing to justice the marauders who are responsible for any loss of either is the simplest solution of the Mexican problem as far as this country is concerned.

This act would restore the friendly relations between the two countries and would certainly put this country in the best position to enforce its just claims. As it is now we have no diplomatic standing in Mexico except by the courtesy of the Mexican Government, and we have gone out of our way to antagonize that government by contemptuously referring to it as a faction claiming to exercise power.

By all the unwritten laws of civilization we cannot enter into relations with the rebel bands and bandits who are pillaging, looting and blackmailing any more than we could with the outlaws and road agents of Wild West days.

We insist that the Government of Mexico bring about peace and prevent destruction of property, and in the next breath we refuse to recognize that government as the constitutional government of Mexico, although the Mexican Congress and Supreme Court have declared it is and a vast majority of the people are agreed that it is. It's a preposterous, ridiculous attitude and cannot possibly be maintained.

The appointment of an American Ambassador, we repeat, is the simplest, most natural and reasonable way of not only showing our friendship for Mexico, but at the same time putting our country in a position from which it would have some right to make "demands."

Henry Lane Wilson.
Reginald Del Valle.
William Bayard Hale.
John Lind.
Next?

What's the matter with John Lind as duly accredited Ambassador? They like his manliness down there, despite the impossible proposals he was ordered to present. Why brand John Lind with failure in the Mexican negotiations when by appointing him as Ambassador the Washington administration could assure his complete success? It's unjust to a man like John Lind not to give him a real chance. It's not just to Mexico and, above all, it is not just to the legitimate interests of the United States Government and people.

## The Failure of Hale

It has been reported from Mexico City that when the ex-Reverend William Bayard Hale entered the arena of Mexican politics he announced that he had three noble and unselfish purposes:

To have Ambassador Wilson removed.
To prevent recognition of President Huerta.
To forestall American intervention.

The first part of his ambitious program he has carried out, although when all the truth is known we believe that American public opinion will react so strongly in Ambassador Wilson's favor that other and even greater fields for usefulness will be found for him in the service of his country, that seems to need so obviously men of his experience and caliber.

The second purpose of Hale's self-assumed program he has succeeded in so far, but we cannot rid ourselves of the optimistic feeling that soon, very soon, the enlightened opinion of the world, the inherent sense of right and justice in the American people, the exposure of the narrowness, danger and perniciousness of the Hale point of view will prevail, and that the folly of forming an international policy on the say-so of a man whose only claim to distinction is that he can write the English language with more or less fluency will be so apparent that even the Washington administration will admit it.

As to forestalling intervention, we leave it to our readers to judge whether the following of his advice has been conducive to anything but a continuation of misunderstandings and a hair-trigger tension in the relations between the United States and Mexico, in which perilous tension lurks all the possibilities of an intervention that has not been warranted and which is not wanted by the American people. If the necessity arises for armed intervention, with all that it means to our present and future, no single individual will be more responsible for its appalling consequences, its cost in blood and treasure, than the ex-reverend doctor.

We conclude, therefore, that William Bayard Hale, D.D., has failed ignominiously.

## Too Bad It Couldn't Be

Mexico was to be "singularly isolated." On the fiat of the United States it was to be cut off from civilization, a pariah among the nations. Darkness would descend upon the land, the people would huddle in groups and talk with bated breath of the woe that was theirs, of the cataclysm of moral force that had benumbed their minds and struck terror into their hearts. All who were not of their race would flee the country as from a plague. The wheels of industry would not turn and commerce with the world would cease. There would be no strength in human ties; human intercourse would be stricken dumb. There would be no marriages or giving in marriage, children would not know their parents, parents would hate their children. A pall of gloom would envelop the hills and spread its ebony wings over the valleys. Creation and evolution would be forces of life no longer. Life itself would die and then in the void a well-modulated voice would intone: "Let there be light." A new creation! A new world! A new god of creation—Woodrow Wilson.

## Dignified Retreat

One of our readers has written us a letter from which we quote the following:

> "Your arguments in favor of United States recognition of the Mexican Government are convincing. I must confess that they have converted me to your way of thinking. But for the life of me I can't see how President Wilson and Secretary Bryan can take any other course than their present one without acknowledging to the world that they have made a grave blunder in dealing with the situation in Mexico. It seems to me that such an acknowledgment would be humiliating to them and to the United States and would seriously compromise the Democratic administration. Don't you think it is incumbent upon the Mexican Government, and especially President Huerta, to give the Washington Administration a chance to show its friendship for Mexico and at the same time retire gracefully with dignity from its present, embarrassing position?"

In reply to this letter, which we think represents the thought of many Americans, we can only say that, in our opinion, no individual, no nation, ever lost in reputation or dignity by honestly and openly acknowledging a mistake. Further, that most of the wars that have retarded the progress of mankind have been, when not wars of conquest or territorial aggrandizement, the result of just such mistakes and misunderstandings persisted in. President Wilson in his message announced his friendship for Mexico and the Mexican people and asked Mexico to point out to him any future way in which he could manifest his friendship. If all factions in Mexico, with the exception of the lawless elements and the disgruntled politicians of the Madero régime, are united as they are to uphold the constitutional *ad interim* Government of President Huerta, certainly they have indicated to Washington the way in which he can best show his disinterested friendship for their country. Señor Gamboa has said that if President Wilson will receive the Mexican Ambassador in Washington all misunderstandings will cease, bygones will be bygones, and a new era of close and abiding friendship between the United States and Mexico will ensue, to the moral and material benefit of both. The United States is bigger and more powerful by far than its southern neighbor, and certainly it is the part of strength and power to act with justice, and by an act of justive its power and dignity are increased rather than hurt.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

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# Is Mexico Financially Blockaded?

# Is Control of National Railways to be Wrested from Mexican Government?

# What Mexico Could Say

Mr. James Creelman, whose startling article on the financial situation in Mexico we reproduce in this number, is undoubtedly the best authority in this country on Mexican affairs. For this reason his statements at this time are of decided importance.

We must say frankly that we are loath to believe that the President of the United States in order to succeed in his unwarranted attempt to eliminate at this juncture the Provisional President of Mexico should have resorted to any such means as those mentioned by Mr. Creelman.

The process of "putting on the screws," in the employment of which our Trusts in their commercial and political pursuits are past masters, is precisely the Big Business method so often and so emphatically denounced by President Wilson and his administration.

It is unconscionable to suppose that the friendship for Mexico expressed in such glowing terms by President Wilson should be revealed in an attempt to shut off from that country all sources of financial supply. Especially when this blockade would not result in the establishment of peace, but in prolonged troubles for Mexico.

What sentiment could prompt the President of the United States to adopt such a course? Certainly not the desire to see order and general happiness return to the southern Republic. Could it be then the mere desire of GAINING A POINT, in the elimination of General Huerta, owing to personal dislike and personal prejudice which seem to have been injected into a question where they should have found no place? We hardly think so.

IF IT SHOULD BE TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT WILSON HAS COMPLETELY SURROUNDED THE HUERTA GOVERNMENT WITH A FINANCIAL BLOCKADE, THEN WE SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO BELIEVE ALSO THE STATEMENTS MADE FROM TIME TO TIME IN WELL-INFORMED CIRCLES THAT THE MEXICAN TURMOIL HAS BEEN LARGELY DUE TO THE DESIRE OF CERTAIN INTERESTS TO REGAIN THE CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL RAILWAYS OF MEXICO. Also that these interests HAVE FOUND IN PRESIDENT WILSON THEIR STAUNCHEST ALLY, although we shall refuse to believe that President Wilson's support is knowingly and intentionally given.

It has been frequently stated that there exists a financial conspiracy to wrest from the Mexican Government the control of the National Railways of Mexico. To this end, it has been alleged, the rebellions in Mexico have been encouraged and financed.

As a consequence of rebellions and rampant brigandage and banditry the railways of Mexico have greatly suffered and their earnings have decreased in a corresponding proportion. The Mexican Government owns the control of the National Railways and has guaranteed the payment of interest on all the bonded debt of the Company, in case the Company should be unable to meet these fixed charges.

It has been stated that while on the one hand the earnings of the National Railways of Mexico were decreasing and the Company consequently becoming unable to meet the payment of fixed charges, on the other, EFFORTS WERE BEING MADE TO PREVENT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT FROM RECEIVING OUTSIDE FINANCIAL HELP.

In case the Company should be unable to pay the interest on its bonded debt and the Government should be unable to make good the guarantee of payment of the interest, THE BONDHOLDERS, it is alleged, WOULD ASK FOR A RECEIVER, WIPE OUT THE SHAREHOLDERS AND SEIZE THE WHOLE PROPERTY OF THE NATIONAL RAILWAYS OF MEXICO.

In this way, if the plan ascribed by Mr. Creelman to President Wilson SHOULD BE TRUE, it WOULD FIT IN NICELY with the plan which it has been alleged is being carried out by those interests that are determined to obtain the property of the National Railways without paying too much for it.

WHETHER OR NOT ALL THIS IS TRUE WILL BE REVEALED AFTER THE MEETING OF BONDHOLDERS OF THE NATIONAL RAILWAYS OF MEXICO, WHICH IS TO TAKE PLACE WITHIN A FEW DAYS IN NEW YORK CITY.

We do not believe in the possibility of such plans as exposed by Mr. Creelman, although he seems to know what he is writing about, or in the alleged plans in regard to the National Railways of Mexico. But if they should be proved to exist and should be carried out to completion the only course open to Mexico would be that indicated by Mr. Creelman.

MEXICO COULD SAY TO THE WORLD:

"We have done our best to maintain our credit intact and faithfully to respect all our financial obligations now as in the past.

"EUROPEAN BANKERS, KNOWING THE STABILITY OF OUR CREDIT AND THE EXTENT OF OUR RESOURCES ARE READY TO GIVE US ALL THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT WE NEED TO RE-ESTABLISH PEACE AND DEVELOP OUR RESOURCES.

"The President of the United States refuses to recognize our Constitutional Government. MOREOVER, TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE HAS THE POWER TO ENFORCE HIS WILL UPON US, he has brought to bear his potent influence on the bankers of Europe to surround us with a financial blockade.

"WE PROTEST AT THIS UNFAIR TREATMENT, BUT WE ARE COMPELLED TO DECLARE A MORATORIUM ON THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST ON OUR NATIONAL DEBT.

WE SHALL KEEP THE MONEY AT HOME, use it in the work which we have determined to carry on to a finish—that of restoring order and reopening all the sources of fruitful production. IT MAY TAKE US ONE, TWO OR THREE YEARS TO DO THIS. When this is done we shall begin again payment of interest on our national debt, compounding the amounts due for non-payment of interest during the time of suspension. MEXICO IN PEACE CAN EASILY ASSUME A MUCH LARGER NATIONAL DEBT THAN IT HAS NOW, as in proportion to territory, population and resources, it has one of the smallest national debts in the world.

"As to the National Railways of Mexico, the Government finds it indispensable to requisition them and take full possession, holding them for such a length of time as it will deem convenient. This is a measure of national and public necessity.

"THIS IS NOT OF OUR OWN VOLITION. We are forced to it by the unjustified determination of the United States not to recognize a government which our own Congress and Supreme Court have declared to be the Constitutional Government of Mexico.

"We are sorry, but now our creditors shall have to bide their time."

If the alleged plans to shut off all financial help and to wrest the control of the National Railways of Mexico existed and were carried out, Mexico could say all this to the world with clear conscience and clean hands. And the world would recognize the justice of Mexico's stand.

But of course no necessity will arise for such a declaration on the part of Mexico.

## Bond Interest to Be Paid

Special Cable Despatch to New York *Sun*.

Mexico City, September 10.—On October 1st interest on the guaranteed bonds of the National Railways of Mexico, amounting to $1,500,000, will fall due. The payment of the interest on these bonds is guaranteed by the Mexican Government, and as the railways cannot pay the amount about to fall due on account of the losses suffered during the present revolt, the Government has assumed responsibility. The Government also has undertaken to pay $495,000 interest falling due on the same date on consolidated bonds of the railways which were not surrendered at the time of the amalgamation.

This statement is made on the authority of a high official of the National Bank of Mexico, who said that the payments will be made from funds standing to the credit of the Government in nine local banks, out of the loan, of which a part was floated in Paris and which will probably be raised to $7,500,000. The payments will be made through New York, London, Amsterdam and Berlin. The majority of the stockholders are English and French. The Government, it is stated, has taken this step in order to retain control of the railways and forestall any foreclosure proceedings by the bondholders.

## Those Savage Mexicans

Mexico City, September 10.—In order to insure the protection of foreigners during the Independence Day celebration on September 16 the Government has sent the following telegram to the Governors of all States: "By special order of the President of the Republic I beg you to dictate immediately the most appropriate and energetic measures in order to avoid disorders during the approaching patriotic fiestas. Especially is it desired that nothing occur affecting persons or the interests of foreigners residing in the State which you govern. The President is likewise desirous that solemn commemoration of our independence be marked by discretion and good sense on the part of the people and that the latter comprehend patriotically the convenience of accentuating in these moments our culture and our respect for subjects of friendly nations and entertain toward them the fraternal attitude which is demanded by reason and justice that always govern the acts of Mexicans and goverument of this Republic. In transmitting to you this order I repeat my recommendation that the greatest care and vigilance be exercised in fulfilling the instruction and I shall be grateful if you notify me telegraphically of receipt of this message.

"Urrutia, *Minister Interior.*"

An Associated Press despatch to morning newspapers of the eleventh asserts that the foregoing recommendation was made by Minister Urrutia:

"Because of representations by the American Charge d'Affaires, Nelson O'Shaughnessy, to the Mexican Foreign Office, as a preventive measure and in line with the recent warning from Washington that the Mexican authorities would be held responsible for any injury done to Americans."

Of course from now on everything that the Mexican Government does which is in keeping with the law, civilized customs, courtesy, etc., will be done "because of representations or warnings" by the American representative in Mexico!

How old are we, anyway?

## Christian Science Diplomacy

The secret is out. The Administration's policy toward Mexico is to "hold a good thought," refuse to admit *material* facts. "*Mind*"—the Administration's mind—"is all." *There is no matter,* or if there is, it doesn't matter.

Here is how this newfangled diplomacy works out:

The Administration "holds the thought" that European governments are supporting its course in regard to Mexico. Foreign chancelleries and the foreign press emphatically, even indignantly, deny this. The Administration *insists* it has the backing of Europe and that ends it.

The Administration "holds the thought" that John Lind's mission is a success. Lind drops two of his impossible proposals, is flouted diplomatically on the other two, and goes about sightseeing in Mexico. The Administration *insists* with huge satisfaction that John Lind's mission is a success.

The Administration "holds the thought" that its proposals are "peace proposals." The United States is not at war with Mexico. Furthermore, nobody understanding Mexican conditions believes for a moment that they are either practicable or conducive to the establishment of peace. Yet the Administration *insists* they are "peace" proposals.

The Administration "holds the thought" that all Americans *must* get out of Mexico. The American residents protest vigorously and assert that there is no necessity, and further that they won't. The Administration *insists* that they should, but that they may take their time about it.

The Administration "holds the thought" that President Huerta will eliminate himself. The Mexican nation retorts that the status of President Huerta is a matter for Mexicans to decide. The Administration *insists* that President Huerta will retire.

The Administration "holds the thought" that Senor Gamboa and Secretary O'Shaughnessy have received and conveyed assurances from Huerta that he will not be a candidate for President in the future. Senor Gamboa and Secretary O'Shaughnessy deny that any such assurances were given or conveyed. The Administration insists that President Huerta promised not to be a candidate.

The Administration "holds the thought" that the present government of Mexico is not constitutional. The Mexican Congress and Supreme Court, who alone have the authority, have declared it constitutional. The Administration *insists.*

The Administration "holds the thought" that the present government of Mexico will not long survive his M. A. M. The government, according to all reports, is growing stronger every day. Still the Administration *insists.*

The Administration "holds the thought" that the Mexican Government cannot get money. Eighty thousand soldiers are paid regularly, and the bankers of Mexico promise all the money needed. Still the Administration *insists.*

And so on and so on.

Mrs. Eddy still lives and is incarnated in the Washington Administration.

# In the Other Fellow's Boots

## The United States Situation

By FRANK GOODSENS

*(Mr. Goodsens, an American, is a well-known authority on the political, social and economical conditions of the Great Northern Commonwealth.—Editor's Note.)*

The United States situation at the time of this writing, September 11th, is at a standstill. It is generally understood that the President of the Great Northern Commonwealth will not yield an inch in his policy of non-recognition of the United States Government. No statement has been given out at the Purple House or at the Foreign Office disclosing the actual reasons for the Great Northern President's policy. His intimate friends declare, however, that it is based on "moral grounds," and they are convinced that he is pursuing a course the moral effect of which will be to end immediately and for all time the political and social troubles of the United States.

I have made a thorough and extensive investigation in both countries and I am now in a position to give the actual facts to the people of the United States.

In the first place, I wish to state as emphatically as I can that the President of the Great Northern Commonwealth is not prompted in his policy by any ulterior motive or by connivance with the predaceous interests of the Great Northern Commonwealth that have fostered and fomented trouble in the United States.

The President's attitude is based principally on ignorance as to conditions in the United States, personal dislike for President Wilson, and prejudice in regard to the manner in which he came into power.

This dislike and prejudice are the result of information received through the Great Northern press and through personal representatives, chief among whom is his own biographer, a clever magazine writer.

This man, an ex-clergyman, whose personal exploits are not such as to make him the proper judge of the morality of other people, has been in Washington for several months, and it is a well-known fact that he went there with preconceived ideas and actuated by a holy horror for other people's failings.

It is, besides, a matter of general knowledge that while in Washington his associates were mainly personal enemies of President Wilson or representatives of those Great Northern interests that are opposed to President Wilson because of his unswerving refusal to be their tool.

I know that the reports of this personal investigator conflict with those of the Great Northern Ambassador to the United States and with those of the majority of consuls and citizens of the Great Northern Commonwealth in the United States. But the Great Northern President believes that the Ambassador has been too friendly with the Wilson administration, and he prefers to receive his information from unofficial sources and along lines with which he is prepared to agree.

A great deal has been published in the Great Northern press about the situation in the United States, and many experts on American affairs have sprung up over night and given their opinions as to the causes of United States troubles. Of course, only the bad points of the situation have been brought out, and little if anything has been said about the constructive work done by the Wilson administration and its purposes.

The press of the Great Northern Commonwealth, while claiming to be the most independent in the world and the fairest of all, is ever ready to publish all that may work to our discredit, without pointing out the fact that many United States national faults find their counterpart in the Commonwealth even though under a different form.

I must state, however, that there are a few Great Northern newspapers that are trying to give the United States a square deal and that occasionally publish the truth about us. Unfortunately, these newspapers are few and the others are not always to blame, because they must rely on information received from biased sources and ignorant or corrupt correspondents.

The private reports received by the Great Northern President and the majority of articles published in the Great Northern press about the United States may be summed up as follows:

President Wilson does not answer personally to the ideals of the Great Northern people and institutions.

President Wilson was nominated by a convention of which the delegates did not represent the people of the United States, but only the bosses of the different States. His nomination was brought about by a clever trick of the Democratic leader, now his Secretary of State, who at the last moment forsook the Clark faction and forced Wilson's name on the ticket.

The greatest support in the election was given him by boss-owned, corrupt organizations, among which the Great Northern press mentions especially Tammany of New York, and those organizations controlling some of the Southern States, in which the negro vote is in effect null and void.

The Democratic campaign was conducted by means of contributions received largely from the Wall Street cientificos, and it is claimed that therefore the Wilson administration represents in effect a restoration of the reactionary regime.

President Wilson assumed the Presidency in spite of the fact that the vote he received was that of a minority, he having received only six million votes out of a total of fourteen million.

That President Wilson, although pledged to guard the constitutional forms, is in practical effect a dictator, who has assumed the functions of the legislative power. It is affirmed that he has shut off free debate in Congress by secret caucus methods, and the wielding of the heavy Club of Patronage over the heads of Senators and Congressmen. That he brooks no interference and that the disappearance of several statesmen from public life is expected to follow his iron-shod methods.

Besides that, conditions throughout the United States are getting worse, and to substantiate this the press frequently publishes elaborate stories of lynchings, Western hold-ups, deeds of terror-spreading gunmen.

Also a number of articles depict in the blackest hues the evils of child labor, peonage in some Southern States and in the Philippines, prison contract labor, and the miserable conditions of underpaid mill hands and of the starving thousands in the large cities.

They state in the same breath that government officials and political bosses in the United States are waxing fat, and that the United States national resources are all really owned by a few multi-millionaires.

Our political conditions are described as the worst in the world, and it is stated that the Wall Street cientificos have a firm grip on the political machinery of the whole country.

A great deal of sentiment has been created by the publication of these stories, to the extent that many of the citizens of the Great Northern Commonwealth are beginning to think that perhaps it is their duty to invade the United States and right every wrong that exists here.

The spoils system especially has horrified the Great Northern people. They cannot understand how public offices, the diplomatic service, etc., are made the dumping ground of political hacks.

All this has convinced many Great Northerners that the government of the United States and its various State governments are governments of the grafters by the bosses for the corporations.

Of course, this seems outrageous to the Great Northerners, who have a government of the people, for the people, by the people.

The Great Northern President in sending his envoy to Washington with the requests that have now become world-famous, really felt that he was doing a great favor to the United States by demanding:

That President Wilson eliminate himself from the political field.

That an election be held by the people, a fair election without the participation of boss-controlled organizations.

That a candidate be selected acceptable to the Republican, Progressive and Democratic factions.

That a government be set up which will be representative of the great majority of the people of the United States.

Of course, President Wilson refused to accept the proposals of the Great Northern government; first, because he could not brook interference from an outside government in

matters which pertain purely to internal politics, and further because he and every one in the United States who is familiar with conditions know that his elimination from the political field would not mean the solution of United States problems.

It has been pointed out to the Great Northern President that the principles of his government may not be applicable to the United States, where the people have had less opportunity for political and social education. That it will take time before the people will be able to govern themselves according to the rules of pure democracy. That President Wilson is undoubtedly the strongest man in sight, and that he is doing his best to bring about the reforms which in time will mean the complete happiness of the people.

That such blessings as the Great Northerners enjoy, namely: nomination by primaries, elections by direct vote, elimination of campaign contributions, independence of the legislative and judicial powers, appointments by merit, national ownership of all natural resources, common carriers and public utilities, co-operative ownership of all industrial and commercial enterprises, cannot be brought about in the United States in a day or a year.

But the Great Northern President does not understand this, and remains immovable.

"I cannot recognize such an immoral government—they must have early and fair elections and the condition—*sine qua non*—is the elimination of President Wilson."

To carry out his point even in the face of world-wide criticism he is determined to use all means, even that of bringing tremendous financial pressure to bear on our government.

The Great Northern President desires that it should be understood that once he takes a stand for a thing he does not seek a compromise, neither will he agree to any compromise. He is stubborn. He is extremely intelligent and learned about affairs in his own country but ignorant of other people's characteristics and lacks sympathy with other races.

He wants to impose his own will on the people of the United States and wants them to adopt *immediately* the methods of the Great Northern people even though we may not be prepared yet for those methods or we may prefer other ways.

The American people and the American leaders have a right to work out their own salvation. They wish to be given a fair chance. The whole world recognizes this right.

It is true that meanwhile owing to the circumstances inherent to a period of readustment Great Northern interests and all other foreign interests in the United States are suffering enormous losses but that does not give the Great Northern Government the right to interfere in our internal affairs and to offer an affront to our Government.

It is now quite clear that if the Great Northern Government had from the beginning extended proper recognition to ours the solution of our troubles would be much nearer than it is now.

Unfortunately the Great Northern President and many others depend for their information on the so-called American constitutionalist juntas established in the Great Northern Commonwealth. These juntas maintain active press bureaus and their glowing accounts of what they would do find an echo in some newspapers who do not realize whom the members of these juntas really represent.

Of course we know that the leaders of the factions opposed to President Wilson are really the same men who have been turned out of power and who, disguised under a new name, are anxious to regain control of the government despite the fact that they were the cause of all the evils that have befallen the United States. It is a well known fact that these leaders who accuse the Wilson ad-ministration of being a Wall Street cientifico government were themselves instruments of the Money Power.

It is only natural that the interference of the President of the Great Northern Commonwealth in United States internal affairs should have awakened the indignation of all citizens of the United States. The Great Northern Government, owing to its great power, however, seems blind to the fact that the United States people have a right to settle their own differences even though they may have the misfortune of being many years behind the Great Northern Commonwealth in political and economical progress. Americans may be at a physical disadvantage against such a powerful neighbor as the Great Northern Commonwealth, but they know that in the controversy with the Great Northern Government justice is on their side. None but Americans have any right to question the "morality" of their government, or the manner in which it ascended to power. Since Congress has recognized President Wilson as the Constitutional President of the United States the President of the Great Northern Commonwealth or any other foreign sovereign has no right to refuse recognition on the ground of "morality." Besides, the United States has been recognized by all great powers of the world.

The real cause for concern in this muddle, however, lies in the fact that the President of the Great Northern Commonwealth, through his own personal prejudice, is acting just exactly in the manner that his worst enemies wish him to act and that the United States is the victim of deeply-laid schemes for the accomplishment of which he is the blind instrument.

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## Americans Thank Huerta

### He Pays First-Class Passage of a Party Quitting Mexico

Special Cable to the *N. Y. Times.*

Mexico City, September 9.—Ten Americans, including three women and two children, left Vera Cruz on the steamer Tamaulipas this afternoon for Galveston, traveling first-class at the expense of Provisional President Huerta. Before sailing they sen a telegram to Federico Gamboa, Minister of Foreign Relations, saying:

"We thank Gen. Huerta for his attention and kindness in enabling us to return to our country first-class."

Eighty more Americans have received transportation from the Mexican Government, as they were not willing or were unable to comply with the demands of the Consuls supplying passage.

That "Huerta faction" is giving every day new evidence of savagery!

## Washington Rebels

The members of the junta were downcast. Not even the solicitous inquiries of the experienced waiter of the cafe in the Bellevue Hotel could rouse them from the despondency into which they had been plunged by the news that Don Venustiano Carranza had either died or was roaming the wilds of Durango.

Everything had gone wrong of late. The usurper Huerta was evidently getting stronger every day and all hope that he would gently and quietly step out had departed.

"I lighted a candle to Saint Woodrow in my room," whispered little Romero, his sad countenance more sombre than ever, "but it has done no good. Those shameless ones in Mexico have not even the courtesy to let us take their places!"

"Saint Woodrow is all right. He is our patron saint," piped another "Constitutionalist," "but his intercession has no value for us these days, and then Saint Croesus has abandoned us."

"Yes," a third Gloom interposed, "if it were not for Don Sherby where would we be? *Caramba!* He is our true patron saint. Sommerfield could not have returned to San Antonio if Don Sherby had not lent him the passage."

"Ah, El Colonel Sherby Hopkins that, yes, is a great *hombre!* Always he bring us good news, always is he ready for to offer us the sandwiches and the drinks!"

"I wish he would come," said little Romero. "He is my friend, he, yes, knows how to make the periodicals publish all about our great cause—how does he say?—he knows how to get the stuff in!"

"Ah, but already they do not believe us, the newspaper men," countered the third Gloom, "already is not so easy to get the stuff in, as Don Sherby says."

"How, man," protested Romero, "it is not certain. Have you not read the beautiful speech our Minister, Escudero, had published in the *Herald?* and more, do we not have always at our disposition the *Evening Times?* But, *hombre*, El Colonel Don Sherby has them *amarrados*—no, how does he say? Ah, yes, cinched!"

"That, yes, but the other newspaper men give us the spacious bunk."

"No, no," Romero assured them, "do not preoccupy yourselves. Don Sherby has good relations and knows the threads. I am sure that even to-day he has got the stuff in. Here he comes. We shall see."

The gloomy gathering sat up, stood up and greeted the round, debonnair, smiling countenance of Don Sherby as he entered the old stamping-ground. Don Sherby waved aloft a copy of the *Times*. The ex-speaker of the Mexican Congress and at present Minister of Finance in the ambulant Cabinet of Carranza, trailed behind.

"Here it is, *muchachos,* this never fails us. I told you I would get it in!"

"What is it, Don Sherby? Let us see," the junta chorused.

"Wait a moment," begged Don Sherby, sinking into a chair. "I am warm and tired. Waiter, bring the usual round."

"*Viva*, El Colonel Don Sherby!" chorused the junta, already free from the weight of gloom.

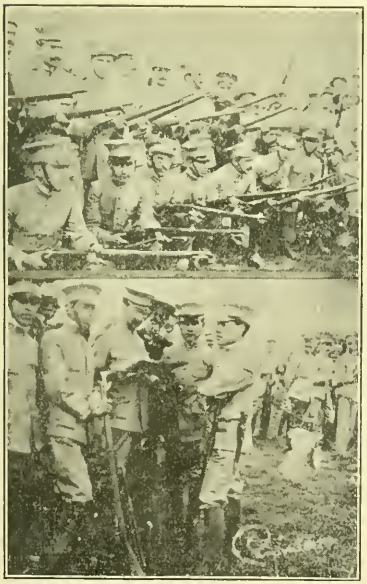
"Well, boys, I told you your Uncle Sherby could do it. Even the A. P. carried that story of mine that Huerta was changing his generals around because he feared their treachery and now here comes our old standby, the Washington *Times*, boys, with an editorial on the subject. And it is a peach, too. Listen to this," and Don Sherby read the editorial amid religious silence.

As soon as he had finished reading the junta sprang to its collective feet and yelled: "Viva Don Sherby! Viva the revolution! Viva the patriots! Death to Huerta! Viva us!"

The waiter was just entering the room, carrying aloft a well-laden tray. The sound of the clinking glasses infused new patriotic ardor into the representatives of Magna Charta. Electrified, they burst into renewed yells: "Viva Don Sherby! the friend of the Mexican people! Viva the revolution! May it last a long time!"

"This is not all, *muchachos*," smiled Don Sherby, "the New York *Press* and all the Munsey papers will carry this same editorial. I tell you, Munsey is a great Mexican patriot, second only to myself. Let us drink to his health.

"Viva Munsey!" yelled the junta, and then drank. . . . .



MEMBERS OF THE "SOCIAL DEFENSE" MILITIA. THE "SOCIAL DEFENSE" HAS BEEN ORGANIZED THROUGHOUT MEXICO FOR DEFENSE AGAINST DEPREDATIONS OF BANDITS. IT COUNTS AMONG ITS MEMBERS CITIZENS OF ALL CLASSES AND POLITICAL CREEDS.

# TRUE STORY OF DOCTOR TUPPER AMONG THE REBELS

**Related by an American Eye Witness**

The Rev. Doctor Tupper, of the "International Peace Forum," left San Antonio, Tex., for Eagle Pass August 18th, having been the guest of the International Club of San Antonio, which has long been known for its Maderist partisanship. Before setting forth on his journey of investigation the reverend doctor wired the rebel junta at Eagle Pass apprising them of the date of his arrival and representing himself as a special "peace commissioner" deputized by the United States Government to investigate existing conditions in Mexico.

Dr. Tupper was met with flare and blare by the rebel chief and his committee and was escorted in an automobile across the International Bridge. On the other side the doctor was met and given an ovation by the rebel garrison. Later he was feted and banqueted by the "elite" of the rebels. There was an extraordinary requisition on the imported stock of Senor Trueba, the Spanish commission and wine merchant.

Senor Don Enrique Tuppe after the pleasures of the banquet, rashly assured his generous host and his fellow guests that he was in favor of the unrestricted shipment of arms and ammunition to the rebels, and would advocate such on his return to Washington. Now this was very, very early in Don Enrique's sojourn in Mexico, before he had investigated other than the stock of Senor Trueba.

"Where is Don Venustiano Carranza? I must see and speak with him." So urged the learned doctor. Thereupon there was much commotion, for the rebels knew not the whereabouts of their illustrious leader, but not to disappoint el Senor Don Henry Tupper, on the spur of the moment they stated that Don Venus was at Hermanes. The impatience of the doctor was so extreme that a special train was at once made up to convey him to the presence of the rebel king. Now, this special train consisted of an engine, two Pullman cars and three third-class day coaches.

When Doctor Tupper's special train left Piedras Negras the two Pullmans were occupied by the doctor, the committee and the military escort, *and* the three third-class coaches were filled with a motley crew of women, children and aged men, all of them hilariously happy at the prospect of a free ride and adequate remuneration. At Nava, a small town twenty-five miles from Piedras Negras, a little committee of citizens waited to greet the doctor.

The committee accompanying the reverend gentleman forthwith invited the Nava committee to enter the Pullman to greet the guest of honor. Suddenly cries rent the air: "Armas y parque!" The committee, apparently surprised, rushed forth bearing the excited investigator and there on the platform was a host of men, women and children who had appeared as though suddenly belched from the ground. When they saw Doctor Tupper their enthusiasm reached its climax, and they stood with arms outstretched toward him and begged piteously for arms and ammunition.

"Doctor Don Presidente Americano, armas y parque!" they yelled.

The doctor was moved to tears, and it was with difficulty that he could be induced to reenter the Pullman in time to permit the poor, unfortunate petitioners to be herded back into the three third-class coaches of Doctor Tupper's special train. The poor populace at Nava crying "Vivas" for Carranza and begging for arms *were travelling with Doctor Tupper*.

At Allende, ten miles south, the doctor was again greeted in the train by a committee of citizens of that town, and while occupied with them again came the cry from the platform—a bitter cry of distress: "Armas y parque!" Again he rushed forth and again he was greeted as at Nava:

"Viva Carranza! Muera Huerta! Give us arms and ammunition!"

At Blanco, a bit farther south, a flag station in the midst of a barren plain, again he was greeted with the same woeful plea, only each time it gathered in volume as the claque got really interested in their game and the credulity of their victim.

At Sabinas there was a repetition of the scene, and at Barroteran, and finally at Hermanas he permitted the same crowd to hoodwink him.

When he arrived at Hermanas he was informed that Don Venustiano Carranza was not there, and that as much as they regretted it he could not be disturbed just then, being occupied with the storming of Torreon at that moment. Of course every one except the doctor knew that Don Venus had not been at Hermanas, and that he was not at Torreon, but was in hiding in the mountains of Durango.

All there was to do was to return to Piedras Negras without having investigated Don Venustiano. Another banquet was tendered him, and then he went to Eagle Pass and hied himself to the First National Bank, which is known to be the *rebel bank*, and spent two long hours therein. His investigation now terminated to his satisfaction, he returned to San Antonio, giving out the story that men, women, children, and even the babies in arms had begged him for arms and ammunition in these words: "Our chief is marching on Mexico City! Give us arms! Give us ammunition! Long live Carranza! Death to Huerta!"

The doctor seemingly had forgotten that he was a "peace" delegate and had become an enthusiastic rebel.

We presume that by now he has rendered his report to the Peace Forum, and that he is advocating the raising of the embargo on arms for the rebels.

Is the joke on Doctor Tupper or the rebels?

# SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE

On his return from a long stay in Europe Mr. Owen Johnson had several pertinent remarks to make about his countrymen. In a published interview his observations were apt and they rang true:

"Right here I must mention one thing that is the despair of Americans living abroad. It is the way American news is treated in Europe. People are being taught that we are a nation of Jack Johnsons and Harry Thaws. What they print over there about us is mostly freak stuff —marriages by moonlight and so on."

While the day has to some extent passed when foreigners believe that the bison is hunted between New York and Chicago and that the highest peak in the Andes is situated between Jersey City and Philadelphia, still it is unquestionably true, as Mr. Johnson points out, that foreign newspapers purposely give their readers a weird notion concerning us. To begin with, it is what their readers like to imagine. We are distinctly in their eyes a land of adventurers and upstarts. Lacking our peculiar humor and sense of proportion they accept every cock and bull story, every ray of moonshine, each piece of pious fraud, at its full face value.

Mr. Johnson says that his information is that this playing up of anything and everything that is to the discredit of Americans is due to the desire of European capital to prove to investors that this is the home of fakers and swindlers.—*New York Sun*, September 10.

Not only the newspapers of Europe but also those of South America and other parts of the world purposely give to their readers weird notions concerning us. The result is that in the minds of other people we are a nation of barbarians, fakers and swindlers, as Mr. Johnson points out.

When a truth of this kind is brought home to us we smart under the unjustice and as indignantly as the *Sun* we protest.

But what about the treatment our newspapers accord to other people? Is it not true, after all, that we usually get what we give?

What is the opinion in regard to Mexicans held by the majority of Americans after reading for months the deluge of Mexican "news" and articles on Mexico by "well-known authorities on Mexican affairs"?

Isn't it a fact that the average American citizen thinks that Mexico is a land of savages, a land where the general occupation is that of killing one's next-door neighbor by stealth at night, stabbing him in the back, and stealing all his belongings?

Doesn't the average American citizen believe that all Mexicans earn their living by pillage and that their favorite form of recreation is rapine? And isn't it a fact that this belief is born of the notions which our newspapers have fed to him from day to day?

Is there a special purpose inspiring our newspapers in this respect? Or do they merely follow the line of least resistance without ulterior motives?

Whatever the cause may be, would it not be fair to begin right here and set an example to the press of other countries by a just treatment of our closest neighbors?

How many newspapers or magazines have taken the trouble to publish anything about the millions of peace-loving, hard-working Mexicans? About that overwhelming majority that toils and struggles and builds honestly, indefatigably in spite of everything?

Very few, if any.

Yet out of the sixteen million Mexicans only a few thousands are the cause of all the troubles, only a few thousands have resorted to brigandage and rebellion, and many of them have been forced to do so by their inability to earn a living in any other way or have been led through their ignorance by a few self-seeking politicians and scoundrels such as are found in every country in the world.

The defects of the extreme classes in Mexico are the defects of those same classes in other countries. Unfortunately the lower class is on an average a little more ignorant, perhaps, than in other more advanced countries, and has not had the opportunity for self-advancement that the same class has had in our land or in some European countries. But if more ignorant they are not worse at heart. Much has been published of the black deeds committed by Mexican bandits, but nothing has been written of the abnegation and loyalty of the many who form the humble element of the population.

Yet there is hardly any American who has ever left Mexico who has not done so with regret, and who has not left behind a faithful servant, a trusty friend.

Many instances could be cited in which Americans or other foreigners have been able to defend their property against bandits by the sole help of Mexican employees and servants, who have risked and often lost life for their employers. This has invariably been the case when the Mexicans have been treated well by their employers.

Take, for instance, the men employed by Mrs. Phoebe Hearst on her Babicora ranch in Chihuahua. They have been in the centre of disturbances for nearly three years, and they have remained faithful and loyal, often taking part in skirmishes and fights against bandits and so-called rebels. They have shown their gratitude for the advantages of special schools, good treatment and the opportunity to work on shares which have been afforded them by the manager of their ranch.

In nine cases out of ten in which Mexican peons have attacked their foreign employers or abandoned them, upon close investigation it has been found that their actions were due to the unjust or overbearing treatment they have received.

But there is a class of Mexicans of which little has ever been written and which deserves the sympathy and help of all foreigners. That is the middle class, yet in a small minority, it is true, unfortunately for Mexico, but which nevertheless is struggling valiantly to save the country from the selfishness of a few and from the ignorance of the many.

But little is ever written in our press of the constructive work of these Mexicans, while much is published about *Generals* Villa, Zapata, and a few others of the same stamp.

Yet we are indignant when we learn that Europeans are being taught that we are a nation of Jack Johnsons and Harry Thaws!

## El Pasograms

An El Pasogram to the New York *Herald* of September 10th states that the Federal Government is sending 7,000 troops to Chihuahua to join the present command there of 5,000 men to wipe out the rebels in the border Northern State. The El Pasogram states also:

In the meantime, Villa is between Juarez and Chihuahua and is waiting for the first provision train to leave the border before he strikes. Villa has eight cannon, a quantity of ammunition and supplies which were captured from Felix Terazas at San Andres. His supply trains are at Casas Grandes.

Well, well, that El Paso correspondent should get a bonus from the *Herald* for his persistency. Villa—why hasn't he been styled General in this instance?—is again going to attack. Villa has been attacking Juarez and the provision trains almost every day during the last four months, and now he's starting all over again because he is waiting for the *first* provision train to leave the border! And yet we understood many provision trains had left the border of late and have been attacked on their way to Chihuahua——

No, upon second thought we think the bonus should be sent to the El Pasogramist by Villa.

## Some Traveler

Special Despatch to the *Herald*.

Piedras Negras, Coah, Mexico, Tuesday.—Latest reports of the movements of Governor Carranza are that he left Parral, Chihuahua, August 20 for Rosario, from where he intended to go to Inde, an important mining camp in Durango, and from there to Sierra Mojada, about 400 miles south of here. After that he will come here in time to participate in the celebration of Independence Day, September 16.

Now, who would have thought Carranza was such a great traveler? Too bad he is so restless, though! He would not stop at Torreon, and now he is going to see Inde, in the heart of Durango, and then back a few hundred miles to Sierra Mojada, near his home town, Cuatro Cienegas, where the Federals called on him on September 9th, and finally back to Piedras Negras, on the border, to celebrate Independence Day.

Who said the railroads were not running in the States of Durango and Coahuila?

## To Hang Zamacona for Any Proposition

Eagle Pass, Tex., September 8.—That Manuel Zamacona, special envoy to Washington, would be "tried by court-martial and hanged within an hour" should he attempt to enter the Constitutionalist lines with any proposition whatever, was the subject of a resolution adopted to-day at a meeting of the Constitutionalist Board of Advisors.

The resolution denounced what they called the "attempt of the Huerta Government to deceive the American people regarding the ability of Manuel Zamacona to act as mediator in arranging an armistice."—*N. Y. American*, September 9.

Gentle, liberty-loving chaps, these Constitutionalists!

## FAIR PLAY FOR MEXICO

## Lobbygrams

William Bayard Hale, who perhaps may still be entitled to the ecclesiastical designation "Reverend," though he is no longer a minister of the Episcopalian denomination, has been in Washington two weeks. Nobody has yet discovered what he did in his three months' sojourn in Mexico as the "Special Representative" of President Wilson. "Doctor" Hale says for himself that he is now a "private citizen." He shuns the limelight as much as possible. Nobody will dispute the ability of the former Episcopalian priest of Ardmore, Pa. What he accomplished in Mexico must be revealed by President Wilson, who will O. K. the bills on account of his "special mission."

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Citizen Hale has a clear record. That will never be disputed. It is a fact that will give future historians no bone of contention. The records show that Citizen Hale has done nothing. He has been active, yes.

Washington wants to know: "Why is Hale?" and has he nothing more to commend him than the fact that he wrote the biography of Wilson, published by a firm honored by the selection of one of its members for the most important foreign mission? "Haleing the administration" has become a pastime in Washington. Then there is a variation of the game which is called "Haleing the chief."

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### Warriors Bold

Representative Murray, of Oklahoma, assailed the President's "Moral suasion policy" as foolish, and advocated force. Representative Garrett, of Texas, declared the people of his State were unalterably opposed to any recognition of Huerta.

"We would give the Constitutionalists all the arms they need," he cried. "They are patriots fighting for their country. I for one will never consent to the recognition of Huerta or anything that Huerta stands for."

"Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! the boys are marching!" See them in martial array: "Alfalfa Bill," Garrett, Fall, Penrose, Bristow, Shepard. With the Napoleonic Colquitt, governor of Texas, to lead them, what chance would the poor Mexicans have? The Charge of the Light Brigade would pale into hobby-horse futility.

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### Headquarters

The place to bring about an armistice is Washington. The headquarters of the opposition to Huerta are in this city, and it is understood that from here the sinews of war are provided for this opposition.

For practical results the triangular negotiations of President Wilson, General Huerta and General Carranza would be best held here.

The New York *Times* ascribes the above to a "high government official." We have known before that the headquarters of the opposition to Huerta are in Washington, but we didn't believe that "high government officials" were quite ready to admit it.

# THE FINANCIAL BLOCKADE

By JAMES CREELMAN

*New York Evening Mail, September 9, 1913*

The most tremendous thing in the Mexican situation now is impending national bankruptcy.

In the silent, but nevertheless terrific, effort of President Wilson to compel President Huerta to yield to his demands the American government is using its influence throughout the world to prevent the Mexican government from borrowing money.

Confronted with a staggering necessity for the prompt restoration of peace, with its revenues falling greatly below its enforced expenditures, the Huerta administration will, probably within a month, be compelled to consider the advisability of declaring a moratorium, suspending the payment of all or most of the national financial obligations of Mexico, so that the available public revenues can be used to prosecute the war against rebellion and brigandage.

It was a similar suspension of payments on the vast foreign debt of Mexico that caused armed European intervention in the time of President Juarez and the bloody usurpation of the Emperor Maximilian.

Under the mighty and remorseless pressure brought to bear by President Wilson the financial situation of Mexico has suddenly become tragic.

It cannot last many weeks.

**Not only has Mr. Wilson shut off all supplies of arms, ammunition and other military necessities from the United States, but he has established a siege of money and credit through which he expects to starve Huerta into surrender.**

Already the question of declaring a temporary national bankruptcy is being seriously discussed by men who have almost given up hope that the Wilson-Bryan policy of demanding the retirement and self-disqualification of President Huerta will be modified in time to avert such a disaster.

At a time when President Huerta claims to be rapidly subduing Zapata's forces, and to have driven Carranza's bands out into the northern desert, his government is being paralyzed by the destruction of his financial credit everywhere through the influence of the United States.

This is the meaning of the threat in Mr. Wilson's message to Congress, that in a few days or weeks the real situation in Mexico City would be revealed.

Mr. Wilson has the Huerta government in an extraordinary position of financial helplessness.

The loan authorized by the Mexican Congress to reorganize the army and restore order amounted to $100,000,000 gold. $80,000,000 of the loan would be considered as issued, the remaining $20,000,000 to be unissued for the time being.

Of the amount issued the bankers took $30,000,000. About $25,000,000 of this was used merely to retire obligations issued by the Madero administration, and only the $5,000,000 left was available for the support of the Huerta government.

The agreement provided that the contracting banks should have an option on the untaken $50,000,000 of the authorized loan, one-half of the option to be exercised within six months from last June and the other half to be exercised six months thereafter.

The Mexican government solemnly bound itself not to issue any part of these bonds except on the expiration of the option, and it further bound itself not to issue at any time during two years from last June any other foreign obligations or any other bonds payable in gold.

**Now the banks refuse to take any of the bonds under the option until the United States recognizes Huerta, and the Mexican government can not raise another foreign loan or issue gold bonds until the expiration of two years.**

Bound hand and foot by this agreement, to violate which would be instantly to annihilate Mexican national credit, the Huerta government negotiated a loan from English and French bankers of about $15,000,000 in gold, redeemable in Mexican currency in Mexico City and New York.

Until a few days ago President Huerta expected to tide over the national crisis with this money.

**But he has just been informed that the French and English bankers have withdrawn in deference to official pressure exerted on the ground that to refuse to furnish any more money to the Mexican government would force President Huerta to yield to the demands of President Wilson and promote peace without bloodshed.**

It is announced that the strong official influence used in England and France to smash this $15,000,000 loan, the last hope of the Huerta administration, was intended as a direct co-operation with President Wilson's effort utterly to crush Huerta.

And if that were not enough, about two weeks ago the Spanish arms and ammunition factories, which have always supplied war munitions to Mexico on credit, formally notified the Huerta government that not another shipment would be made unless payments were made in cash, and in advance.

**In other words, President Wilson has completely surrounded the Mexican government by a financial blockade and has wiped out its credit.**

It is this dramatic situation that has brought about the consideration of a moratorium, putting an end to any further pay-

ment of Mexico's financial obligations until peace is restored.

This may be President Huerta's alternative to a surrender to President Wilson.

The tremendous consequences of such a national act can be realized when it is remembered that Mexico's debt has increased from about $150,000,000 gold in 1861 to about $500,000,000, which includes all financial guarantees.

President Wilson has not disclosed to the American people the evidence upon which, against the example of every other great nation, he has refused to extend to the Mexican government the formal recognition necessary to save it from chaos and self-declared bankruptcy.

Nor has President Wilson given the name of a single one of the multitude of Americans living in Mexico who has advised him that President Huerta's title to office is not absolutely legal according to the Mexican constitution and laws.

In this critical time it is not generally understood that under Mexican law the election called for October 26th will be null and void unless all Mexico is then at peace, and it is said on high authority that the Mexican Congress is likely in a few days to cancel the date of the election.

Every one familiar with Mexico knows what a farce Mexican elections are at best.

Since President Wilson has chosen to risk his whole policy and the ultimate question of war or peace on the holding of an election from which President Huerta is to be excluded, I have taken the trouble to get the figures in the election of President Madero and Vice-President Suarez.

As this election was held in a time of general Mexican peace, and has always been regarded as the nearest possible approach to the free and full expression of the will of the Mexican people, these figures are of utmost importance as showing the utter fraud of the pretense of democratic institutions in that country.

There are more than 15,000,000 inhabitants in Mexico. All male Mexicans who have reached the age of eighteen years have the right to vote.

The official report of the committee appointed by the Mexican Chamber of Deputies in November, 1911, declared that the total popular vote which elected Madero president was 19,997, while the total vote that made Suarez vice-president was 10,245.

**This in a population of 15,000,000!**

**And a minority report of the committee asserted that many of the votes cast were obtained fraudulently and by military pressure, and urged that a new election should be held.**

The Mexican government announced, without revealing the figures reported by the committee of Congress, that Madero had received the largest vote ever cast for a Mexican president.

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# NAILING THEM!

No credence whatsoever is placed by Constitutionalists here in the Mexico City report that General Venustiano Carranza has agreed to be a candidate for the Presidency. Dr. Francisco Escudero, confidential agent of General Carranza, said:

"You may be sure that in so far as it relates to any agreement General Carranza is represented to have made through an unnamed representative at Mexico City and in so far as it relates to any effort he has made to induce Sonora Constitutionalists to agree to abide by the proposed election, there is no truth in that report."—Washington Dispatch to the *New York Herald*.

Guglielmo Marconi has installed an extra-powerful wireless station in Washington for the exclusive use of the rebel junta. He has also supplied Don Venustiano Carranza with a portable instrument, a new Marconi invention, the nature of which has not yet been disclosed to the world.

By means of this instrument Carranza is able to maintain constant communication with his representatives in Washington and apprise them of all his movements and plans.

Thus the Washington junta is in a position to inform the *Herald's* correspondent—and any other correspondent who is willing to be informed—almost hourly of all that Carranza is doing and thinking.

The only drawback to the use of the wireless instrument which Don Venustiano Carranza is carrying, is that the instrument will work only at a very high elevation.

This is the real cause—hitherto unrevealed—that forced Don Venustiano Carranza to abandon the plains around Torreon and ascend the mountains of the Sierra Madre to the west.

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Some Washington officials commented for the first time on Provisional President Huerta's declaration that if the American Government were reluctant to give the refugees first-class transportation, he would gladly do so. These officials, instead of resenting the statement, regarded it as an act of generosity and remarked that they hoped Senor Huerta's beneficence would be extended to repay Americans and other foreigners for the great losses their investments had sustained through the chaotic conditions resulting from Huerta's irregular assumption of governmental power.

This item appeared in recent Washington despatches to all the leading papers of the country. The "sting" of this White House-inspired statement is in the last three lines. Everybody knows that the "chaotic conditions" in Mexico existed for more than two years before Huerta's "assumption of power," that he was in no wise responsible for them, that his purpose has been and is to put an end to these conditions, and that the Washington Administration's personally antagonistic attitude has encouraged the continuance of lawlessness in Mexico. Matters have reached a poor pass when the Administration must defend itself by misstatements like the above.

What has added to the interest in the meeting of the Mexican Congress, too, is that all the constitutional members—that is, members in sympathy with the constitutional movement in the Northern Mexican States—will be denied admission to the Congress. Their places will be filled by substitutes, which is provided under the Mexican constitution.—*N. Y. World*, September 10.

Rather clever the little twist in this paragraph foisted upon the Washington correspondent of the *World* by the Washington rebel junta. It gives the impression that the Mexican Executive in order to have the support of a majority in Congress will eliminate the "Constitutionalist" members.

As a matter of fact, the Executive could not deny admission to Congress to any member thereof. But the places left vacant by those members who have joined the Maderist juntas in the United States will be automatically filled by their substitutes, who, according to the Mexican law, were elected at the same time the Congressmen themselves were elected.

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Washington.—The admission of the authorities at Mexico City that Northern rebels have made important gains during the last ten days was not unexpected here. Reports received at the Department of State from American consular officials in that territory as well as the reports received at Constitutionalist headquarters here indicate that the period of waiting that has followed the receipt of the second note from Mr. Gamboa has been seized upon by Constitutionalist military leaders as a psychic moment for activity. While the federal troops hold most of the larger cities in the Northern States the rest of this territory is practically in the hands of General Carranza and his lieutenants.

It is understood that the recent conferences between the Constitutionalist leaders have been for the purpose of formulating some civil organization throughout the territory under their control, to supplement the military organization, of which General Carranza is the acknowledged head.—*N. Y. Herald*, September 10.

The team work of the *Herald* and of the Maderist junta is admirable!

The authorities at Mexico City have *not* admitted that the rebels have made important gains during the last ten days, because by the force of events they were obliged to admit that *the Federals* have made most important gains.

In fact, General Ojeda has driven from Ortiz all the massed Sonora rebels, thus going beyond the dangerous point (which had baffled the Federals during many months) on the line of advance to Hermosillo.

And the Federals have also taken the most strategic point in the very heart of the State of Coahuila—Cuatro Cienegas, the last stronghold of the Carrancistas. Thus the union of the Carrancistas who took refuge in the State of Durango with those who remained at Ciudad Porfirio Diaz has been rendered impossible. It means that even if Venustiano Carranza is still alive—and there seems to be great doubt about this—his brother Jesus will have to forego the pleasure of seeing him for a long time.

## What Potter Thinks

If Washington will not recognize the Huerta government in Mexico the latter will do its best to get along without such recognition in the opinion of James Brown Potter, who has just come up from Mexico City. Mr. Potter does not think Huerta has any idea of following the "suggestions" of President Wilson, transmitted to him by John Lind.

Mr. Potter, who is at the head of one of the biggest agricultural enterprises in Mexico, his company operating enormous plantations, has spent a good part of each year in that country since 1895. He pronounces the order of the State Department for Americans to hurry out of Mexico "ridiculous," and characterizes the negotiations that have been proceeding as inspired by "grace-juice diplomacy." He said he regarded John Lind as a nice, sincere gentleman.

"But," added Mr. Potter, "he doesn't know the people to whom he was sent, he doesn't know their language, and the mission on which he was sent is one of the most peculiar—to say the least—of any an American diplomatic agent was ever charged with. Briefly, its only purpose, so far as I can see it, is to attempt to drive the keystone out of an arch of governmental structure; the result of which would be to send the whole thing down in ruins. Huerta is to-day the keystone of the arch in Mexico, and he is the best and only keystone that those who know Mexico feel could maintain a government at present.

"There are only two possible ways of ruling Mexico. You must govern the country more or less forcibly from within, or forcibly from without. It is a police job, and such a thing as a democratic government, one of the people by the people, is impracticable.

"In Torreon there is a strong feeling among all classes of Mexicans against Americans, because of the non-recognition of Huerta by the American Government. The feeling there has become so strong that the *Defensa Social* professes to believe that the rebels outside are being assisted by Americans within the town, and some of the higher Federal officers are said to share this belief.

"Foods went up tremendously in price during the fortnight. Meat, which had been hovering about 80 cents per kilo (2 1-5 pounds) reached $2. Ice jumped up to 15 centavos a pound, sugar reached 35 centavos a pound and lard brought $2.50 a pound.

"In my opinion, if recognition is withheld by the United States, the Huerta government will go right along anyhow, making out the best it can. It is the only thing possible in Mexico now. Huerta is the only man who can hold things together and restore order in the present crisis. As for Washington's issuing orders for Americans in Mexico to drop their business and come on home it is absurd."—*New York Times.*

# COMBING THE NEWS

### Rebels Driven Out of Ortiz

Special to the *World.*

Douglas, Ariz., September 8.—After two day's heavy fighting the rebels, Col. Alvarado commanding, were driven by the Federals under Gens. Pedro Ojeda and Medina Barron from all the main positions about Ortiz. The Federals' heaviest loss was in artillerymen, who were picked off by Indian sharpshooters. The rebel loss was heavy, but they have refused to give the number of their dead and wounded. They are now holding minor positions north of Ortiz, only 100 miles south of Hermosillo. The main army is retreating north in good order with their supplies. Ortiz was a most strategic point, and its capture gives the Federals easy access to Northern Sonora.

The Constitutionalists say the retreat was due to the inability of Gen. Obregon to be at the front and direct the movements. He is now in a hospital at Hermosillo suffering from a second sunstroke. The Federals are rebuilding the railroad and will make Ortiz a base for supplies. The success of the Federals at Ortiz will result in the failure of the rebel movement in Sonora and the breaking up of the rebel army and the guerrilla bands.

Gov. Jose Maytorena has annulled all the municipal elections recently held throughout the State of Sonora, appointing military authorities. He has given orders to the retreating forces to destroy every vestige of the Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico south of the capital to delay the advance of the Federals.

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It is now also apparent that Mr. O'Shaughnessy was not aware of the view which the Washington Administration sought to disseminate with regard to the exchanges between the two Governments, otherwise he would never have made his statement in Mexico City denying the truth of the despatch from Washington. —*New York Sun,* September 8.

We must conclude from this that the purpose of the Administration is not to disseminate the *truth* about its exchanges with Mexico, but simply its *views.* Reminds us of the old difference between truth and logic. One can be terribly logical and not at all truthful.

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By Mexican Cable to the *Herald.*

Mexico City, Mexico, via Galveston, Texas, Wednesday.—That Venustiano Carranza will be a candidate at the October elections for President, if given full guaranties by the administration and will abide by the result whether he wins or loses was the statement made to-night by a representative of the northern rebels who is here to see General Huerta, but who desires that his name be withheld.

He states that General Carranza's trip to Sonora was for the purpose of persuading Sonora rebels to agree to this arrangement.

From the foregoing it would seem that even rebel leaders have recognized the Mexican Government as the Constitutional Government of Mexico. If it were not the Constitutional Government it could not call the people of Mexico to elections.

Yet we still refuse to recognize that government.

### The Limit of Humiliation

The *Mexican Herald,* voicing the sentiments of the majority of Americans here, says editorially:

"We regret to appear to be disrespectful toward our home Government, but the latest Consular instructions from the State Department at Washington, reversing the unwarranted and ill considered exodus order of ten days ago, seem to us to be the very limit of humiliation for Americans in Mexico. Upon what kind of information was the first sweeping peremptory order for Americans to get out of Mexico at once based? If the result did not justify panic, how is Washington now assured that there is no hurry?

"If the State Department does not rely upon reports of experienced and competent diplomatic and Consular representatives in Mexico, why, in heaven's name, doesn't it send others to represent it here in whom it has confidence? For months American interests in Mexico have been prejudiced by the attitude of their Government in Washington, and now the vacillating attitude of the State Department is making a laughing stock of Americans here and of the nation throughout the world."

Americans here refuse to comment upon the revised order except in such language as is unprintable. They are discouraged and unable to understand what the plans of the United States may be and what is to be expected. Business is practically at a standstill. Many who refused to leave previously are now preparing to abandon their interests and depart, as they see no hope of their Government doing anything to better affairs for them. Mexicans generally are good naturedly derisive.

High army officials here emphatically deny the report that they are plotting against President Huerta and that he is moving them about to prevent concerted action against him. There have been no rumors here of any such plots, and the only movement of high army officials has been due to well-outlined plans of the War Department, which have not been made public for obvious reasons.—*N. Y. Times,* September 9.

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### Busy Explaining

Administration authorities were busy to-day explaining the conflict between the President's message, which advised all Americans urgently to leave Mexico "at once," with his subsequent instructions to Consul-General Shanklin at Mexico City to advise Americans to take their time.

There was bad "team work" in the explanations. One official said that the President originally intended that his message should apply only to "zones of danger." Another official said that the President's message "had produced a congestion on railways and steamers and that the new instructions to Consul-General Shanklin were necessary to stop that congestion."

A flood of light was thrown on the reluctance of Americans to leave Mexico on the invitation of the President to-day. It came out, notwithstanding previous statements, that this Government will not reimburse refugees from Mexico for losses for abandoned leases, furniture and household goods in general. If an American who occupies a house under lease leaves Mexico he may have his transportation paid for him by this Government, but he will be liable to the Mexican landlord for the lease.—*N. Y. American,* September 10.

Those hundred or so Americans who left Vera Cruz for the United States must have been of Taftian size to have caused such a congestion!

And yet we have been told that living in Mexico is at present unbearable!

**J. P. Morgan says: "We certainly shall not lend money to Mexico while the present policy of our government continues in force."**

**See the connection.**

# PUBLIC OPINION

## The Mystery of Mr. Wilson's Mexican Policy.

The utter failure of President Wilson's attempt to relieve, by sentimental moral intervention, the dangerous situation brought about by his refusal to recognize the legal government of Mexico was fully anticipated by all who understand past and present conditions.

In assuming the personal right to decide, in defiance of the Mexican law and the Mexican Congress, that Huerta shall neither serve as president nor be a candidate for the presidency, and in deliberately choosing a course opposite to that of all other great nations, Mr. Wilson has brought the government of the United States to an unfortunate appearance of muddled incapacity in foreign affairs.

One of the most extraordinary things about the President's attitude is the mysterious secrecy of his conduct in a matter about which the whole country has the right to be informed.

Mr. Wilson has openly treated the American ambassador to Mexico with contempt, and has ignored his official reports. He has allowed the suppression of consular reports showing that the so-called "constitutional" forces with which the Huerta government is contending are largely made up of bandits given over to the almost indiscriminate pillage of towns and persons.

Mr. Wilson has not revealed the name of one of the multitude of reputable and informed American citizens living in Mexico who has advised him that President Huerta's official title is not as legal as his own.

He has not allowed the people to know the evidence on which he has chosen to ignore the detailed official statements of the representatives of the United States throughout Mexico.

He has concealed his reasons for relying for information upon purely personal representatives unfamiliar with the great and complex Mexican problem.

Can it be possible that the President of the United States has been led into the present unfortunate and embarrassing position through pride of personal opinion?

The State Department, under Mr. Bryan, is in an obvious condition of demoralization and helplessness. That is plain to be seen.

But the country has a right to look to President Wilson for a frank disclosure of the information furnished to him by private emissaries, since he has apparently turned his back on official reports.

Is Mexico to be forced into a declaration of national bankruptcy? If so, what does Mr. Wilson expect to accomplish by paralyzing the only apparent means of restoring order in that distracted country?

Why is our national government urging Americans to flee from Mexico when the provisional government is openly and strenuously exerting itself to protect life and property, and why are the facts reported by our consuls carefully locked up in the secret archives of the State Department?

What does it all mean?

Mr. Wilson says that he wants peace. How can he hope to avert a continuation of war by pursuing his present mysterious and futile policy of drifting?—N. Y. Eve. Mail.

## Strong Man Only Hope of Mexico

"Mexico as a nation will be nothing more than a land of disorder and banditti unless they find a man as good as Porfirio Diaz to become its President."

This was the summing up of the Mexican situation, as expressed last night by George Lewis, a mining engineer, of Boston, who arrived here on the Ward liner Morro Castle from Vera Cruz. Mr. Lewis, who managed a silver and lead mine in Cerralvo for two wealthy Spaniards, left Mexico because business was dead. The bandits, under the direction of General Carranza, he said, cleaned out the district where his mines lay and he was forced to quit.

"These bandits, or so-called Constitutionalists," he said, "have swooped down upon villages and mining camps and plundered right and left. They robbed one peaceful family near us, and threatened to kill every one in the district if there was any outcry. They have burned bridges, torn up railroad tracks and wrecked the country so that no business of any sort could be carried on. The country is actually paralyzed. Intervention by the United States would not do a particle of good. Nothing is fair and square in Mexico, and there will be nothing fair and square in the election. The nation needs a man like old Porfirio Diaz. Such a man at the head of the nation might restore order and do some good."

## Tying His Hands

Isn't there somebody close to President Wilson who cares enough for him as a man, and supports him as President, who can and will point out to him the dangerous situation in which he has been placed by his Mexican policy? Evidently he has received "advice" heretofore, but who will say that it was from any real friend? Europe is laughing at our President; Japan is smiling politely but none the less gleefully; the powerful countries of South America, Argentine and Brazil, whose ambition is to become even greater than the United States, are making capital out of our predicament; England is playing a shrewd game with the Panama Canal tolls question in mind, and the powers that be in Mexico have been so flagrantly antagonized and insulted that we can hardly blame them for resentment. This seems to be a gloomy picture of our international relations, but isn't it literally true?

It is a strange anomaly that our President, a thorough gentleman at heart, a model of polite cordiality in his relations with his fellow man, has seemingly given to the world an entirely different impression. I voted for him on the strength of my belief in his singleness and honesty of purpose in carrying out the necessary reforms to which the Democratic party has committed itself. And before his Administration is fairly under way he becomes involved in the crudest way in foreign misunderstandings and goes out of his way to incite them, as witness the Nicaragua protectorate proposition and the unwarranted meddling in Mexican politics.

What is back of all this? Is our President being "used"? Are those interests who saw in him an honest enemy tying his hands by pushing him into foreign troubles he is not capable of handling? Let somebody please suggest to him the advisability, the necessity, of appointing as Secretary of State a man of experience who knows and can handle foreign affairs, even though to do so it becomes necessary to create a new cabinet office for Bryan, for instance, Secretary of Ideals and Lectures.

And first of all let President Wilson come straight out in this Mexican matter, admit he has made a mistake, recognize the present capable Mexican Government, retire from Mexican politics and again take up his work of tariff and currency reform for which he was elected.—Letter in N. Y. *Evening Post.*

## French View of Situation

Paris, September 8.—The *Temps* this morning, in its leading article reviewing the Mexican situation, concludes:

"The simplest way out of the perplexities into which the United States has been thrown by a false diplomatic move would be to confine herself to an attitude of expectant neutrality, at least until the presidential election in October. The manifested wishes of the Mexican nation, if freely and regularly expressed, will then indicate to the United States a line of conduct better defined than is possible by the attitude of suspicious opposition which American diplomacy is adopting at the present time toward General Huerta.

"It would be best to recognize the provisional Huerta government while waiting, as the European Powers have done, and in accordance with the expressed wishes of all the foreign colonies in Mexico. The least untrustworthy opinion in Mexico is that Huerta is capable of re-establishing peace, and that work of pacification is making undeniable progress despite the countless difficulties. The attitude of the United States, in which the revolutionists find encouragement, is certainly not the smallest of these.

## The Present Government Is the Constitutional Government of Mexico

There cannot be any legal ground for withholding recognition, for the Huerta Government is in every respect a constitutional government. Upon their arrest Madero and Pino Suarez resigned from the offices of President and Vice-President, respectively. Their resignations were accepted by Congress sitting in extraordinary session. By virtue of article 83 of the Mexican Constitution, Pedro Lascurain, Minister of Foreign Affairs, automatically became President *ad interim*. In the exercise of his executive power he immediately appointed Gen. Victoriano Huerta Minister of the Interior, filling the vacancy left by the resignation of Rafael Hernandez. Subsequently Pedro Lascurain formally resigned his office and his resignation was accepted by Congress. Thus automatically and in accordance with the Constitution the executive power devolved upon Gen. Huerta, Minister of the Interior, as the office of Minister of Foreign Relations had been left vacant. All this was in strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the Mexican Constitution and with the common agreement of Lascurain, chief of the Madero Cabinet, the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and the Supreme Court, aided by the best legal talent in Mexico, all keen and conscientious in maintaining unbroken the constitutionality of the Mexican Government.

It may be contended by those denying the constitutionality of the Huerta Government that the foregoing proceedings took place under revolutionary coercion. Of course, neither Porfirio Diaz nor Madero resigned until forced by a successful revolution, but both their resignations were equally effective and the succeeding governments equally constitutional.

There was not the slightest question as to the constitutionality of de la Barra's government under similar circumstances.

Moreover, Madero's resignation was taken to Congress by Lascurain, Madero's friend and chief of Cabinet, and was accepted by a Congress in which the Maderists held the balance of power.

Later, on April 1st last, at the formal opening of the ordinary session of Congress, this body with almost all of its members present, formally recognized the constitutionality of Huerta as provisional President. In other words, the legislative and judicial powers of the previous administration have declared the constitutionality of the present one.—Los Angeles *Times*, July 20.

SENOR ENRIQUE GOROSTIETA
Mexican Minister of Finance

## An Absurd and Unjust Demand

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: It is said that Washington will not recognize the Mexican government until after legal elections shall have been held in Mexico. Such a declaration seems to be a new variation of the Monroe Doctrine, which besides covering the protection of Americans and Europeans in Latin America, is now to be extended to a supervision of the internal affairs of the other nations of the Americas.

Following this new modification the Mexicans are to be commanded to hold elections at a specified time and in a specified manner, under threat of "no recognition" by Washington should the demands not be complied with.

Such meddling in the internal affairs of another country is certainly unjustified and is most properly resented by any independent people.

The Mexican people themselves are the most interested in seeing to it that their laws are duly and properly enforced, as they themselves know at first hand how necessary it is to suppress disorder and rebellion in order to have peace established on a firm basis. The elections *must be held* because the law so provides, they must *be held honestly* for the same reason, and the Mexican people themselves would be the first to protest against any irregularities because they are the most vitally interested, but it is a far call indeed for the United States to attempt to dictate these measures to another nation or to assume the constitutional duties and rights of an independent people.

The Washington government is without warrant in regulating the suffrage in Mexico, but it insists on this, even though by so doing it violates the sovereignty of a sister nation, abuses the dignity of another government, embitters the fracticidal struggle and consequently causes the lives and property of foreigners resident in Mexico to be made insecure. But to carry its point is the great thing after all. T. MUECAS.

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 8, 1913.

## Letters to the Editor

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: I have been a very close reader for many years of all things Mexican.

The ignorance and utter bosh shown in all the dailies and in their editorials is astounding. They make or help to make an American un-American. For this reason I take real pleasure in speaking of your publication, "Mexico," as the only paper showing any sense at all on the subject. We agree so well that it seems as if I must have written much that is in your paper. You are saying in your paper things that I say every day about Mexico. I am glad there is one paper that can speak the truth on the subject.

My compliments to you. T. L. S.

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: It is particularly gratifying to at last find someone who knows the real situation in Mexico, and who has the courage to publish facts.

Anyone who is in the least familiar with Mexican affairs could write many volumes on the subject without being able to print one word of approval of the action of the United States government in this matter.

We wish you all the success possible, and which you so justly deserve. Yours very truly,

H. W. H.

## Nailing Them Some More

By Mexican Cable to the *Herald*.

Mexico City, Tuesday. An official order of the War Department was published to-day directing that new machinery be obtained for the government ammunition factory to largely increase the output and install a department for the manufacture of shells for artillery. Hitherto all shells and most rifle ammunition were imported from Washington.

We hope that last paragraph of the foregoing was cabled back to Mexico City. It is very selfish of the *Herald* to let us have all the fun here.

So hitherto Washington sent all the shells and most of the rifle ammunition to Mexico City!

## And Then Some

Washington.—Mr. Lind, it is stated, said that he will surely remain in Mexico until after the October election, and may be there a good deal longer. While he feels that the assurances received concerning the non-candidacy of Provisional President Huerta prove his mission to have been successful, he naturally desires to remain long enough to enjoy the full fruition of his labors. N. Y. *Herald*, September 10.

Well, now! What are the "fruitions" of Mr. Lind's labors?

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## The Power of Money

We ask our readers to study carefully the well-informed article by James Creelman reproduced from the New York *Evening Mail* on another page of this issue of Mexico. Those who have been puzzled by the seemingly weak and wobbly, when not merely stubborn, Mexican policy of the Administration, may find in this article a reason for the bland optimism that permeates the White House.

The Administration has gone into the banking business.

We all know the power of money, but it has remained for a Democratic President, absolutely uncontrolled by financial interests, an enemy of special privilege, to call upon the Money Power to help him carry out a meddling and muddling interference in Mexico. We all know, too, that money's greatest power is in the accretion of power, that it does not lend itself to sentiments nor blindly follow chimeras. It is pertinent to ask what "Money" expects from the Washington Administration in return for its bolstering up of the arbitrary, domineering Mexican policy?

It would be delightfully naive to say "Nothing." But experience teaches a different lesson. Experience may also teach President Wilson that when "Money" gets its grip on a Washington Administration it is slow to relax and hard to throw off. The pound of flesh will be demanded.

So this is how we are going to force our "ideals of democracy" on our weaker neighbors Verily the ways of idealists are beyond comprehension.

We object to Madero's overthrow by force. And we aim to overthrow his successor by the greatest force in the world—"Money." It is well in this connection to remember the dignified, patriotic words of Senor Gamboa's note rejecting the Administration's extraordinary offer to recommend a loan by our bankers to Mexico if Huerta would kindly eliminate himself. These words perhaps were prophetic:

"Permit me, Mr. Confidential Agent, not to reply for the time being to the significant offer in which the Government of the United States of America insinuates that it will recommend to American bankers the immediate extension of a loan which will permit us, among other things, to cover the innumerable urgent expenses required by the progressive pacification of the country; for in the terms in which it is couched it appears more to be an attractive antecedent proposal to the end that, moved by petty interests, we should renounce a right which incontrovertibly upholds us at a period when the dignity of the nation is at stake.

**"I believe that there are not loans enough to induce those charged by the law to maintain that dignity to permit it to be lessened."**

## American Responsibility

Inveighing against the deplorable conditions in Mexico is the favorite sport of certain jingoes, and not all of them Texans. The pictures they draw of conditions in our neighboring republic are hopelessly horrible. While it is true that these conditions have been greatly exaggerated for a variety of purposes, it is equally true that many of our most blatant "patriots" have themselves been largely responsible for the three years of truly deplorable disorder and civil strife below the Rio Grande. The suffering caused to American lives and property has been in a great measure due to the pernicious and meddling activities of Americans themselves.

It would be folly to assert that the United States or its citizens are the cause of Mexican troubles, but it is incontrovertible that the rebellious tendencies of unscrupulous and ambitious Mexican leaders and the ignorance and restlessness of their followers have been used to further the selfish interests and schemes of certain Americans. On this account we should in justice at least modify our attitude of self-satisfied horror and intolerance in considering Mexican affairs.

We should not be hypocritical in dealing with Mexico. We should look the situation straight in the face.

American interests backed morally and financially the Madero revolution, which plunged Mexico into its present state after thirty years of peace, prosperity and development under Porfirio Diaz.

American manufacturers of arms and ammunition have supplied the sinews of war for the rebels and bandits who are now pillaging and looting, and finding their nefarious business more profitable than honest toil.

American filibusters and smugglers along the Mexican border have reaped a golden harvest by violating the neutrality laws of the United States, and find in the continuation of trouble in Mexico the market they desire.

American Texans and even a Texas governor have found it profitable to harbor and encourage rebellions against the constituted authority of Mexico.

Irresponsible American adventurers have gone into Mexico and fought for any faction or band that promised sufficient monetary rewards.

The peace of Mexico requires that a strong central government put down this condition of lawlessness, in which financial interests and citizens of the United States have played so conspicuous a part. The peace of Mexico requires it. Civilization demands it. And yet the President of the United States refuses our moral support to the only government in Mexico, the one power with any chance of coping with the situation, and by this attitude greatly encourages every rebel chief and bandit leader who sees in a continuance of strife his chance for loot and power.

Let us deplore Mexican conditions if we will, but let us realize at the same time that we are not entirely without blame for them. This is putting it very mildly, for in truth they are more largely of our making than it would be pleasant to admit. But let us not be hypocrites.

## A New Game

We are all familiar with the old game of "cutting off the nose to spite the face." There is a new one called "cutting off the nose to *save* the face." It is a simple game, easily learned and is likely to win a great measure of popularity, since official Washington has marked it with approval. Diplomatic circles in the capital are not so keen about it but in time they, too, are expected to take it up enthusiastically.

You play it somewhat like this: First you make up your mind about something you don't know anything about. Then you sleep on it—if your opponent in the game will let you. Isn't it simple? But that's only the fundamental principle of the game. As it works out it is full of all kinds of surprising possibilities. Your opponent of course knows you have made up your mind about something you don't know anything about. His purpose then is to show how your mind works.

You do not want anybody to know how your mind works, so you keep mum. Then it is the business of your opponent to inform you about the thing you don't know anything about. But you must coldly and sternly resist any such attempt. The most forceful move at this point for you to make is to gather around you all the people you know who know nothing of the matter on which you have made up your mind. Have them all talk at once. This will effectually prevent any information or knowledge seeping into your head. If your opponent brings to his assistance authorities on the subject dismiss them curtly and treat them with supreme contempt.

And so on. You see the infinite possibilities of the game. It may be kept up for months at a time. Of course in the end it will appear that you made up your mind about something you know nothing about but meanwhile you have saved your face by cutting off the nose of knowledge.


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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

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# President Huerta's Message Its Significance

The friendly and temperate tone of the message read by President Huerta at the opening of the ordinary session of the Mexican Congress will undoubtedly be acknowledged by all fair-minded Americans.

The fact that in his message President Huerta expressed the hope "to see quickly solved the differences which day by day keep in suspense the friendship which of old united and for an indefinite future should unite us to our powerful civilized neighbor" will be highly gratifying to all friends of Mexico, and fortunately they are a host in this country.

After inviting his fellow countrymen to accept unreservedly the results of the forthcoming electoral contest, President Huerta went on:

"The moment is a solemn one, and therefore I urge on the honorable members of Congress to do patriotic work by impressing on their constituents the conviction that rebellion is incapable of bringing about the progress of nations, and that only by the orderly exercise of the rights of citizenship can a fit administrative personnel be selected and our political institutions elevated."

President Huerta's reference to the relations with the United States was brief and devoid of sensational features. "Never, perhaps," he said, "has an executive appeared before Congress, in the fulfilment of his constitutional obligation of giving periodically an account of his acts under circumstances more momentous than the present ones. The fratricidal struggle that has been draining the nation's blood is, fortunately, if such a word can be used in connection with a contest between brothers, on the point of terminating, thanks to the unremitting efforts of the glorious Federal army, on which no sufficient amount of praise can be bestowed.

"But in addition to that struggle the tenseness of our relations with the government of the United States of America, although, fortunately, not with the American people, has focussed universal attention upon us and has subjected us to not a few undeserved embarrassments and has retarded the complete and definite pacification of the Republic.

"Inasmuch as this is a matter of a delicate nature, and as the standing committee of Congress and the entire nation have been informed as to the state of negotiations, which have not so far been interrupted, I have only to say that the Government has well grounded hopes that an early solution will be found for the difference which just now holds in suspense the relations of good and long standing friendship, destined, we hope, to bind us for the indefinite future with our powerful and civilized neighbor."

General Huerta justly points out in his message that "there exists a tenseness in the relations of Mexico with the Government of the United States although luckily not with the people of the United States."

There is no quarrel between the people of the United States and the people of Mexico. This has been most eloquently demonstrated by the friendly attitude of the people of Mexico towards all Americans in Mexico before and during their national holidays and by Americans themselves who, despite the alarming suggestion from Washington, remained in Mexico trusting themselves to the hospitality of Mexicans.

Those jingo elements who are trying to read in General Huerta's message an attempt to put all the blame for the situation on President Wilson, by distinguishing between the Government and the people of the United States, are doing so intentionally and without the foundation of fact.

The Mexican Government undoubtedly knows that if President Wilson chooses to make a national issue of the Mexican question it is a foregone conclusion that he will have the support of the people even though they may be convinced that the issue is wrong.

It is a fact, however, that there is no national feeling in this country against either the Mexican people or the Mexican Government. The sporadic outbursts of a few jingo politicians who seek the furtherance of their personal ambition and profit in the provocation of trouble with our neighbors are by no means an indication of the popular sentiment.

The truth is that the average American citizen who has no direct relations with Mexico is indifferent to the so-called "Mexican situation," that those Americans who have commercial or social relations with Mexico are anxious to see the re-establishment of friendly intercourse with the southern Republic.

It is because these Americans who are familiar with Mexican affairs believe that the policy adopted by the Washington Administration is fraught with the most serious consequences for the two countries that they are trying to bring about a change in the attitude of the United States Government toward Mexico.

They believe that the policy adopted by the Washington Administration is based on misleading information and personal prejudice and that as a consequence a great wrong has been done to Mexico.

Whatever the personal reason and moral grounds on which recognition of the Huerta Government has been refused there is no doubt that such a refusal has worked and is working untold hardships on all Mexicans—excepting, of course, the few thousand bandits—and all foreigners residing in Mexico.

It could hardly be expected that such a course could be found just and friendly no matter how much of an appeal the Washington Administration should make to the patriotism of the American people.

The Mexican question is not and cannot be made a national issue while the people of both Mexico and of the United States preserve the equanimity which they have wisely shown so far.

It has been asserted that the Washington Administration is determined to "break" the Mexican Government, using its tremendous power in the financial markets of the world. This plan may or may not be successful, but in "breaking" the Mexican Government the Washington Government will break the people of Mexico

No matter how strong the desire of all Americans may be to give their loyal support to their Government in matters of international politics, the sentiment of justice will be stronger still.

We cannot fail to recognize the incongruity between the request of our Government that the Mexican Government afford ample and effective protection to American citizens in Mexico and the action of our Government in bending all its efforts to prevent the Mexican Government from obtaining the means with which extend such a protection.

If, on the one hand, this country extends sympathy and support to rebels and bandits—which are afforded by its very refusal to recognize the Huerta Government—and on the other tries to prevent Mexico from obtaining the financial help which it needs to establish complete order, how in all fairness can we say to the Mexican Government: "We hold you responsible for any harm that may befall our citizens"?

We do not believe that any doubt can be entertained in the minds of Americans that whatever harm Americans in Mexico have suffered has been at the hands of bandits and rebels. Hundreds of interviews with American refugees, hundreds of letters written by Americans in Mexico, hundreds of daily news items from Mexico and from the border published in the whole press of this country are patent proof of this fact. Wherever the Federal authorities have been in control Americans have not wanted in protection and security.

Yet our Government, whose concern after all should be mainly with the security of its citizens and not with the interior politics of Mexico, refuses to recognize or lend any friendly moral support to the Government of Mexico. It goes further—it tries to break that Government while at the same time it exacts from its heads even "personal responsibility"!

The asking of everything in exchange for nothing cannot be the basis of fair reciprocal relations.

But leaving aside for the present the part of the message which refers to the political and international situation, its most significant part in our opinion is that which refers to the economical conditions of Mexico.

That the internal revenues and those obtained from import and export duties should surpass by more than ten per cent. the revenues of the previous year, during a period in which parts of the country have been abstracted from Federal control is the clearest demonstration that general conditions in Mexico are far from being chaotic as the press reports would make us believe.

It is also the clearest demonstration of our assertion that the great majority of the Mexican people are law-abiding and peace-loving people WHO ARE ONLY ASKING FOR A FAIR CHANCE FROM THEIR NORTHERN NEIGHBORS TO WORK OUT IN PEACE THEIR OWN SALVATION.

The comment made by some newspapers on that part of the message which refers to the unfortunate fratricidal struggle—that it seems too optimistic—we believe to be unjust. The fact that the Coahuila rebels have been forced to take refuge in Sonora "and move to Hermosillo, their capital" as the flight has been picturesquely referred to in our press, is evidence of the failure of the rebel campaign in all other Northern States. A despatch to the New York *Times* from Mexico City says:

> It is not believed here that the Sonora rebel leaders will be willing to subordinate themselves to Governor Carranza, who has been unable to comply with their orders to capture and hold Torreon and Saltillo, and even has been unable to retain Monclova, which he had occupied for many months.

The work that remains is to clear the State of Durango of bandits and to push the campaign in Sonora. This should not be difficult now following the recent regaining of control of the State of Coahuila by the Federal forces.

When the Mexican situation as it exists today is fairly and carefully examined, it must be acknowledged that the advances made by the Huerta Government toward the pacification of the country have been not only remarkable but also beyond the expectations of those familiar with the economical and international difficulties which the Government has faced.

It must be considered that the Huerta Government has had to rely almost entirely on internal sources of revenue to conduct its work of reconstruction. From the loan of thirty million dollars obtained in June from French bankers, after paying about twenty-two millions to Speyer & Company and about three millions for debts to local banks contracted by the previous Administration the actual net amount obtained by the Government for the work of pacification has not been more than five million dollars.

In spite of this the Government has been able to organize a national army three times as large as that previously existing and to conduct an extensive and successful campaign against rebels and bandits, and this in less than seven months.

Had the Huerta Government received from the beginning the proper recognition and the moral support to which a Mexican Government is entitled from a friendly neighbor, the work of pacification would now be complete.

Had the neutrality laws been strictly enforced on our border so that arms and ammunition could not have reached the rebels and bandits from those American interests who back them, the work of pacification would have been much easier.

The portions of the message devoted to routine matters show that the revolutionary troubles are far from having paralyzed the administration's peaceful activities. A concession has been granted to a Belgian syndicate for the construction of 5,000 kilometres of railways in different parts of the republic, primary and technical education has been promoted, concessions for the development of water power have been granted, plans are well advanced for the establishment of juvenile courts in the capital, and agriculture is being encouraged.

An important statement in this connection is that the Government has acquired a large tract of land in the State of Morelos, which it is proposed to divide up into small holdings for distribution among peasants in that State. This is a great step toward the solution of the agrarian problem, which is at the bottom of the Zapatista movement in Morelos. Similar plans are to be carried out in other States. Huerta expresses the determination of the Government to take up everywhere the problem of small peasant proprietorship.

Attention is also being paid to labor questions, particularly the employment in factories of women and children. A Mexican commissioner is now in the United States studying the measures in vogue there for the protection of child labor. Portions of the message dealing with finance show that the revenue of the Federal Government during the fiscal year ended June 30 last amounted to 120,500,000 pesos. This sum exceeds the Federal revenue in the most prosperous days of the Diaz administration, as the largest revenue collections in any one year under Diaz amounted to only 114,280,000 pesos. This was in 1907.

Last year's revenue was 15,300,000 pesos in excess of the revenue in the previous fiscal year. Of this increase 7,600,000 pesos is accounted for by extra taxes, the balance of 7,700,000 pesos being the result of natural expansion. Of the sources of revenue, receipts from customs and stamp tax during the last fiscal year were substantial. The former yielded 52,300,000 pesos, which is a gain of 8,000,000 over the previous year, and the latter yielded 38,500,000 pesos, a gain of nearly 6,000,000 pesos.

The full returns of the Federal disbursements the last fiscal year are not yet in. Disbursements during eight months of the year were 65,100,000 pesos. Although this might seem to foreshadow total disbursements for the year of 97,650,000 pesos, which would mean a surplus of 22,850,000 pesos, Huerta says the disbursements in the last four months of every fiscal year invariably expand, and that the final account for the year probably will show a deficit, or, at best, an equilibrium between receipts and expenditures. Huerta points to these figures as proof of vitality.

Figures are also given showing that for the national defence the Government has contracted abroad for ten aeroplanes, seventy-seven armored automobiles and fifty unarmored automobiles, two armored transports, armed with four 75-millimetre guns.

## Denies Proclamation

Nogales, Ariz., September 11.—There is no truth in the story that General Ojeda has published a proclamation that the United States had declared war on Mexico and calling for recruits to repel an American invasion. The story was invented by and emanated from rebels, who are in desperation. Ojeda is receiving constant additional reinforcements and needs no recruits. His forces are satisfactorily advancing.—Los Angeles *Times*.

# Territory and Population Under Control of the Constitutional Provisional Government

While the northern States now in revolt embrace more than half the territory of the Republic of Mexico, they contain only about one-fifth of its population.—Washington *Post*, September 14.

Representatives of the Constitutionalists today denied that in the territory controlled by Huerta are four fifths of the population of Mexico. They declared that if the President believed this he has been grossly misinformed.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*.

The latter statement purports to be a denial of that part of the first which refers to population and which was evidently inspired by the usual "high Government officials." The rebel junta did not deem convenient to deny the part referring to territory as they were the gainers by the error of the high official.

As a matter of fact, neither assertion is correct and in order to convince our readers of how careless or malicious are the statements relating to the Mexican situation we print here below the respective area and population of each and all States and Territories of the Mexican Republic.

| State | Area—Sq. Kilometers. | Population In 1910. |
|---|---|---|
| Aguascalientes | 7,692 | 120,511 |
| Lower California | 151,109 | 52,272 |
| State of Campeche | 46,855 | 86,661 |
| State of Chiapas | 71,302 | 438,843 |
| State of Chihuahua | 233,215 | 405,707 |
| State of Coahuila | 165,219 | 362,092 |
| State of Colima | 5,887 | 77,704 |
| State of Durango | 109,495 | 483,175 |
| Federal Dis. of Mexico | 1,498 | 720,753 |
| State of Guanajuato | 28,363 | 1,081,651 |
| State of Guerrero | 65,480 | 594,278 |
| State of Hidalgo | 22,373 | 646,551 |
| State of Jalisco | 86,752 | 1,208,855 |
| State of Mexico | 23,908 | 989,510 |
| State of Michoacan | 58,594 | 991,880 |
| State of Morelos | 4,911 | 179,594 |
| State of Nuevo Leon | 64,838 | 365,150 |
| State of Oaxaca | 92,442 | 1,040,398 |
| State of Puebla | 33,653 | 1,101,600 |
| State of Querétaro | 11,638 | 244,663 |
| Territory of Quintana Roo | 49,914 | 9,109 |
| State of San Luis Potosi | 62,177 | 627,800 |
| State of Sinaloa | 71,380 | 323,642 |
| State of Sonora | 198,496 | 265,383 |
| State of Tabasco | 26,871 | 187,574 |
| State of Tamaulipas | 79,861 | 249,641 |
| Territory of Tepic | 28,371 | 171,173 |
| State of Tlaxcala | 3,973 | 184,171 |
| State of Vera Cruz | 72,215 | 1,124,368 |
| State of Yucatan | 41,287 | 339,613 |
| State of Zacatecas | 63,386 | 477,556 |
| Totals | 1,983,355 | 15,151,888 |

Now, *supposing for a moment* that *all* the border States were under the control of rebels and to these were added the States of Zacatecas and Durango—even then the total territory not under Federal control *would not be* "more than half the territory of Mexico" as claimed by the "high official." And even then the population in the territory under control of the Mexican Government *would be* more than four-fifths. In fact, here are the figures:

| States. | Area. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Sonora | 198,496 | 265,383 |
| Chihuahua | 233,215 | 405,707 |
| Coahuila | 165,219 | 362,092 |
| Nuevo Leon | 64,838 | 365,150 |
| Tamaulipas | 79,861 | 249,641 |
| Durango | 109,495 | 483,175 |
| Zacatecas | 63,386 | 477,556 |
| Totals | 914,510 | 2,608,704 |

The total territory being 1,983,355 square kilometres, that controlled by the rebels would be *less* than one-half with a population not one-fifth but *one-sixth* of the total

We said supposing *all* the border States were under rebel control.

But they are not. Nuevo Leon is *entirely* free from rebels. Tamaulipas is *all* under Federal control excepting the small town of Matamoros and the Huasteca, a small mountainous district. Zacatecas is one-third under Federal control.

Coahuila can hardly be said to be under rebel control since the Federals hold the largest cities: Saltillo, Torreon, Monclova, Cuatro Cienegas, and the rebel forces have been scattered, their leader, Carranza, being now in Sonora.

Chihuahua is entirely under Federal control, there being a few bands of bandits in the district of Guerrero only.

Considering the fact that in each of the following States one district is in rebel hands: Sinaloa, Morelos, Campeche, San Luis Potosi, and two districts in Michoacan, we may assume, for the sake of fair calculation, that all Coahuila and all of Zacatecas are under rebel control (*which they are not*), besides Durango and Sonora (which they are with the exception of Guaymas, the largest city in Sonora).

Thus we shall have a fairly accurate estimate of the territory not yet under Federal control and of its population:

| | Area. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Coahuila | 165,219 | 362,092 |
| Durango | 109,495 | 483,175 |
| Sonora | 198,496 | 265,383 |
| Zacatecas | 63,386 | 477,556 |
| Totals | 536,596 | 1,588,206 |

It is clear now that the territory controlled by the Federal Government is *considerably more* than two-thirds of the total (1,446,759 square kilometres out of 1,983,355 square kilometres) and *contains nine-tenths* of the total population: 13,563,682 out of 15,151,888.

All of which is far from being as represented by the "high official" and his near-friends, the members of the famous junta.

## The Right to Loot

"We want ammunition, not money," said Señor Francesco Escudero, in a talk to-day with Senator Bacon, of Georgia, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Señor Escudero called to present the claims of the Constitutionalists. An engagement was made for him by Senator Sheppard, of Texas, who believes that if the belligerency of Governor Carranza is recognized and he is allowed to receive arms and ammunition that Mexico will soon enjoy peace.

"The Federal army is composed of former convicts and hired soldiers, there being no volunteers," said Señor Escudero. "The Constitutionalist army, on the other hand, is composed entirely of volunteers. When they are paid, it is well; but when they are not, they continue to fight, for they are fighting for a principle."—Washington *Star*.

Senator Morris Sheppard, another delightful neighbor for the Mexicans, believes that if the rebels and bandits in Mexico are allowed to receive arms and ammunition, Mexico would soon enjoy peace. A paradox? Not at all — But we were going to say that the worthy Senator, who is a great supporter of the Peace Conference at the Hague, presented his protégé, Mr. Escudero, Carranza's "Minister of Finance," who is in the United States on a brief visit and, it is alleged, with a special mission from his "Government.'

Mr. Escudero told Senator Bacon that his Government was just then engaged in moving from somewhere in Coahuila—summer residence—to somewhere in Sonora—fall residence—and that the army which supports the Government of which he is the Minister of Finance—is composed entirely of volunteers. "When they are paid," he said, "it is well—but when they are not they continue to fight, for they are fighting for a principle."

Senator Bacon listened with sympathy and understanding because the Minister of Finance's words were a confirmation of the numerous reports he has received from Americans who for family reasons and much to their regret have momentarily left those places which enjoy the patriotic Government of the upholders of the Constitution.

Senator Bacon recalled particularly descriptions of the capture of Durango by that emulator of Hidalgo, Mr. Urbina. The American visitors had told him how the "Constitutionalists" were real volunteers and continued to fight even if they were not paid, and how they had been patriotically contented on being allowed three days of sacking in exchange for all arrears of pay. Those Americans had convinced Mr. Bacon that the patriots were fighting for a principle and that principle—the right to loot.

"The American colony has behaved splendidly, particularly the women. The fighting here is a war of the poor against the rich, and is very widespread on account of the attractiveness of the looting. The Constitutionalists' only idea is to destroy. They have made pitiable sights of Durango, Lerdo and Gomez Palacio. If they capture this city they will leave nothing of it."—Letter from Torreon in the New York *Herald*.

This is a confirmation of the statement made by the Carranza "Minister of Finance," Señor Escudero, to Senator Bacon that the rebels even when not paid continue to fight "for they fight for a principle."

Oh, well, there are misunderstood patriots as there are misunderstood geniuses. Ask Colquitt.

# A SCARE AND AFTER

For days preceding the celebration of the Mexican Independence on September 16 the press of this country indulged in scarehead prophecies of anti-American outbreaks, outrages and insults that would inevitably mark the Mexicans' enjoyment of their national holiday. Washington officials were reported as deeply concerned and nervous over the gloomy outlook. What couldn't and wouldn't happen when those gringo-hating, barbarous Mexicans were worked up to patriotic fervor by the wild and warlike utterances of President Huerta?

What actually happened? In all of Mexico not one single anti-American demonstration took place, not one overt act of hostility was shown. When we consider the antagonistic attitude of the United States Government to the Government of Mexico, isn't this certainly an irrefutable proof of the self-restraint, the civilization, the culture of the Mexican people as a whole? Isn't it the strongest argument possible in favor of the influence and power of the interim Government.

It is not the fault of the Mexican Government and the better classes of the Mexican people that certain parts of their broad country have been overrun by bands of bandits, whose marauding and depredations have injured foreigners' property as well as their own. These Mexicans in arms against constituted authority do not number more than five or six thousands out of the sixteen millions of Mexicans.

The feeling of the Mexicans toward the Americans who live there is not one of antagonism except in individual cases where Americans have bullied and taken advantage of Mexicans. On the contrary, the majority of Mexicans are actuated by the kindliest feeling for Americans and welcome them to live and prosper in the country, realizing as they do that this is good for Mexico and Mexicans.

As President Huerta pointed out in his message, there is no quarrel between the Mexican people and the American people. There is an unfortunate tension in the relations of the Governments of the two countries. It is the hope of every patriotic American and every country-loving Mexican that that tension be relieved at the earliest possible moment and that the two nations resume their old-time friendly intercourse and mutual understanding to the advantage of both.

Certainly this happy readjustment will not be furthered by a superior, patronizing, captious attitude in Washington toward the Mexican Government nor by the misrepresentation of Mexican conditions in the press of the United States. It will not be any great length of time before the Mexican Government will have succeeded in policing the vast country as a protection against the outlaws who have devastated it. It would be a much shorter time if the Washington Administration should eventually come to see the folly of its ill-advised Mexican policy and deal with the situation as it really is. Matters have so shaped themselves that if he persists in his present course the President of the United States will be put in the unpleasant and ridiculous position before the world of refusing to recognize the Government of our closest national neighbor for no other reason save an unreasoning and purely personal dislike for a man.

There is too much at stake for the sixteen million people of Mexico, for the whole American people, North, Central and South, and for the nations of Europe in friendly relations with Mexico, to make any such position tenable. And that is the position to which he is logically, inevitably being narrowed by the force of events.

# Cabinet Changes

The only really significant news lately concerns the withdrawal of Huerta's Cabinet officers. Mondragon has been followed by Reyes and Urrutia. The reasons for their resignations are not known, but generally when Cabinet officers retire in Mexico it is because the Executive has no further use for them, and it must be confessed that the list of prominent Mexicans still persona grata with Huerta seems to be growing small.—New York *Times*, September 16.

The New York *Times* has treated Mexican affairs with exceptional and gratifying fairness despite the fact that it is a strong supporter of President Wilson.

It is therefore in a kindly spirit that we take exception to the foregoing remarks.

In the first place, we do not think Mexico differs from this country in the matter of the retirement of Cabinet officers. We understand that in the United States also usually when a Cabinet officer retires it is because the Executive has no further use for him. Cleveland appointed twenty-two Cabinet officers during his administration and we do not think that all who retired did so against the President's urgent wishes that they should stick.

The same can be said, we think, of Cabinet members who retired in succeeding administrations up to and including that of Mr. Taft.

Second, we believe it is quite unfair for the *Times* to say: "The list of prominent Mexicans still persona grata with Huerta seems to be growing small."

The retirement of men like Mondragon, Reyes and Urrutia is greatly to be regretted because they are undoubtedly prominent and good Mexicans.

But the *Times* must know that Mexico has not such a dearth of men who can fill their places. There are plenty of men in Mexico—more or less well known in the United States—who can give a good account of themselves as members of Huerta's official family. And perhaps it is not a bad idea, that of Huerta, to give an opportunity to "new blood."

# El Pasograms

El Paso, Texas, Sunday.—Three hundred rebels of Francisco Villa's command were killed on Friday in a battle with the Federal forces of Generals Maco Caraveo and Antonio Rojas at Bustillos, Chihuahua, according to official Federal messages received to-day at Juarez from Monocal Mercado, of Chihuahua.

Several rebels were made prisoner by the Federals. Among them was Colonel Pofirio Talamantes, Villa's chief of staff. One hundred rebels who had been wounded in the recent San Andres battle and who were being cared for at the Bustillos ranch were captured by the Federals. The buildings of the Bustillos ranch, which belongs to Alberto Madero, an uncle of the late President of Mexico, were set on fire and destroyed by the Federal shells.

General Jose Ynez Salazar, with 400 Federal troops, left Juarez to-day on board a special train to intercept Villa and the remnants of his force, who are marching toward the border. Villa is reported to be nearing Casas Grandes.—New York *Herald*.

At last an El Pasogram *had* to state that Villa had been attacked and defeated.

What a pity! The *Herald* El Pasogramist will have to dig up some other "general" now for the customary attacks on Juarez and on trains running between Juarez and Chihuahua.

He will have to begin all over again, after four months of easy money all made out of the handy Villa! Unless, of course, Villa should rally his forces at Casas Grandes, as reported by the clever El Pasogramist, who left an opening, and get ready for a few more attacks—*ojalá!*

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(Special Despatch to the New York *Herald*.)

Piedras Negras, Coahuila, Mexico, Thursday. —General Jesus Carranza is highly indignant at the report from Mexico City to the effect that the Constitutionalists have an agent there negotiating for peace with Huerta, and who has promised that the Constitutionalists would abide by the result of the October election no matter what it might be. He said:

"We have no agent whatever authorized to deal in any manner with the Huerta Government. If there is any one in Mexico City representing himself in any such way Huerta should hang him. We have had and will have no dealings of any kind with Huerta and his associates. We will make no terms or agreement with him on any matter. We are in the field to fight him to the end. Only the arbitrament of arms can settle our dispute with him. He is a usurper and an assassin, and we have pledged our lives to drive him out of the country."

Now, that is very unkind of Don Jesus. The agent whom he wants hanged had declared he was a representative of Venustiano Carranza, who is now traveling in Sonora, about 1,500 miles from Piedras Negras.

Unless Don Jesus also has been provided with one of the wireless outfits used by his brother Venustiano and the rebel junta in Washington, how can he know his brother's intentions?

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**It is one thing to support the Administration's peculiar theories and policies regarding Mexico.**

**But ask yourself whether you would go to war for them.**

**That's the test.**

## Who's Going to Pay?

Washington, D. C., September 13.—In anticipation of important developments in connection with the Mexican problem next week, the State Department officials have been giving much attention to the execution of the plans for the withdrawal in safety of those Americans in Mexico who can be induced to come out of the country.

The immediate result of the State Department's warning was to gather a number of such refugees in the seaports, but most of these have now been shipped to the United States and the American consuls in Mexico report a notable diminution in the number of Americans homeward bound.

It is believed those who are now in the country have decided to remain and take the chances of protection at the hands of the Huerta Government. Chicago *Inter Ocean*, September 14.

It's all very nice to induce them to come out. But who's going to pay for their losses, caused by leaving their property on the silly say-so of an incompetent State Department?

Washington.—The Secretary of State recently announced, in response to anxious requests for information by Americans who did not want to abandon their properties, that the Mexican authorities would be held strictly accountable for damage to American property.

To observers here who are familiar with international law and usage there arise two considerations. The first is the question as to whether Mexico will ever be financially able to reimburse Americans and other foreigners, and the second, and most important, is the extent of the liability of the Mexican Government for the destruction of property left without protection by Americans, who departed from the country on their own volition and through no fault of the Government in Mexico City.

At least, it is pointed out here, the Mexican Government would have fine grounds for making such an answer to claims presented by the Government of the United States.—New York *Tribune*, September 15.

## Barney Cline, Soldier of Fortune

Carrizo Springs, Tex., September 14.—The American leader of the band of Mexican ammunition smugglers captured near here yesterday after a fight with a troop of the 14th United States Cavalry has been identified as Barney Cline, a soldier of fortune, who fought with Madero in Chihuahua three years ago.

Cline admits his identity and says he has been fighting in the army of Emiliano Zapata in southern Mexico for the last two years.

Report to-day that a force of Mexicans was on the way here to free the smugglers, who are confined in the local jail, caused a strong guard to be posted around the town.

A special State Grand Jury will be convened to-morrow and Cline and his Mexican companions will be indicted for the murder of Deputy Sheriff Ortiz.

According to statements made by the men in jail they were members of the Flores Magon Socialist party and were on their way to Mexico to proclaim a new revolution. They said the band had been recruited by Cline and had planned to raise the banner of revolt on September 16, the Mexican national holiday.—Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, September 15.

American "soldiers of fortune" like Cline are the kind of Americans who get into trouble in Mexico, and are responsible for much of Mexico's troubles. There is little that is romantic about this sort of "soldier of fortune" and much that is cheap and sordid.

They fight for the money and loot they hope to get, not for principles of right or justice. In that sense they are as much bandits and outlaws as most of those now fighting against the Government.

# The Work of the Clique

### A Retrospective Survey

Let us concede that the altruistic plans of Madero for true democracy were the result of the high ideals of that leader, and that he began with an honest effort to put them into effect. We are far, very far, from trying to criticize Madero; he is dead and he should rest in peace. It is true that Madero had very high ideals; that his motives might have been the best. But most assuredly, the clique that surrounded him from the very start was as ignoble and mercenary an amalgamation as has ever gathered around a man with prospects of power. It is not a secret that Madero had with him, to help him in his revolution, the worst elements that he could have chosen.

He had affiliated with him mercenary filibusters; foreigners who could not possibly fight for ideals or principles, but for what they could get out of it, and on the other hand, the worst and most criminal element of Mexican life. What could be expected? When success came, the filibusters, foreigners, unable to stay with Madero, got from him all they could as reward for their aid, and left him. Many a one came to New York and went abroad with schemes that were always to the detriment of Madero. As for the criminal element of Mexicans who fought with Madero in the revolution, no one, however slightly acquainted with Mexican affairs, doubts that these very men were responsible for Madero's downfall. Was not Zapata his most trusted "General"? Was not Villa—the worst bandit and criminal ever known in Mexico—his stanch friend? But it would be too long to enumerate his "friends" who helped him to power and then caused his ruin.

With a few exceptions, for some honorable men remained with Madero in his administration out of mere patriotism and love of their country, lest worse elements might creep in the already disorganized government, with a few exceptions, we say, the high and most responsible places were filled with the most unfit, the most dishonorable and the most despised men in Mexico. For the greater part they all had no other view and no other aim than graft. They thought that "to the victor belongs the spoils," and they set about plundering the country in every conceivable way.

You could hardly have found a man in the Madero administration—unless he was of the old régime—who had any other ambition than his own personal profit. The future of the mother country was nothing, they must use and abuse their temporary power to enrich themselves at any cost. No one could tell how long it would last, they all said. And is it any wonder that the reaction should come as it has come?

Some day the history of this time will be written dispassionately; if it is possible for a Mexican, if he be a patriot, to keep his head cool when he remembers how his country was threatened and her liberty nearly lost, due to the acquisition of power by a clique of audacious and rapacious men, who took the place by storm, taking advantage of the apathy and indifference into which had fallen a people noble and worthy of better luck.

Let us consider the Mexican Army. Madero repeatedly insulted the Army and deeply hurt the feelings of every officer. However, how nobly, how devotedly and really heroically the Army and its officers responded to Madero when called upon to save him in the very beginning of his administration. Was he grateful? Did he try to redeem his past insults to the Army? No. He made the breach wider, and he surely must have been thinking hard when prisoner in the palace that his fate might have been different had he been fair and loyal to the Army which suffered so much on his account.

Let us remember that only three years ago you could travel in Mexico from one end to the other with your pockets full of gold and never be molested. Not even the most wicked could dery this, and if it was a lot of adventurers who upset all this prosperity and happiness, let the Mexicans punish them the best way they see fit according to their ways and manners, and let us be just and fair toward them in their days of trouble.

Whatever the malice and ignorance toward Mexico, history will vindicate Huerta, Diaz and Blanquet, and the Mexican Army, when better known by foreigners, and above all by Americans. They will think very differently of the bloody conflict which raged in the City of Palaces—as it was called by the Aztecs—in the terrible weeks of the 9th to the 23d of February.

It is so easy to criticize, so easy to speak and utter opinions about what one knows nothing. It is so much easier to knock than to boost that it is little wonder that the American people should make up their minds that Mexico is a barbarous country and the present rulers a lot of murderers. But has any one, however little conscience he may have, ever stopped to analyze the true facts? Has any one even tried to get evidence before condemning that which perhaps he might have done himself if his country's fate was at stake?

## Neutral—Not

It is absolutely fallacious for President Wilson to assume that his policy is one of neutrality toward all parties and factions in Mexico. Theoretically it is neutral. In practical effect, as it really works out, it is a policy decidedly antagonistic to the constituted Government of Mexico and decidedly in favor of the rebels and bandits. Non-recognition is not and cannot be neutral. It is negative, but it is prejudicial and partial. Ask the rebels how they like it

## "Two Factions"

All this talk of "two factions" in Mexico is poppycock. The idea of the President of the United States seems to be that there is one faction in control of the government by usurpation and on the other hand a faction fighting against this government to sustain the principles of democracy. Nothing could be farther from the truth, and it is hard to conceive how President Wilson ever got that idea except that he evolved it from his inner consciousness. Of course it is true that the defeated and disappointed followers of Madero, from their Washington headquarters and through their press agents, have created and fostered that idea, because they were well advised that it would appeal to the American people. Naturally our sympathies would go out to any people fighting for popular government, although God knows we haven't got as much of it here as we might have. It is a conception that would particularly appeal to men like President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, whose ideals are purely democratic in matters of gov-

But that is not the situation in Mexico today by any manner of means. The Madero revolution unleashed certain lawless elements in Mexican life that had been held in check by the strong government of Porfirio Diaz. On account of the immense territory and topographical conditions of Mexico the trade of bandit is easily assumed, fairly safe and highly profitable. As soon as the central government showed palpable signs of weakness under Madero and that impractical idealist failed to carry out his promises to the peons, bandit chiefs sprang up right and left, and had no difficulty in gaining followers from among those who were out of employment and those to whom the free and easy life appealed. These bandit chiefs have no more idea or ideals of democracy than robbers anywhere. At least they bother them as little. They will hire themselves out at a price to anybody who can pay it, unless it suits them better to maraud, loot and blackmail on their own account. Some of these men and their followers have for money and the spoils of war joined the Madero-financed movement of Carranza, the object of which is simply personal revenge on Huerta and everything Huertan, with the hope that a continuation of trouble for Mexico will somehow shape itself around to the rehabilitation of the Madero family and followers, who have been the curse of Mexico.

Now, there's the situation as it really is, and there is plenty of evidence in the Washington State Department not made public which proves it, and must certainly have convinced the Administration if it wanted to learn the truth. The Madero followers hied themselves to Washington, called themselves Constitutionalists—fine name, that—claimed that the state of lawlessness in Mexico for which they were responsible was really a high-principled movement, called these roving bands of cutthroats and robbers the Constitutionalist armies, and on the strength of their false assertions helped President Wilson to make up his mind about Mexico before he knew "where he was at." He has been consistently sticking to the idea of "two factions" ever since, no one knows why, except possibly the President and his advisers.

# MEXICO'S TRADE

## IMPORTS

(Value in Mexican Money.)

| Classification According to Imports. | May, 1913. | May, 1912. | 1913 Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Animal materials | 1,185,250.08 | 1,118,532.45 | + 66,717.63 |
| Vegetable materials | 3,045,750.22 | 3,343,882.40 | — 298,132.18 |
| Mineral materials | 3,109,348.51 | 4,128,372.37 | —1,019,023.86 |
| Textiles and manufactures | 1,928,625.50 | 2,113,387.04 | — 184,761.54 |
| Chemical and pharmaceutical products | 1,291,954.00 | 878,649.39 | + 413,304.61 |
| Alcoholic, fermented and natural drinks | 411,812.97 | 669,786.62 | — 257,973.65 |
| Paper and its applications | 328,571.86 | 463,071.50 | — 134,499.64 |
| Machines and apparatus | 1,643,418.96 | 1,494,066.32 | + 149,352.64 |
| Vehicles | 274,387.21 | 301,443.75 | — 27,056.54 |
| Arms and explosives | 116,443.99 | 430,141.24 | — 313,697.25 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,024,599.61 | 794,285.99 | + 230,313.62 |
| Total imports | 14,360,162.91 | 15,735,619.07 | —1,375,456.16 |

### First 11 Months of the Fiscal Year

| | 1912-13. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Animal material | 16,871,671.92 | 15,250,744.20 | +1,620,927.72 |
| Vegetable material | 29,597,879.83 | 28,777,088.05 | + 820,791.78 |
| Minerals | 43,394,308.21 | 43,294,682.22 | + 99,625.99 |
| Textiles and manufactures | 23,851,896.87 | 19,465,805.31 | +4,386,091.56 |
| Chemical and pharmaceutical products | 11,771,831.01 | 10,947,927.11 | + 823,903.90 |
| Alcoholic, fermented and natural drinks | 6,222,282.47 | 6,147,551.87 | + 74,730.60 |
| Paper and its applications | 4,780,039.14 | 4,565,248.34 | + 214,790.80 |
| Machines and apparatus | 21,759,232.06 | 21,951,576.28 | — 192,344.22 |
| Vehicles | 4,891,668.59 | 4,358,715.56 | + 532,953.03 |
| Arms and explosives | 3,623,547.11 | 4,965,641.01 | —1,342,093.90 |
| Miscellaneous | 9,924,010.71 | 8,925,238.34 | + 998,772.37 |
| Total imports | 176,688,367.92 | 168,650,218.29 | +8,038,149.63 |

### Summary of Merchandise Classified According to Countries From Which It Comes

| | May, 1913. | May, 1912. | 1913 Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europe | 6,425,655.26 | 6,757,023.91 | — 331,368.65 |
| Asia | 572,234.91 | 208,465.86 | + 363,769.05 |
| Africa | 18,027.85 | 22,238.64 | — 4,210.79 |
| North America | 7,264,094.22 | 8,270,286.75 | —1,006,192.53 |
| Central America | 27,512.41 | 8,716.68 | + 18,795.73 |
| South America | 37,149.31 | 457,607.10 | — 420,457.79 |
| West Indies | 11,819.95 | 8,898.13 | + 2,921.82 |
| Oceanica | 3,669.00 | 2,382.00 | + 1,287.00 |
| | 14,360,162.91 | 15,735,619.07 | —1,375,456.16 |

### First 11 Months of the Fiscal Year

| | 1912-13. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europe | 79,649,523.00 | 71,547,044.76 | +8,102,478.24 |
| Asia | 3,878,623.06 | 2,717,450.12 | +1,161,172.94 |
| Africa | 171,901.06 | 103,829.95 | + 68,071.11 |
| North America | 90,576,632.67 | 92,881,661.45 | +2,305,028.78 |
| Central America | 124,303.46 | 88,817.20 | + 35,486.26 |
| South America | 1,888,996.59 | 1,062,696.58 | + 826,300.01 |
| West Indies | 235,963.92 | 152,878.94 | + 83,084.98 |
| Oceanica | 162,424.16 | 95,839.29 | + 66,584.87 |
| | 176,688,367.92 | 168,650,218.29 | +8,038,149.63 |

# WITH THE WORLD

## EXPORTS

(Value in Mexican Money.)

| | May, 1913. | May, 1912. | 1913 Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mineral products | 12,126,142.33 | 17,169,745.22 | −5,043,602.89 |
| Vegetable products | 8,086,104.50 | 8,700,759.37 | − 614,654.87 |
| Animal products | 1,880,838.35 | 1,674,428.00 | + 206,410.35 |
| Manufactured products | 266,674.44 | 510,523.00 | − 243,848.56 |
| Miscellaneous | 152,581.09 | 134,218.00 | + 18,363.09 |
| Total exports | 22,512,340.71 | 28,189,673.59 | −5,677,332.88 |

### First 11 Months of the Fiscal Year

| | 1912-13. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mineral products | 175,739,908.90 | 173,671,000.00 | +2,068,908.90 |
| Vegetable products | 79,581,529.30 | 75,963,723.69 | +3,617,805.61 |
| Animal products | 18,417,360.35 | 18,366,379.00 | + 50,981.35 |
| Manufactured products | 3,272,926.44 | 6,292,365.00 | −3,019,438.56 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,405,775.09 | 1,597,085.00 | − 191,309.91 |
| Total exports | 278,417,500.08 | 275,890,552.69 | +2,526,947.30 |

### Summary of Merchandise Classified According to Countries

| | May, 1913. | May, 1912. | 1913 Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europe | 4,824,162.45 | 7,088,930.88 | −2,264,768.43 |
| Asia | 10,031.00 | .... | + 10,031.00 |
| Africa | .... | .... | .... |
| North America | 17,448,447.81 | 20,697,423.71 | −3,248,975.90 |
| Central America | 124,260.45 | 248,592.00 | − 124,331.55 |
| South America | 427.00 | 6,571.00 | − 6,144.00 |
| West Indies | 105,012.00 | 148,156.00 | − 43,144.00 |
| Total | 22,512,340.71 | 28,189,673.59 | −5,677,332.88 |

### First 11 Months of the Fiscal Year

| | 1912-13. | 1911-12. | 1912-13. Differences. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europe | 56,671,832.43 | 63,745,298.23 | −6,983,465.80 |
| Asia | 16,223.00 | 7,400.00 | + 8,823.00 |
| Africa | 125.00 | .. .. | + 125.00 |
| North America | 217,656,922.02 | 208,503,739.30 | +9,153,082.72 |
| Central America | 2,285,535.85 | 1,684,110.00 | + 601,425.85 |
| South America | 92,956.00 | 44,035.00 | + 48,921.00 |
| West Indies | 1,604,005.78 | 1,736,152.00 | − 132,146.22 |
| Oceanica | .... | 169,818.16 | − 169,818.16 |
| | 278,417,500.08 | 275,890,552.69 | +2,526,947.39 |

### Imports and Exports Comparative Summary

| Periods. | Value in Mexican Money. | Value in Mexican Money. |
|---|---|---|
| May, 1912 | 15,735,619.07 | 28,189,673.59 |
| May, 1913 | 14,360,162.91 | 22,512,340.71 |
| Differences—Absolute | −1,375,456.16 | −5,667,332.88 |
| Differences—Proportional | −8.74% | −20.14% |
| First 11 Months of Fiscal Year. | | |
| 1911-12 | 168,650,218.29 | 275,890,552.69 |
| 1912-13 | 176,688,367.92 | 278,417,500.08 |
| Differences—Absolute | +8,038,149.63 | +2,526,947.39 |
| Differences—Proportional | +4.77% | +0.92% |

### What the Figures Show

It is evident from a perusal of the above figures that trade conditions in Mexico are far from being as bad as the general public has been led to believe from the statements published in the press.

We have read time and time again in the last few months that business in Mexico is at a standstill, and that there is no commerce to speak of in that country. As a matter of fact, examining the figures for the month of May of this year, we find that the imports during that month had diminished only 8.74% and the exports 20.14% from May of last year. This at a time when conditions in Mexico were much worse than they are now and the worst since the February revolution.

During the month of May the railroads to the northern ports of entry, Laredo and Juarez, were entirely out of commission, while at present the railroad is operating all the way from Laredo to Mexico City and from Juarez to Chihuahua.

During that month the rebels had absolute control of the States of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, while at present they have been driven entirely from Nuevo Leon and their backbone has been broken in the State of Coahuila.

Examining the figures for the first eleven months of the fiscal year, we find that the *increase* in the imports has been 4.77% and in the exports 0.92%.

It must be added here that custom house receipts in the second half of the fiscal year—that is from January to June 1913, inclusive—showed *an increase* of 4,000,000 pesos and the stamp revenue a gain of 2,000,000. This despite the fact that the northern ports of entry were closed during four months out of the six.

The stamp revenue is the thermometer of the interior trade, as it is based on the amount of business transacted.

Eloquent figures these that constitute the best refutal to the Washington Administration's assertion that conditions in Mexico have become worse rather than better. They constitute also the strongest denial of the careless assertion that everything is going to the dogs in Mexico and demonstrate the wonderful vitality of the country and her people.

We could not find a better argument than the mere presentation of these figures to prove our statement that the overwhelming majority of Mexicans are not concerned with revolutions, that they are anxious for complete peace and an opportunity to continue in their work of progress. If it were true that the whole country was in a state of turmoil the foreign commerce of Mexico would indeed have dwindled to nothing.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week**

**and Learn What's What**

**Below the Rio Grande**

# LOBBYGRAMS

## Tips on Hale

The ex-Rev. Hale still hangs around the Willard and still wears that "I-know-it-all-if-I-only-dared-to-tell-you-but-I-don't" expression "that won't come off."

He has been the the despair of newspaper men who have in vain tried to learn of his Mexican activities. They have heard his praises sung by the President, who expressed to them his admiration "for the way in which Hale presented his version of the Mexican situation, refraining from making any suggestions as to the policy that this country should pursue"—but that is all.

The reciprocal admiration of biographed and biographer is touching. We know what it means to a newspaper man to be foiled in the hope of getting a good story. Perhaps we may help a little and give a tip.

We have been told that Hale purchased for $1,800 or thereabouts in Mexico City a purse said to have belonged to Pino Suarez.

Hale was very anxious to have what he calls damaging proof that Madero and Pino Suarez had been assassinated. No one seemed to have any doubt that they had been killed, but Hale wanted proofs. So there was produced a purse showing that a bullet had been fired at close range, the fact being duly certified by an eye witness, and it was declared to have belonged to Pino Suarez; $1,800 was the price asked and paid by Hale without a murmur, so the story goes. The man who got the money is said to have paid as much as $5 for the purse and to have had much trouble in firing the bullet through a piece of cloth so that it would pierce the purse in the right spot.

Another tip which the newspaper men might follow to an advantage was contained in a dispatch to the New York *World* about two weeks ago stating that Hale's constant companions while he was in Mexico City were men closely connected with the Waters-Pierce interests. One of them was Mr. Galbraith, manager of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, who a few months ago seemed in favor of the Huerta Government as evidenced by several letters which he wrote to friends in the United States, but who later changed his opinions upon advice received from New York.

Another adviser of Hale was Mr. de Lima, manager of the Banco de Industria y Commercio, in which Mr. Pierce is said to have large interests, and Mr. Diffenbach, a director in the same bank.

All the world is anxiously awaiting Mr. Hale's disclosures on Mexican affairs, of which he has stated he "is full."

## Colquitt Again

Colquitt is a Democrat, because no one can be elected Governor of Texas on a Republican ticket.

Colquitt does not approve the old Democratic doctrine of anti-imperialism and he cannot support President Wilson in his policy of peace.

Not that Colquitt wants war with Mexico for any selfish motives or that he is making a "grandstand play."

No, but Colquitt cannot be content with emulating Napoleon in speech only.

Colquitt has been told that his prototype was a great writer—besides being a conqueror—and Colquitt wants to be a writer, too.

He thinks it would be a splendid medium for inducing the people of the United States to force a war upon the Washington Administration. So he has written to certain New York publishers stating simply that he wanted to write some articles about Mexico.

"Why," said he, "should Senator Fall be known as the only expert on Mexican affairs and Mexican wars?

"I am an expert, too."

Colquitt's surprise—easier to imagine than describe—was great when he perceived that the New York publishers had foolishly failed to seize the opportunity of making their publication great and to wire him a retainer so as to nail his writings. The fools! Wealth and fame had knocked at their doors and they had not responded!

Colquitt was evidently a misunderstood genius. But Colquitt is not easily daunted, particularly when he is determined to have a war with Mexico.

So he wrote to Penrose and revealed to him the exact number of Americans killed in Mexico in the last three months, more than 1,000. It is said that he has given the name, history, and true circumstances of death of every one of the 1,000 or so Americans killed, but unfortunately he has requested secrecy from Senator Penrose about the contents of his letter.

Colquitt is just the friendly, truthful, kind, considerate, good-hearted sort of a neighbor that any Mexican would like.

## 57

Agents of the Constitutionalist movement stoutly maintained the Americans were in no danger at all, and would be protected by Constitutionalist forces against any roving marauding bands.—New York *Evening Post*, September 15.

Those Magna Charta agents in Washington are delicious! Which, may we ask, with all the due respect constitutions inspire in us, especially when represented by so eminent a leader as the Honorable Perez Romero, which of the fifty-seven varieties of "constitutionalists" will protect Americans from any of the other fifty-seven varieties of marauding bands?

Or, does the Mexican Patriot who was so adroitly interviewed by the rising sleuth of the Associated Press, mean that the rebels will protect Americans against their rebel selves? We should advise our esteemed confrére in Washington to ferret out of the Bellevue Hotel one of the Mexican Patriots and learn the meaning of the Spanish proverb: *"No me defiendas compadre!"*

## Obstinacy

The President could end the Mexican trouble in a moment but for his personal obstinacy. Firmness is a virtue; obstinacy is a vice. Firmness is based upon reason; obstinacy is always unreasonable. I do not doubt that the President is misled by false reports from the ring in the State Department, and this accounts for the daily rumors that contradict each other and for the untruths that are presented as official facts. For example, the President stated in his last lecture to Congress that several of the Powers had expressed approval of his policy. This cannot possibly be true, for all the Powers have recognized Huerta, and the chief feature of the President's policy is to refuse him recognition. The danger to Americans in Mexico was grossly exaggerated in the President's lecture. Officially, there are 40,000 Americans resident in Mexico, but only five hundred have obeyed the President's order to withdraw, and Huerta has generously paid their first-class passage back to this country. A point overlooked is that by his proclamation the President has made our Treasury responsible for all the losses that the American residents may incur, amounting conservatively to millions of dollars. Obstinacy costs money—in this case, the people's money.

Congress has voted $100,000 to help the emigrants, but this is a mere drop in the ocean of liabilities. With keen tact and grim humor Huerta has capped the appointment of Lind as an unaccredited agent by sending to Washington Señor Zamacona as an unaccredited envoy, who will demonstrate that the United States has no more legal or moral right to dictate who shall be, or shall not be, President of Mexico than Huerta has to interfere in the squabble about the Governorship of New York and decide in favor of Glynn or Sulzer. The President prefers to believe his own spies rather than credit the testimony of Ambassador Wilson and the 39,500 Americans who remain safely in Mexico. He actually supposes that he understands the situation better than the experienced diplomatists of Europe, who accept accomplished facts according to the usages of centuries. . . . . has nearly wrecked the tariff bill, whose fate now hangs upon a single vote in the Senate. His obstinacy has providentially postponed the currency bill, which nobody understands and nobody wants. His obstinacy may precipitate the war with Mexico, which he professes to be anxious to avoid.

When he becomes more accustomed to his high office he will realize that events do not occur because he wishes them, and that he must accommodate his policy to facts, not theories. I repeat that obstinacy is a vice—and there has never been a more vicious exhibition of it than in the conduct of President Wilson.—*Town Topics*, September 11th.

**"You must have free and fair elections. But you can't vote for Huerta."**

## Piffle!

Washington, September 16.—Outwardly the most pressing question in the Mexican situation was whether a congratulatory message should be despatched to Mexico City on the occasion of the one hundred and third anniversary of Mexican independence, and to whom it should be addressed. Some officials were of the opinion that such a message would be, in a measure, a recognition of the Huerta Government.—New York *Evening Post.*

Oh, piffle! Straining at a house fly and swallowing a hippo! If such are the "pressing questions" in the Mexican situation we cannot blame Secretary Bryan for his Chautauqua absences. If the childishness of the above is a sample of Administration statesmanship we should advise the Administration to drop the whole Mexican matter at once, and hire a yodler to handle it.

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Consul General Shanklin reported from Mexico City to-day that railroad communications were temporarily suspended between the capital and Chihuahua, Ciudad Porfirio Diaz, Juarez, Durango, Ensenada, Hermosillo, La Paz, Matamoros and Nogales.—Washington despatch, September 13.

Consul Shanklin is to be congratulated on the timeliness of his report. Direct communication between Mexico City and La Paz, Lower California, has never existed because there is no railroad to La Paz, which is reached by sea via Manzanillo.

As for communications with the other mentioned cities, they have been suspended ever since April.

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## Mrs. Talbot's Mexico.

"Our nearest neighbor to the south;—Land of Enchantment; rich in historic interest and picturesque ruins; in its fauna and flora; its splendid cities, palaces and cathedrals of Vice-Regal days; in precious metals and products of the soil. Modern improvements, magnificent public buildings, shops, hotels and residences, stupendous public works and huge investments of foreign capital attest the Era of Progress inaugurated and sustained by Porfirio Diaz. Humboldt declared Mexico the 'Treasure House of the World.' Within its borders 63 languages are spoken. The Mexican of to-day has the blood of more races in his veins than any other American. Everywhere the scene is enriched by picturesque Indians. In vivid Mexico the Oriental strain has flowed out and touched the Occident with colors rich and warm. The barbaric splendor of the East has been subdued by the environment of the stolid Aztec."

This is the Mexico that Mrs. Ada Brown Talbot, author, lecturer and traveler, knows as few are privileged to know. Mrs. Talbot lectures to clubs, educational institutions, churches and other societies on Mexico, Colombia and Colorado. Her lectures are illustrated with stereopticon views and music of Mexico and Colombia. For rates and information, Mrs. Talbot should be addressed at 587 Riverside Drive, New York City.

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# COMBING THE NEWS

## Democracy Holds Sonora

Nogales, Ariz., September 10.—[Exclusive Despatch.] Democracy is in full swing in the part of Sonora held by the rebels. The Pesquieristas in defiance of Maytorena's fiat that no elections should be held went ahead and held elections. This disobedience of the rebel governor's dictatorial commands has aroused his ire and he has peremptorily declared null and void the municipal elections held in Cananea, Naco and Agua Prieta. Maytorena proclaims austerely that in place of the people electing their own municipal officials he will name military officers to fill such positions.—Los Angeles *Times.*

## Rebel Mayor in Flight

Nogales, Ariz., September 10.—[Exclusive Despatch.] The rebel mayor of Cananea, Carlos N. Durazo, is in Douglas, where he took refuge after flight from Cananea. A charge hangs over him in Sonora of having misappropriated 48,000 pesos, comprising moneys collected as revenues from properties of absentees run by and for the State. Involved with him it is reported was Demetro Martinez, Justice of the Peace of Cananea, who was intercepted in his flight and arrested at Agua Prieta. The charges against Durazo were filed with the judge of the first instance. As soon as he was aware of the attempt to jail him Durazo made for the American side of the line, stating that he would remain in Douglas for an indefinite period.

Durazo denies the charges, which he says are the result of political differences between himself and Governor Maytorena because of his (Durazo's) refusal to call off the municipal elections in Cananea by order of Maytorena. He states that the elections were called for the last day of August, but that on the day preceding, Maytorena on his own authority, after previously dissolving the State Congress, ordered that no election be held. Durazo permitted the election, for which cause Durazo says the charges were made.

Maytorena has issued a set of rules to govern the sittings of the rating board created in his forced war loan decree number ten, which board will determine from information supplied by political authorities of the different towns what persons or corporations are not in sympathy with the rebel movement so that the taxes can be stiffened to go to a fund called a forced loan subsidy. It is suspected that there will be numbers of cases reported to suit the personal feelings of the political authorities.—Los Angeles *Times.*

## In Mexico City

Mexico City, September 6.—Large shipments of machine guns, rifles and cartridges arrived to-day from Austria-Hungary. The War Department distributed the shipment in different parts of the country. Another large shipment will arrive next week.

Dr. Miguel Barragan, mayor of the city of Mantamoros, and former Mexican consul at Brownsville, who heroically defended the port city against the rebels under Lucio Blanco, stated that although it seems that the American-Mexican negotiations are at a standstill, yet relations with the American Government are improving and the friendly feeling toward resident Americans and the American people is warmer than ever. He is sure that there will be no further bitterness, and that some amicable settlement will be reached before long. "The Mexican Government, with the approval of the Mexican people, has offered to help in repatriating with all comfort the Americans who wish to leave, although there is no necessity for that step."

According to the constitution of the Republic, the general elections will be held next October. General Felix Diaz will be here then, and his followers are hard at work trying to have him elected, said Dr. Barragan, and added that every candidate will have full guaranties in exercising his rights, and the Government ad interim will make good its word, but it seems probable that General Diaz will pull more votes than any other.

A complete list of all the citizens in the capital and Federal district who are entitled to vote at the preliminary elections to be held October 26th has been carefully compiled and posted to view under the City Hall to prevent fraud. The same system has been adopted in all the States throughout the Republic. Also several thousand copies of the recently amended election law by Congress have been distributed to educate the voters to their rights of citizenship. Minister of Gobernacion Urrutia stated last night to the press that President Huerta is determined to have a fair and square election, so that there can be no doubt of the legality of the results.

The election of officers of the Chamber of Deputies for the ensuing term will take place to-morrow afternoon at a preliminary meeting to be held in the National Congress. There is a prevailing sentiment to do away with all factional differences among parties and to work for the common good of the country.

A committee composed of the leading business men of Mexico and directors of the Stock Exchange called on President Huerta yesterday, accompanied by Manuel Garza Aldape, Minister of Fomento, and stated that in the name of the members of their institution and those of the branches in twenty of the leading cities of the Republic they offered him their united support. He thanked them for their kind offer and stated that their support and that of the manufacturers' and the farmers' league combined, which had recently been offered to him, is a powerful influence in assisting to pacify the country.—Los Angeles *Times.*

## Progress Against Rebels

Government reports indicate that headway has been made against the rebels. It is announced that General Aubert and Colonel Guasque, with their men and artillery, are moving westward in military trains, preceded by work trains, repairing the railroads. They have an abundance of provisions, munitions and hospital supplies.

Federals under Alberto Guajardo are reported to have arrived in Monclova from New Laredo, after having been victorious over six different bands of Carranza adherents. Government officials consider that the backbone of the revolution in Coahuila has been broken.

Concepcion del Oro, in Zacatecas, where some Americans have been marooned for several months, is about to be relieved by General Pena, who is proceeding southward from Saltillo. Aguascalientes, which has been reported threatened by the rebels, is said to be sufficiently garrisoned to insure its safety. Topolobampo, a seaport of Sinaloa, is reported to have been retaken by the Federals, assisted by the gunboat Tampico.—New York *World,* September 15.

## Mexican Reception in Paris

Special Cable Dispatch to the N. Y. *Sun.*

Paris, September 16.—The Mexican Legation gave a reception to-day in honor of the Mexican Independence Day. The rooms were crowded with members of the Mexican colony and Frenchmen interested in Mexico.

There was a luncheon at which Francisco de la Barra, the special Mexican envoy, made a brief speech in reply to a toast to the prosperity and early pacification of Mexico.

Among the guests were General Mondragon, Mexican ex-Minister of War; Carlos Landaes Escandon, the Marquis de Perigny and several French bankers.

# PUBLIC OPINION

## The Business Point of View.

We have just received a bundle of mail from all over Mexico, by way of Laredo, which means that the line from Mexico City to Laredo is open and in the hands of the Federals. While the papers reported that the rebels were in possession of San Luis Potosi and Monterey, between Laredo and Mexico City, our salesmen went through the whole territory taking orders for our Mexican branch and did not write a word about being disturbed by rebels, and our business continues.

We have not recalled any of our employees or salesmen. We sell goods and are paid for them, but, of course, in Mexican money, and since Mr. Wilson is interested in embarrassing the financial condition of Mexico, we, like everybody else doing business in Mexico, will not be able to receive payments from Mexico.

Mr. Wilson will serve out his term and we suppose soon be forgotten, but not in Mexico. He and America will be the best hated man and country in Mexico for many years to come, and every influence will be used to turn in any other direction any business which in other times would surely have come to the United States.

General Huerta has his enemies, but we hear from our agents in different parts of Mexico, that he is well liked and admired in the greatest part of Mexico. If he is forced to step down and out we are of the opinion that it will be difficult to find an equally strong and severe character able to face a situation such as exists at present in Mexico.

GEORGE LUEDERS & Co.

New York City, September 10, 1913.

—Letter Published in New York *Herald*.

## The Political Side

Col. Cecil Lyon, of Texas, former Republican national committeeman and now the head of the Progressive party in that State, is back from a long tour of Africa and Asia.

"It looks as if the Democrats are wrecking themselves without any assistance from the other parties," said Col. Lyon. "All we shall have to do is to wait and win.

"The Administration does not appear to be handling the Mexican situation very successfully. It has made nothing but mistakes. I wonder how Huerta could stop fighting with half a dozen different rebel leaders in different parts of Mexico stirring up troubles all the time? How can Americans leave Mexico? One of them said to me the other day that the Administration must think him crazy if it expected him to put up the shutters on his bank, lock his front door, and run away. The vacillating policy of requesting our people to leave Mexico, and then advising them to wait, is not the policy of experienced statesmanship."—Washington *Post*, September 13.

## Should Recognize Huerta

Col. Edward R. Dunn, mining engineer, of Nome, Alaska, formerly of Texas, and a close friend of the Postmaster General, was visiting friends in Washington yesterday. Col. Dunn called upon the Postmaster General. In his earlier days Col. Dunn spent much time in Mexico, and his views on the situation in that Republic are interesting.

"It has been two years since I was in Mexico, but in all I have spent a good part of 33 years in that country," said Col. Dunn, at the Shoreham. "I think the Administration is making a mistake in the manner in which it is handling Mexican affairs. If this nation had recognized Huerta Mexico would be at peace now. I cannot see the reason for insisting upon the resignation of Huerta. If Huerta resigned he would surely follow Madero. He would not live 48 hours. The only safe way for Huerta to resign would be to go to Vera Cruz, get on board a vessel, and send his resignation ashore. Then he might get away. Huerta cannot stop fighting. There are so many revolutions in the country that without money and without the moral support of the United States he has got to keep going."—Washington *Post*, September 13.

## Utterly In the Wrong

Asserting that the National Government was utterly in the wrong in its attitude on the Mexican question, Ellsworth J. Wiggins, for three years American consul at Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, a native of this city, paid his respects yesterday to Secretary Bryan and President Wilson. Ex-Consul Wiggins was born and reared here, is a friend of John Wanamaker, and is now president of the Young Men's Christian Association at Monterey. He has lived in Mexico for years, and knows the situation there thoroughly.

He is emphatic in the opinion that non-intervention is an absolute necessity. He believes that Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson was in the right in espousing the cause of President Huerta, and verifies cable reports that Americans resident in Mexico are solidly in favor of the discredited American representative.

Mr. Wiggins doubts that a general election will be called, and asserts that elections in Mexico are inclined to be farcical—that no matter who casts the votes and for whom they are cast, it is the man whom the powers that be want, who is declared elected. He added that if Huerta thought that peace ruled in his land, an election would be held; otherwise not, and that Huerta was the sole judge of what constituted peace.

Incidentally Mr. Wiggins said that Americans in Mexico were in no danger whatever, nor were their belongings, and that as yet the Mexicans were friendly to individual Americans. Of course, he admitted there was an exodus of Americans, but he ascribed this to panic which had seized some of the women, or homesickness, with President Wilson's call to emigrate as an excuse to get home.—Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, September 14.

## Mediation a Failure

The American proposals for mediation in Mexico have failed, according to the practical admissions of the Administration. The Mexican situation is spoken of in official circles as a quicksand, upon which can be built no hope of a happy solution in conformity with the desires of the United States.

Reasons for the failure of American diplomacy in the Mexican mediation propositions are being discussed in diplomatic circles, especially among the Latin-American representatives. The overtures, it is hinted, were marked by an utter absence of understanding of the Mexican psychology, and also with seeming disregard of the peculiarity of Latin-American sentiment toward the United States.—Washington *Star*, September 13th.

## The Real Rebels

A list of rebel and bandit chiefs in San Luis Potosi and border States, compiled from reliable sources, shows a total of forty-three at the head of bands ranging from thirty to 600 men each. Data gathered from ranch owners, refugees, Federal officers, railroad men and residents of the towns raided show an aggregate of 5,600 men under arms against the Government.

The largest group, numbering 600 and commanded by Raoul Madero, brother of the late President, is near Herraduria, 100 miles to the northwest. Other bands, of 400 or 500 each, under Ernesto Santoscoy, Alberto Torres and Jose Cabo, are operating in the north, east and south of the State. The remainder are widely scattered over San Luis Potosi and the neighboring States of Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Queretaro and Zacatecas.

Two of the most daring rebel leaders—Candido Navarro and Pedro Santos—have recently been killed, but the others are striving for the notoriety which these achieved. More than twenty-two towns have been raided in the last few months, most of which are in possession of the rebels or are visited at will.

The rebel methods have been those of guerrillas from the outset. They never mass their forces nor seek to encounter an opposing force, except where the advantage is overwhelmingly in their favor. The three larger groups have six machine guns, but the smaller ones are not always well equipped, even with rifles, and are usually short of ammunition.

A year ago it was estimated that there were less than two hundred bandits in this State.—New York *World*, September 15th.

## PUBLIC OPINION
(CONTINUED)

### President Huerta's Message

Encouraging in its pacific tone, the message of President Huerta, delivered yesterday on the occasion of the anniversary of Mexican independence, holds out little encouragement for hope of his eventual compliance with the programme laid down by our own Government. Huerta refrains equally from concession to American wishes and from expressions of opposition that could in any way block the road to subseuent yielding or compromise. While he avoids all expression injurious to the United States, his observations continue to voice the Mexican Government's dissatisfaction with our course and its concern as to possible American encroachments upon its sovereignty.

One evident effect of the message, coupled with the national patriotic display that marked the day of its delivery, may be expected in the strengthening of Huerta sympathies among the reflecting and respectable part of the Mexican population. Revolutions are not usually started by the law-abiding and substantial element, either in Mexico or elsewhere, and there must be a great section of the population south of the Rio Grande which remains indifferent to the passage of governments, and cares normally only for security and order. If Huerta can call out the national sentiments of this element he will win to himself a support much more valuable than that of any faction or section in the thick of the politico-military turmoil.

It may be regrettable that Huerta should not have seized the occasion to give assurances against the possibility of his own candidacy, but it will hardly be surprising, in view of his firm and open refusal to grant any such assurances to our own Government. In calling attention to the forthcoming expiration of the leave granted to our war vessels to lie in Mexican waters, Huerta is apparently manoeuvring so as to put us at a disadvantage by placing us in the light of unwarranted trespassers within Mexican bounds. If our ships remain there, as possibly in the interest of American citizens they must do, we will be forced either to accept the courtesy of a prolongation of their leave to remain, and that from a government which we do not choose to recognize, or else we will be put in the false position of overriding Mexican territorial rights at our free will and fancy.

Though the prospect of being thus overreached by Mexican diplomacy may give some food for thought to our President and his advisers in State matters, it is safe to say that Mexico intends no threat or hostile purpose by Huerta's warship hint, for none at the present moment can be less anxious for war with this country than is the Huerta Government.—New York *Evening Sun*, September 17.

# NAILING THEM!

### American Refugees Safe

**100 Reported Seized by Mexicans Reach Saltillo**

Laredo, Texas, September 15.—American refugees from Torreon, Mexico, for whose safety fears have been expressed during their overland journey to Saltillo, reached the latter place in safety to-day, according to official advices received at Mexican Federal headquarters at Nuevo Laredo to-night.

Americans in Mexico have absolutely no consideration for the press of their country. One hundred of them arrived safely at Saltillo, en route from Torreon, and reported that all had gone well with them since they left the latter city. Thus they spoiled a good second-day story on their capture and sufferings, which was to follow the first-page story published on Monday. However, we understand the Mexico City correspondents who furnished the first story of the refugees' capture were congratulated by their respective newspapers, as Sunday is usually a dull day for news and the Monday advertising is rather light.

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Figuring that in Sonora there are about a dozen more leaders, we have in the North of Mexico the 57 varieties which President Wilson, instead of pickled, wishes to see taken into the confidence of the central Government. An armistice must be arranged, which the 57 varieties will solemnly *agree* to respect!

The Washington correspondents seem to have forgotten of late the Administration's recommendation that they should always refer to the *"two factions."*

### Exclusive Stuff

Washington, September 13.—Sanitary conditions in the city of Torreon, recently captured by the Mexican rebels, have produced a grave situation, according to advices to the State Department to-day. There is a lack of antitoxins and serums and other medical supplies with which to check disease epidemics raging in that city. Gen. Bravo, in charge of the forces holding the city, is trying to get the much needed supplies by re-establishing railway connection with Mexico City.—New York *Sun*, September 15th.

Here is where the three hundred Washington correspondents have a perfectly good ground for lodging a complaint against the State Department for unfair discrimination.

Why should the State Department give the *Sun's* correspondent the exclusive piece of news that Torreon had been recently captured by the rebels? And that General Bravo is no longer a Federal general but the commander of the rebel forces holding the city, although he is "trying to get the much needed supplies by re-establishing railway connection with Mexico City."

Why should the *Sun* have this exclusive story from the State Department when all other newspapers had been given to understand that Torreon had never been captured by the rebels; that Bravo was a Federal general and sanitary conditions in Torreon were not as bad as first reported several days ago. Why?

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### No Insinuation—Fact

The insinuation that President Wilson's policy has not the support of the people of the United States is interpreted as an attempt to discredit the President as much as possible in the eyes of the Mexican people.—New York *Sun*, September 17.

The *Sun's* Washington correspondent either did not read the message of President Huerta or he is simply an instrument of the Administration's publicity trick to get the public opinion of the country behind it in this Mexican muddle. President Huerta said that the tension in the relations between the United States and Mexico was not the result of any quarrel between the American people and the Mexicans. Is that not literally true? Is there any insinuation there?

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## The Quicksand

The Administration is reported to be fully convinced by this time that the Mexican situation is in the nature of a quicksand. It *is* a quicksand—but of Washington's making. The Administration has all along been barely pulling itself out by its own bootstraps from hungry, yawning quicksands, and forthwith proceeding to make another and put its foot in it. This can't be kept up indefinitely. Quicksands are rather dangerous things to play with. They are inherently deceptive.

The worst thing about this Mexican quicksand with which the Washington Administration is amateurishly fooling is that it may suddenly turn into a boiling caldron of war. The denial of United States recognition to the constitutional Government of Mexico, based on a personal prejudice and backed up by futile though high-sounding theories, has done more to make the Mexican situation a quicksand than all the rebellious and lawless elements with which Huerta has had to deal.

Owing to the "moral," and particularly the financial, blockade which Washington has placed about the Mexican Government every little bandit chieftain is given a new lease in his profitable life of loot and murder. Every political intriguant in Mexico and every expatriate conspirator is encouraged to keep on adding to the troubles of Mexico with the hope that something may happen that will turn the tide of affairs his way. Only the very strongest ruler, the most capable man in a generation, could have survived all these forces set in motion by President Wilson. If Huerta is or is not the man destined to rule Mexico in the years to come, he has at least shown to the world that he is big enough and resourceful enough to handle the most impossible, complicated, dangerous situation in national life that any ruler has had to face in the memory of living man. Does any one for an instant think that his job is a sinecure? Ask yourself whether you would like to fill it. Certainly only the stanchest character and manhood, the most self-sacrificing patriotism, could inspire any man to contend as he has contended with the conditions within his country and the unreasonably antagonistic attitude of Washington. Is it not plausible to think that if the terrific Administration influence seeking to thwart Huerta's every effort to bring about stable conditions in Mexico were removed, it would not be long before the country would be pacified by this powerful man and set again in the paths of peace and prosperity?

## Freedom—A New Brand

Perhaps there is nothing inconsistent in Washington's demand that "fair and free" elections be held in Mexico and that President Huerta shall not be a candidate at the polls. No, it isn't inconsistent. It is simply, astoundingly, blindly contradictory and perverse. Not having the qualifications of an expert alienist, it is beyond our province to gauge the sanity of a mind that can hold two such thoughts at the same time.

The elections must be "free and fair." That means that the Mexican people must be free to make their choice of ruler according to their lights, wishes, or prejudices. Very well, That sounds good. *But* the free people of Mexico at a *free* election *must* not have the opportunity to designate General Huerta as their choice for President.

Is that freedom? Has anything more dictatorial and coercive been known even in Mexican political life? Has Porfirio Diaz, Madero or Huerta had the effrontery at any time during their rulership of the Mexican people to come out before the world and say such and such a man must not be a candidate for the Presidency? Not even the iron-handed Don Porfirio even went that far. He knew the Mexican people.

Consider, then, the self-satisfied collossal nerve of Washington in demanding such a sacrifice of freedom and nationality from the Mexican people. Does it think they have no intelligence, judgment, sentiment, or even sense of humor in Mexico? Or is Mexico, a rich, teeming country of sixteen million humans, to President Wilson merely a name that he has "read in books"?

There are times when one is really forced to think that in the mind of the President Mexico is only an abstraction in higher ethics, not a land pulsing with the vital current of human aspirations, emotions, passions and personalities. He has dealt with it and admonished it as if it were a refractory, unformed child. Mexico and Mexicans have suffered, sacrificed and bled in the desperate effort to solve the problems of their highly complex life, the inheritance of many centuries and the evolution of entirely distinctive racial elements.

If the President of the United States had lived through one-half of what thousands of Mexicans have in the last few years, he would have grown so in his conception of the terrible potentialities of life, his heart would be so torn and still warmed by his nearness to national travail and human suffering, that he would not scold, he would not cavil, he would not split moral hairs. Instead, he would look on Mexico with the serious, understanding, heart-warmed eyes of an Abraham Lincoln, he would hold out a generous, sympathetic hand to a distracted people. He would not talk with obvious animus of "factions" and ill-concealed dislike of purely incidental personalities. He would not antagonize a friendly, neighboring nation as he is doing now. And still the President really fancies that he is a friend of Mexico.

## What a Returned American Citizen Thinks of the Situation in Mexico

Kindly allow me to insert a few pertinent remarks to a situation which has not as yet been given sufficient consideration by the large majority of our countrymen, but which is daily becoming a tragedy for those of us who live in Mexico.

Of one thing we are sadly aware, and that is that our officials in Washington are woefully ignorant of the Latin character. President Wilson insists upon one thing, and one thing only, and that is that Gen. Huerta must step out of Mexican politics and remain out for good and all. Now in strict fairness I would like to ask one question: What affair is it of Mr. Wilson's if the Mexican people choose Gen. Huerta as their President? It strikes me that it is quite overstepping the bounds of international decency to do such a thing as that. Gen. Huerta might in turn insist that some of our own countrymen who are holding office in a questionable manner, and who have adopted queer methods in carrying out some of their schemes, should be eliminated from their great positions.

One of Gen. Huerta's first declarations after assuming his high office was that he would strive as much as possible to bring peace to the whole of Mexico. Have the authorities in Washington encouraged him in any of his efforts? No. They have handicapped him in every way possible, until at this writing it seems as though anarchy would permeate every nook and corner of the country.

Mr. Wilson is too highly placed to listen to any one who has lived in Mexico and knows both people and conditions thoroughly, but sends a friend now and then to remain a few weeks and then return to tell him all about it. Things are coming to a pretty pass when just a few of our well-posted citizens returning from residence in Mexico cannot be consulted about things which are most vital to them.

In President Wilson's message to Congress all Americans were warned to leave Mexico at once. A few days ago the order was modified, and those same people were advised to remain long enough to settle up their business affairs. What becomes of the interests of those who were patriotic enough to obey the first order? This very change in policy is proof positive that our officials in Washington do not know how to deal with the Latin people.

As a good American and also a great lover of Mexico, who advocates nothing but fair play, I hope that the policy of our country toward Mexico may soon be materially altered. —Letter in New York *Evening Mail,* September 16.

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# MEXICO

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## A Policy Without Legs

It has been made much of by some political writers that President Wilson's refusal to recognize the provisional Government of Mexico is due to a determination to carry out consistently an Administration policy toward all Latin-America, and not to any personal prejudice against General Huerta.

This policy, they say, was clearly defined in the announcement made by President Wilson upon assuming the duties of his office last March and can be summed up as follows:

The Washington Administration will not extend recognition or hold friendly intercourse with any Latin-American Government that ascends to power through revolution.

It will prefer having friendly relations with those Governments that exercise their authority by virtue of popular elections and observance of the Constitution.

It would seem, at first glance, that this was a wise and equitable policy, in accordance with the Democratic principles dear to the American people. A policy which would tend to discourage the organization of revolutions by unscrupulous, self-seeking politicians, who work on the ignorance and want of the people. Which would also guarantee to the Latin-American Governments the friendly and moral support of this country against usurpation and to the people of those countries encouragement in their honest efforts to maintain stable Governments based on democratic principles.

In practical effect this policy is neither equitable nor feasible unless this country intends to impose by force of arms her own will on all Latin-American Republics and to constitute herself their guardian and supreme judge.

That this policy cannot be consistently carried out and that its effects are and must be in opposition to those which the Administration presumably wishes to obtain has been clearly demonstrated by recent events in various parts of Latin-America.

In the first place, Pan-Americanism cannot exist unless based on the respect of each country for the sovereign rights of the other countries no matter what their size, or power.

In the adoption of an international policy concerning Latin-America this country must

Continued on next page

**Felix Diaz**

Felix Diaz represents the link between Mexico of the past and Mexico of the future, for while he admires his uncle, Porfirio Diaz, the magician who brought order out of chaos, he is fully alive to the requirements of young Mexico and in thorough sympathy with its progressive aspirations.

Felix Diaz is known as the man who keeps his own counsel and has learned how to wait.

Perhaps the best conception of the man will be had from the fact that during the many years he was Chief of Police under the autocratic rule of his uncle he counted his friends even among those opposed to the Diaz régime. To be a popular Chief of Police in the last ten years of the Diaz régime was truly a wonderful attainment.

Continued on Page 3

## A POLICY WITHOUT LEGS—Continued

decide between two courses, that of maintaining its international relations through might or that of maintaining them through right. To carry out the first course it would be necessary to extend a practical protectorate wherever it could gain the upper hand. But in the nature of things this could not be lasting except by constant force of arms. Founded strictly on right its relations would be friendly and lasting. It may be contended that by refraining from exercising a guardianship over smaller American countries the United States would encourage disorder and consequently foreign interests, American and European, would suffer. The fact is that even the material advantages which this country would reap from a policy of "hands off" and consideration for the sovereign rights of other peoples would be much greater than any temporary losses suffered by American capitalists as a consequence of disorder.

It will not be very long before all the countries bordering on the Carribean Sea, through economical and social evolution, will be as free from revolutions as are their sisters in the extreme south. All countries have gone through the same stages of agitation and each one of those that finds itself still in the throes of rebellion has the same right to work out its own salvation as other countries have had.

The desire of the United States to discourage revolutions is legitimate and praiseworthy, but revolutions are not always started by unscrupulous and ambitious leaders. In many cases they constitute the natural and inevitable reaction of an unjustly oppressed people. It becomes evident, then, that the Washington Administration, if it wishes to act according to the principles of justice which it upholds at home, while declaring its intention of not lending countenance to revolution, should at the same time guarantee *just* government to the people of Latin-American countries and protect them against the abuses of tyrants and grafters. This, of course, would mean the establishment of a protectorate over independent and sovereign States, without the assurance that the guarantee could be maintained. We find it difficult enough ourselves to eliminate grafters from our city, State and National Governments.

We have said that the policy announced by the Administration cannot be and has not been carried out either consistently or effectively. In fact, the attitude maintained against the Government of Mexico on the ground that it came to power by revolutionary means —assuming that this is the ground—has not discouraged rebellion, but on the contrary, it has greatly encouraged it. And in Mexico the rebellion is conducted by ambitious leaders against a Government which, whatever its origin, has promised to bring about the reforms demanded by the people and has only asked for a chance to do so.

It may be added for the present Mexican Government that it came to power before Mr. Wilson became President of the United States and that the revolution which carried it to power had been conducted against a Government which had also acquired its power through a revolution.

But Mexico aside, what of Venezuela?

In Venezuela general elections should have taken place on September 16. President Gomez, adducing as an excuse the fact that a revolution had been started against him—and the open charge that this revolution was nothing but a piece of political chicanery engineered by himself has never been denied—has declared himself dictator of Venezuela, thus thwarting the people's expectations of an election. What will the people do? We hear that "El Mocho," General Hernandez, is on his way to lead a new revolution against the usurper.

President Gomez has failed to respect the Constitution of his country, he maintains himself in power by a coup d'état, more reprehensible than any revolution. Yet the friendly relations between the Washington Administration and the Gomez Government continue uninterrupted.

Should "El Mocho" be victorious, will President Wilson refuse to grant him recognition? To carry out consistently his policy he would have to do so. Does it mean, then, that President Wilson intends to extend the moral support of this country to every tyrant of Latin-America.

What of the friendly relations—oh, most friendly!—of our Government with that of Guatemala? Yet it is a well-known fact that Guatemala has suffered for more than sixteen years under the worst dictatorship that has ever been known in Latin-America.

Little is said in our press of the conditions in Guatemala, of the practical slavery existing there, worse than any peonage that has ever existed in Mexico or in this country. But it exists and certainly the Administration in Washington cannot be ignorant of it.

If the Administration's policy has been dictated by a sincere desire to befriend the people of Latin-America, then it must withdraw its friendship from those Governments that abuse their power and keep their people in a state of bondage. But do people realize what this means? It means that the Administration assumes the right to erect itself into a high court with power to judge the actions affecting the interior politics of any other American Government.

Is there any principle of international right that could sanction such an assumption?

Where would such a policy carry this country?

Even supposing that we should have the power to enforce our own will and judgment all over Latin-America, what would the final results be? Could we make all Latin-America maintain friendly commercial relations with us, by force also?

The whole thing must seem absurd to anyone giving a little thought to the true meaning of the Administration's policy.

But there is more than the questionable right to exert a practical supervision over the action of all Latin-American Governments and the disastrous results which such an attempt may bring to our future trade.

There is the matter of judging the value of these actions and imposing our own political methods.

We assume that the free exercise of the ballot is the only guarantee of justice and that the only just Government is that which is founded on the will of a majority of the people. This is in a measure true in those countries where a majority of the people are sufficiently enlightened to judiciously select the officers of their Government. Even we are yet far from the ideal in this respect.

But it is not borne out by experience that the Governments elected by a majority of the people are the best and the most just. On the other hand, there is evidence of many cases in the history of nations in which Governments based on the will of a minority have been wise and just and highly beneficial to their country. This has been especially true, of course, of those countries in which the majority has not been sufficiently educated to obtain or exercise intelligently the right to vote.

Leaving aside the old countries of Europe, where many instances of this are to be found to this day, we can find a proof of our contention, which is axiomatic, in Latin-America. We refer to Argentine, the most advanced of all Latin-American countries. After a long period of alternate internal strifes and of stern dictatorships that usually follow prolonged revolutions, since 1890 and during nearly twenty years, Argentine was governed by an oligarchy. The elections were Administration-made, the popular will remaining an abstract expression.

Although the principle of non-re-election for two consecutive terms had long been embodied in the Argentine Constitution, during the mentioned period each President-elect was usually the choice of his predecessor and members of both the House and the Senate were selected by the Administration.

The Government was a paternal one, on the whole a good and wise Government and above all patriotic, although somewhat weak at times and not overcareful in the expenditure of the National funds. It did not, however, permit favoritism to become rampant, certainly not more so than it is elsewhere. It eliminated the probability of future revolutions by the establishment of an efficient regular army, made possible by compulsory service, and by devoting its efforts to the potent economical development of the nation's resources.

It invited foreign capital—especially British—and as it usually happens under a wise, paternal Government, the people themselves—busy with reaping the benefits of material progress—were willing to leave the handling of public affairs in a few hands.

The very economical development, however, brought about by the stability of the paternal Government, made possible the establishment of general and efficient educational institutions and the consequent political education of the people.

## FELIX DIAZ Continued

As an organizer Felix Diaz gained general recognition, for under him the police of Mexico City reached a high point of efficiency and the city was made safer than most cities of the same size anywhere in the world.

While Felix Diaz knew the secret of keeping in the background he took an active part and lively interest in the affairs of his country. As much as he admired and loved his uncle, and perhaps because of this, he was opposed to many of the men who surrounded him and practically held in the last few years the reins of Government.

Felix Diaz is well known and well liked among Americans, for he has been interested and associated with them in various mining and industrial enterprises.

Upon the triumph of the Madero revolution, like many other patriots who were loyal to Porfirio Diaz but desired a change in the political system, Felix Diaz accepted the new régime and, hoping for the best, announced that he might later enter the contest for the Governorship of Oaxaca. When, however, it became evident that the Madero régime was to serve only for the personal gain of a few, Felix Diaz withdrew from public life and resigned from the army. Meanwhile all classes were casting about seeking the man who could save them from the calamity which had befallen the country.

Felix Diaz was looked upon as the only man who, besides enjoying great popularity among the better element of young Mexico, could induce the army to follow him. His failure at Vera Cruz and his success at Mexico City are now matters of history.

Whatever his enemies may say, ever since the fall of the Madero régime Felix Diaz has demonstrated great self-restraint and patriotism. He has shown an ever-ready willingness to sacrifice his personal ambition to better contribute to the re-establishment of peace.

## A POLICY WITHOUT LEGS Continued

At the beginning of last year various Argentine statesmen declared that the time was at hand for a new epoch of responsibility on the part of the people and that the future greatness of the Republic depended on their active participation in public affairs.

The President of the Republic, Mr. Saenz Peña, several weeks before the elections for Congressmen and Senators, which took place on April 7, 1912, issued an appeal to the people impressing upon his countrymen the necessity for each and every one of them to take a direct interest in the political campaign then under way.

Meanwhile a law had been enacted making the vote compulsory, all citizens failing to vote—unless able to justify their failure—being liable to punishment and being deprived of the right to apply for official and public positions.

All Government employees were forbidden to present themselves as candidats for any elective offices unless they first resigned from their posts, this to prevent any interference by the Administration in the counting of votes.

At first this law was expected to be most effective in Buenos Aires, where it could be more easily enforced, but its sponsors were confident that its beneficial effects would soon be felt all over the Republic.

The elections took place in a quiet manner and in the larger cities, at least, no pressure was brought to bear on the voters by the local authorities. They were truly free and fair elections—for the first time in the history of Argentine. A certain number of citizens failed to vote even after having registered. Most of them were arraigned before a court and fined ten dollars for their failure to appear at the polls, and fulfill their duty according to the new electoral law.

The imposing of fines was resented and opposed in several cases, at times the popular sentiment favoring the transgressors even to the extent of provoking street demonstrations that were dispersed by the police.

In spite of these manifestations the experiment of compulsory voting made by the young Republic proved to be successful.

Thus Argentine, from a period of paternal oligarchical Government, stepped into a period of advanced democracy owing to the time and opportunity given to the people to prepare themselves and become sufficiently educated to properly use the right granted to them by the Constitution.

What would have happened to Argentine if during her last civil struggle, in 1890, an American President had sent a Lind to Buenos Aires with peremptory demands similar to those made upon the Huerta Government in Mexico?

What would have happened, then, if a Lind had told the Argentine President that the revolution was a clear indication that the country needed a free and fair election in which all should participate by mutual consent and a promise should be given that all would abide by the result of those elections?

Argentine worked out her own salvation guided by an intelligent minority, made great but gradual strides toward economical, social, and political freedom without a truly democratic Government—although always so in appearance—until such a time as her people were able to exercise intelligently the right to vote.

The same will happen in Mexico in spite of all theories to the contrary entertained by the Washington Administration, that is, if the people of this country will give Mexico the chance which she deserves and has a right to expect from a civilized neighbor.

## NONE OF OUR BUSINESS

There are neurotics who constantly crave excitement. There are good but misguided and impractical persons who are forever anxious to make the world over and run it to order. From these people, those constitutionally heedless of consequences and those who have financial interests and yellow newspapers for whom sensations spell circulation proceeds the cry for American intervention in Mexico.

They do not count the cost. But those upon whom rests the burden of official responsibility must do so before acting, and it's fortunate for the country that they have been and are men of sufficient breadth and depth and foresight to move with extreme caution.

No one can even guess how many years, how many thousands of lives and how many hundreds of millions of dollars it would take for us to get out of Mexico with honor and credit once we undertook the task of pacifying that country by armed force.

Of course conditions in Mexico are not satisfactory. They haven't been since Porfirio Diaz retired as ruler. The people are illiterate and ill prepared for self government, and there are too many agitators among them. But the situation is undoubtedly represented as being far worse than it is. Certainly it is vastly better than it was under the weak and inefficient Madero régime.

Every now and then there is a so-called crisis. The last, like the rest, turns out to have been grossly exaggerated. There are well founded suspicions that they are manufactured by agents of investors who have taken chances there with their eyes wide open but now want to force this country into guaranteeing their investments without regard to the country's interests.

It is none of our business to pass upon Huerta's title as President. We have trouble enough at home without going so far afield looking for more. All that concerns us is whether he is able to restore and maintain order. A strong man is required, and if Huerta is the man, we should be glad to have him demonstrate it, bearing in mind that Latin-American ways are not our ways.

A firm hand but coolness and patience are needed on the part of our Government, and they have been shown. President Taft saved us from the calamity of war, and President Wilson is doing the same. He and Secretary Bryan have exhibited praiseworthy backbone in demanding and securing the prompt redress of outrages against American citizens, but have wisely refrained from yielding to any reckless or selfish jingoism.

To sit tight and wait is all that we can do, unless indeed we recognize the present de facto Government, as has been urged by Ambassador Wilson and which might facilitate the suppression of turbulence. But our policy as a whole must be guided chiefly by developments. Almost any alternative is more agreeable to contemplate than an unnecessary war, and any necessity of war seems very, very remote.—*The Trend.*

# The Fine Hand of the Junta

It has been a great week for the rebel junta in Washington, and Don Sherby Hopkins has made himself the worthy recipient of an increased amount of gratitude from the Mexican patriots.

Through his untiring efforts and deep knowledge of the game and of all its ropes they have been able "to put across" some pretty good stories. Hats off to Don Sherby.

First we had an eye-witness story demonstrating beyond the slightest doubt that Felix Diaz was a "murder factor." Manuel Perez Romero, brother of Mrs. Francisco Madero, gave the first intimate details of the Madero and Suarez deaths. He was not in hiding at that time, neither had he gone to Vera Cruz. Oh, no—he was in Mexico City walking the streets and making a minute investigation. In fact, he was present when the Madero brothers were killed, and he has proofs that Felix Diaz was accessory to the deed.

### A Leisurely Trip

Then we had a statement showing how Carranza had not been defeated at Monclova, Candela and Torreon, and forced to take refuge in Durango, and make his way into Sonora. His leisurely trip across the Northern States had been taken with the purpose of reviewing all his forces, and the fact that he had gone across the Sierra Madre "unmolested" is proof that the rebels control all that territory.

Then we learn that General Maas, spoken of as a probable Presidential candidate, is a nephew of General Huerta. Therefore he will not be acceptable to the patriots.

Really, there is no way of pleasing those patriots. But it is curious that the relationship between Maas and Huerta had remained a mystery for so long, and that it was understood that General Maas was the son of a German who had settled in Mexico.

### The Climax

To cap the climax we get a first-page story in the New York *Herald*, which has taken up the cudgels for the rebels since the Munsey newspapers have become somewhat lukewarm in their support of the Mexican patriots. It is a direct statement from Venustiano Carranza—another "general"—with the proper comments from Washington and the inspiring picture of the rebel leader. Carranza affirms that any man who will be elected President of Mexico other than himself—this is not said but tacitly understood—will be considered a traitor by the "Constitutionalists," and if he falls into their hands will be tried under the law of 1862. The same treatment will be accorded to all who shall recognize him in the character of President.

He states also that peace is impossible until one party shall be exterminated by the other.

Pretty good work all this—for one week!

To consider the statement made by Venustiano Carranza:

The law of 1862, which is no longer on the statute books of Mexico, was the most inhumane law ever promulgated, as it gave the then existing government the right to shoot any one suspected of conspiring against the government. It was the cause of more cruel deeds and fratricidal struggles than any law ever passed in Mexico. The mere revival of such a law is enough to damn any leader in the eyes not only of Mexico but also of the whole civilized world.

### Playing Politics

As to the apparent co-operation of the New York *Herald*, only the blind passion of either the misguided or malicious members of the rebel junta could induce them to accept it.

It is clear that the purpose of the *Herald* is not to help the rebel cause—for that would be within its rights if it were convinced that it was just—but to render more difficult a peaceful solution of the Mexican trouble. It is not many months since the *Herald* attacked President Wilson in his policy and editorially advocated the recognition of General Huerta.

The sudden change and the publication of twisted news and misleading editorials of the last few weeks are evidently due to a desire to show that the Mexican situation is hopeless, and that only intervention can settle it. In other words, the *Herald* is evidently seeking war. Its purpose in doing this is more or less clear, but there is no doubt that the *Herald* uses the Mexican situation merely as a means to play its game of politics.

That Mexicans, whether in good or bad faith, should lend themselves to this game must undoubtedly be a source of great regret to all other Mexicans who at least care for the independence and integrity of their country.

### Stringing Them

The *Herald* published a short time ago the false news that the National Railways of Mexico were in the hands of a receiver, and since then has published and distorted all the news in a way to make it appear that the conflict in Mexico is irreconcilable. While "stringing on" the members of the junta and the rebel leaders, it has endeavored also to show them up, so as to make patent their selfish purposes, their ambition for personal power. All this we repeat with the evident purpose of helping the muddle and finally forcing war. For nothing less could be the outcome of prolonged strife in Mexico and a continuation of the misunderstanding between the two nations.

Fortunately the *Herald* is very far—oh, very far—from having the millions of readers mentioned in Carranza's dispatch. But the members of the rebel junta have been celebrating their newspaper victories in the Bellevue, Washington, shedding tears of gratitude to the *Herald*.. Poor fools!

**Subscribe to "Mexico"**

# El Pasograms

*The following from the El Paso "Times" is remarkable testimony to newspaper fairness and honesty.*

El Paso for about three years has been the abode at various times of multitudinous "war correspondents"—individuals who came here with no other desire but to find rumors which they could dignify with the importance of fact and palm off on the Eastern papers in such a manner as would afford good reading and add to the length of their financial strings. These men have written volumes on the Mexican situation that had no basis in fact.

Southwestern newspapers—those published right here from one end of the border to the other, have also published volumes of Mexican war dope that was without foundation. They have accepted reports given them by juntas and by men who claimed to have come from the scene of trouble with stories that almost seemed to be incredible, only to learn they were incredible when it was too late to recall them. As a matter of fact, there is not a self-respecting newspaper on the entire border that is not heartily tired of all this Mexican rot, and which would not gladly taboo it, if it was not regarded as of such prime importance by the general newspaper constituency.

Nine-tenths of the war news given out on the border is handed out for a purpose. The other one-tenth is usually a matter of pure conjecture predicated upon some glowing story from an individual who thirsts to see his name connected with a veritable blood and thunder tale which he can mail to admiring friends back East.

## They Like Moving

El Paso, Tex., Sept. 16.—An entire change of programme by Constitutionalists was announced to-day by General Jesus Carranza, brother of the Constitutionalist leader. He said their provisional capital probably would be moved from Piedras Negras to Hermosillo, Sonora. Governor Carranza is in Sonora. The leader's brother said political developments in the last two weeks were responsible for this change, and that actions of General Felix Diaz and General Mondragon have further complicated the political outlook. The Coahuila Constitutionalist army is being remobilized to meet an advance by the Federal generals, Navarrete and Maas.

A special wireless to the El Pasogramist from Jesus Carranza at Piedras Negras, about five hundred miles southeast of El Paso, informs him of the "entire change of programme" by "Constitutionalists."

We have no doubt as to the probability that the rebel capital will be moved from Piedras Negras to Hermosillo. Although if we should suggest that the advance of the Federals on Piedras Negras has anything to do with this "moving" Jesus Carranza would give us the lie.

It is just a question of proclivity. The Carranzas like moving—that's all. Hermosillo is only about one thousand miles from Piedras Negras, but that is nothing to those who are possessed of the *wanderlust*.

BANDITS KILL TWO,
GET $2,000 IN DASH
THROUGH 2 STATES.

SHOOT DOWN MEN IN JEWELRY STORE AND MAKE THEIR ESCAPE.

HOLD UP MAN AND
TAKE HIS AUTOMOBILE.

SUSPECTS SHOOT SHERIFF WHEN TRACED TO FARMHOUSE AND THERE ARE ARRESTED.

No, not Mexico—Michigan, U. S. A.

## Should Recognize Mexico

Rev. John Howland, D. D., of Mexico Commends President Wilson's Policy of Non-Intervention—Declares Huerta Was not Implicated in Death of Madero.

"The American Policy in Mexico" was the subject of Rev. John Howland, D. D., of Mexico, who spoke at the Boston Congregational ministers' meeting at Pilgrim Hall today. Dr. Howland declared that President Wilson's policy of non-intervention was the only practical method of dealing with the situation, but deplored the fact that recognition by the United States has been witheld while other countries have pledged their support to President Huerta.

In regard to President Wilson's policy of non-intervention, Dr. Howland says: "For the United States to intervene would be a grievous error. All thought of factional differences would be forgotten should American troops invade the Republic. In preparation for such a move on the part of the United States, regiments have been raised and drilled. Mexicans are ready to misinterpret all American reports, and boast openly, 'We are waiting for the Americans.'

"On the other hand, many of the reports of wholesale killing of Americans and destruction of property are pure fabrications. These reports, 'faked' in the interest of the Constitutionalists, were widely circulated and led to the order from Washington to all Americans to leave Mexico. There was no need for such an order and it can only be construed as a childlike consideration of what it would mean."

Dr. Howland declared that the accusation that President Huerta came into power through the death of Madero is false, and that the President has even begged his opponents to believe that he is making every effort to restore the country to peace. It is the belief of Americans in Mexico that his acceptance of the provisional Presidency was due wholly to a desire to pave the way for the election of Felix Diaz.—Boston *Transcript*.

General Diaz' recall opposed by rebels. They will not accept him for Mexican Presidency. —*Newspaper Headline.*

No one is acceptable to Mexican rebel leaders except themselves and thereby hangs the old, old tale!

# MEXICO'S FINANCES

By EDWARD L. ANDREWS

*(Mr. Andrews is American Representative of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders of England)*

The high standing that Mexico has attained in the money markets of the world is evidenced by the negotiations of a loan in excess of $100,000,000 at 4 per cent., known as the external gold loan. This liability is secured on 62 per cent. of the import and export duties which had been assigned for that purpose, as appears from the report of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders for 1912.

It is significant that the wealth of resources in that country should be so much appreciated by foreign lenders that they were willing to accept a bond at such a low rate of interest, which is below the revenue return of any other public loan of the countries below our southern border. These views have been fully justified by the fact that during the last three years and in view of the so-called revolution the trade and revenues of the country have steadily increased. Naturally the mere existence of disturbed conditions in certain localities and partial interference with the operation of the National Railways would require some drafts upon the regular revenues of the country.

The pivotal point in the monetary affairs of Mexico rests, however, upon a much more important financial consideration. This is involved in the superior financial management of the country's affairs under the Huerta Government as compared with the lavish, not to say reckless, mismanagement under the Madero régime. During the latter Administration there were many millions of pesos expended for the few months of its continuance. The Treasury, which had been left in a replete condition by the Diaz Administration, was opened and depleted for the benefit of political leaders in several districts of the country.

On the other hand, the Huerta régime has been characterized by careful and indeed economical administration of the public funds. Where any weapons were needed to keep the provincial officials in order pecuniary ones were not employed, but for the benefit of the country more forcible ones were available. It is not going too far to state that a continuance of the open-handed financial system of the Madero régime would soon have reduced Mexico to bankruptcy.

In reference to the national obligations of the Republic of Mexico, there is one peculiarity which differentiates them from those in this country. Since the reorganization of the Pacific railroads in 1898 we have not had any identification of Government with railroad credit in this country. On the other hand, in 1908 Mexico became the owner, as the common stockholder, of her principal systems of railroads.

It was in the course of this process that the Republic obligated herself to become the guarantor of $160,000,000 of 4 per cent. general mortgage bonds of her national system of railroads. While it has been understood that the Huerta Government would meet the October interest on the amount of this issue outstanding, it is well known that the railroads have fallen behind in their receipts and that the public resources of the country would be subjected to calls for money to provide for the coupons on the amount of $50,000,000 or $60,000,000 of bonds outstanding.

Just at this point come into play the relations between the Wilson and Huerta Administrations. The Washington authorities have utilized the diplomatic resources of this country to obstruct the raising of necessary funds by the Huerta Government. At the same time many of our citizens are interested in the various issues of the securities of the National Railways of Mexico. Does it not, therefore, seem somewhat inconsistent that we should be expecting, not to say demanding, exactitude of performance of financial obligations from this sister Republic while we are at the same time boycotting her credit in the markets of the world?

We must, perforce, look to the de facto Government of Mexico to perform all her obligations as a member of the family of nations; and yet we are certainly deprecating, not to say interfering with, the free flow of credit from American financial institutions to our southern neighbor. There is, however, a phase of the present financial situation of Mexico which is rather opportune for that Republic. I refer to the advent of Sir Lionel Carden, who has recently been promoted to the British Ambassadorship to President Huerta's Government.

Sir Lionel has conducted a successful management of the English financial relations to Guatemala, a very knotty subject which had been the cause of much labor to the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders and of peculiar injustice to the English holders of Guatemala bonds. But that matter has been satisfactorily settled and it is not likely that Sir Lionel will be more unmindful of the English interests in Mexican securities than he was in Guatemala obligations. I will not go into the question of the French holdings of Mexican Government and railway securities, and the similarity of their relations with the English position toward the existing national authority of Mexico.

The point is now presented whether it is just to expect Mexico to meet the interest on the above described and other securities, about to fall due, and to keep her political authorities in a state of discredit on the Exchanges of this country and Europe, so far as we are able. In the present state of international affairs it is practically impossible to separate political and financial interests. Should not our representative in Mexico, our Chargé d'Affairs, or whoever he may be, unite with the British and other Ambassadors in such a declaration as will extricate our Government from invidious interference with the

development of the industries and the maintenance of the credit of Mexico?

There is a certain feature in the legislation of Mexico concerning the relation between her National and State Governments which has excited favorable interest in Europe. I refer to that constitutional provision which prohibits the several State authorities of Mexico from incurring separate debts without the sanction of the National Congress. The contrast of this arrangement with our system is the subject of much unfavorable comment toward us upon the European Bourses.

The different territories constituting the United States of Mexico cannot contract separate liabilities without the approval of the National representation. On the other hand, there are nine States of our Federal Union that are now in default in the payment of their debts. Some of these communities are actually, at present, petitioning investors abroad and at home to lend money upon their public credit.

Without pursuing this subject further, it does seem an unfortunate time for our Government to take any action calculated to retard the prosperity of Mexico by stopping the resources of credit, as we have stopped them in some sections of this country by the loose rein which we have given to local authorities. An examination of the *Financial Review of Reviews*, published in London, will show how the mirror is now being held up to this country—showing that we may claim to be purists in some respects but certainly not upon the side of public credit.

The Mexican statesmen have not failed to seize upon our inconsistent positions in these respects. The inquiry is fairly under way in Governmental quarters in Mexico whether financial "sauce for the goose" is not financial "sauce for the gander"—whether our citizens as well as Europeans must have their interest money, while Mexico is debarred by our moral influence from supplementing her regular revenues in the present emergency by proper banking loans.

## "Volunteers"

There are no doubt a number of gentlemen, existing in most countries in most ages, who welcome war because it gives them a chance of putting their hands in the other fellow's pockets; they probably prefer carrying a gun to doing a day's honest work. But the bulk of the Mexican people now under arms may be as little actuated by enthusiasm for their several leaders as the volunteers in the following story. This tale does not come from Mexico, but it certainly might have. An official was called on by a military hero for reinforcements. Presently came his reply: "Mi querido General," began the letter—but I will tell it to you in English.

"My dear General—I send you two hundred volunteers. Please return the ropes to me."

For the "doscientos volontarios" were standing meekly in the street, five in a bunch, bound arm to arm with strong cords.—*Pan-American Magazine.*

## Fair Play for Mexico

# LOBBYGRAMS

Washington.—It is learned here from the highest authority that the Administration, faithful to the proposed plan to see that fair elections be held in Mexico, is about to appoint as Special United States Commissioners Charles Francis Murphy, of New York, and Colonel Cole L. Blease, Governor of South Carolina.

Mr. Charles Francis Murphy, better known as the boss of Tammany Hall, has made a world-wide reputation as an expert on elections and it is proposed that he shall exercise special supervision of the counting of votes and prevent the stuffing of ballot boxes. Mr. Murphy is endeavoring to bring about a speedy conclusion of the Sulzer trial so as to be able to take with him to Mexico several of his trusty lieutenants who although lacking the world-wide reputation of their leader are not less proficient in the supervising of elections.

Mr. Murphy and his assistants will reach Mexico long enough before the elections to be able to instruct the Mexicans in the free exercise of the right of suffrage according to the latest and most approved American methods.

Colonel Blease, the famous Governor of South Carolina, will also supervise the counting of votes, but only in those districts where the population is composed largely of men whose dark-hued skins leave no doubt as to their aboriginal descent. The South Carolina Governor has had more experience in elections by dark-hued voters than Mr. Murphy, who will devote his special attention to the white and foreign-born voters.

Colonel Blease will carry, besides the most important commission, that of seeing that elections in Mexico are conducted according to the Constitution.

Colonel Blease is an authority on the Constitution and is well known in this country as the man who delivered the shortest speech ever made to qualify the Constitution.

The news of the probable appointments has been cabled to Mexico and "Constitutionalists" and "Anti-Constitutionalists," patriots and anti-patriots alike are greatly rejoiced.

They foresee a new era of civilization and their gratitude toward the United States for trying to initiate them in the "New Freedom" is overwhelming.

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Democrats in the House are trying to make the Administration's policy gee with democracy. Regarding solely the popularity of the Democratic organization with the voters, they grow restive. Representative Broussard, speaking for the Southern Democrats in the House, is out in the open with the statement that if the "drifting policy" continues "there will be a line up of Democrats on the floor soon after the regular session opens." The intimation is that there will be a demand on the Administration in December for fair treatment of Mexico in her troubles.

Speaker Clark has not reconciled himself to the "drifting policy" and he has not changed his mind concerning the advice to Americans to abandon their possessions in Mexico and flee to the States. The Speaker is favorable to a demonstration in the House in favor of Mexico. Congress generally has been hearing from constituents at home recently and New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and California are not exceptions.

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Senator Marcus A. Smith, too, has been hearing from home. He said the other day to friends: "I am sick of this situation. If they want fight, why don't they intervene? If they want peace, why don't they quit and let Mexico try to settle her own troubles?" The significance of this is that a couple of months ago Senator Marcus Aurelius was a rabid interventionist. A "jolly good fellow," his fire-eating attitude at that time was regarded as foreign to his nature. It was, and he is now "Mark" Smith, Senator of the people.

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It is not at all strange that there should be an apparent change in the sentiment of Congress. The change is felt in Washington. Even such positive characters on the Republican side as Senators Lodge and Boies Penrose are for action in the Mexican situation. Senator Lodge told Penrose and several other Republicans he was ready to support a resolution requesting recognition of the Mexican Government. Penrose said he felt that way but the others thought the resolution ought to be initiated by the Democrats in the Senate. There was no decision.

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Even Octavius Bacon, the venerable chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is now open to conviction and wants the situation straightened out with Mexico. There is hope entertained even that Senator Fall may correct his published, uttered and written misstatements. Let us hope.

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To show how completely their forces control the States of Coahuila, Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa and Chihuahua, Constitutionalists declared that in the last two months General Carranza, their commander in chief, has made a tour of inspection completely through these States, accompanied only by his staff and twenty soldiers.

They said that General Huerta could not travel for more than fifty miles through any part of Mexico without getting into difficulties, whereas General Carranza has traveled more than 1,500 miles without molestation.—Washington *Evening Star.*

It cannot be denied that during lucid intervals at least that Washington rebel junta is extremely clever. If you love a good story you can hardly blame the newspaper men for "falling for" the romance served them by the junta. Carranza has been fleeing for his life and his predicament has been beautifully twisted into a triumphal tour of inspection. Our advices indicate that the inspection consisted of a daily searching of the horizon for signs of pursuing Federal troops.

## Is the Herald Getting Wise?

Mexico City.—The appearance of Enrique Bordes Mangel in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday created a sensation on account of the report widely circulated here and in the United States that he had been shot because of his friendship with the old Madero régime. He has merely been in hiding. It is said on highest authority that Serapio Rendon, another Representative whose disappearance with Bordes Mangel furnished the basis for bitter comment again General Huerta by rebel juntas in the United States, is also alive and will show up soon.—New York *Herald,* September 19.

If the Constitutionalists of Mexico hope to retain any of the sympathy that has been manifested in this country toward their cause they should lose no time in repudiating the bands of rebel marauders guilty of the recent killing of Americans in Durango and the Tepic territory.

Constitutionalist leaders have been asserting that there is a complete working agreement between the various elements in revolt against the Government at Mexico City, and have classed all rebels as patriots. Either they have laid claim to too much or responsibility for murders committed by rebels and banditti must be laid at their door.

They cannot eat their cake and have it, too. —New York *Herald,* September 19.

Really it begins to look as though the esteemed *Herald* has paused for at least a spell to take stock of its Mexican news. Not for ages has the *Herald* questioned either the service or the accuracy of the "dope" foisted on its correspondents by the rebel juntas in Washington and the border towns. Whatever they said went. But it's bad business for any paper to be so lenient toward misrepresentation, for in the end the truth will out. It is delightfully naive of the editor, learning with pained surprise, that the damage to Americans in Mexico has been at the hands of rebel bands, to ask the "Constitutionalist leaders to repudiate" those marauders. It would be easy to repudiate them for press purposes but rather dangerous for Carranza and the others to repudiate them to their face.

## Fiasco In Lower California

Only twelve men were engaged in the recent "revolution" in Lower California, according to General Hugh L. Scott, commanding the United States Cavalry border patrol. General Scott returned from investigating "the revolution," which caused uneasiness near Calexico as to the safety of the Imperial Valley's irrigation system. He says that an adventurer of the name of Esparza with eleven men crossed the line and burned a railroad bridge, expecting to attract recruits, but they failed and disbanded.—Boston *Transcript,* Sept. 16.

## "No Fault Found"

Philadelphia *Inquirer:* "No fault can be found with either the terms or the tone of the message addressed by Provisional President Huerta to the Mexican Congress."

## "Restraint"

Washington *Star:* "It must be said for Huerta that he has addressed himself to the subject of American relations with considerable restraint and discretion."

# KILLING THE PATIENT

There are some features of the Mexican situation that never see the light of day. While the Wilson Administration is busying itself with doing nothing down in the neighboring Republic except annoy the existing Administration there, and thereby indirectly encouraging rebellion and anarchy, why does no newspaper tell the truth about the origin of the deplorable situation?

It is the habit of the newspapers and of the politicians to speak of Huerta as having waded through slaughter to power. Huerta is described as an assassin. He is accused of the killing of Madero. Therefore, his Administration must not be recognized.

Why is Madero never referred to as an assassin? Why is all the sympathy always with Madero and never with Huerta?

Assume the following to be the facts—and they are easily susceptible of investigation and verification—and then what is the logic of the situation?

Francisco Madero was a visionary and a fanatic. He upset the rule of Diaz by promising to an ignorant electorate a great deal of something for nothing, much on the principle of the old rallying cry of certain carpet bag reconstructionists in this country half a century ago, who promised to every negro forty acres and a mule of the confiscated property of the citizens of the South. The one promise was just as futile as the other. Neither was possible of accomplishment. In this country the attempt to execute the promise was fortunately never made. In Mexico Madero was elected, and of course he could not deliver the goods. Naturally, there was dissatisfaction, and worse.

When Ambassador Wilson came back from Mexico he said he did not care to answer Señora Madero's accusations against him on the ground that she was a woman. But why should not the truth behind that remark be ferreted out, since it involves a whole nation's welfare—perhaps the welfare of two nations?

The point behind that remark was the fact that Señora Madero was responsible for her husband's death as well as for his downfall. This was accomplished through the fact that Señora Madero is a spiritualistic medium and the President believed in her. Nothing was done of importance except through the influence of "controls," as dictated by her in her trances. For instance, when one of General Huerta's aids was sent north to subdue an insurrection a "control" was invoked, and it turned out to be George Washington; so Washington was enlisted in the Mexican army victoriously to lead the campaign. President Huerta himself had two "controls"—Napoleon Bonaparte and Benito Juarez, the old Aztec President of Mexico, who executed Maximilian. Not only that, but President Madero sent to Switzerland and secured the services of a celebrated spiritualistic medium to come to Mexico, and installed him at Government expense as head of a department of spiritualism in the University of Mexico.

After Ambassador Wilson had brought about a truce in the terrible bombardment across the city between the forces of Madero in the palace and Diaz in the citadel, the army sent a delegation to Madero to suggest that he resign. This delegation consisted of three—one each from the infantry, cavalry and artillery—headed by Colonel Riveroll, a lifelong friend of Madero.

The petition represented that the soldiers were without food, had not been paid, were mutinous and would not longer fight. Many accounts agree that when Colonel Riveroll presented the petition in the palace in the Presidential office and suggested the word resign Madero drew a revolver from his pocket and shot his lifetime friend through the head. His own life was saved only through the physical interposition of his own generals, Huerta and Blanquet, who placed him under arrest and demanded his resignation.

At the behest of Ambassador Wilson free transport out of the country was promised for Madero, but Señora Madero telegraphed to the Governor of Vera Cruzz asking if her husband would be recognized as President of Mexico when he arrived in that jurisdiction. The answer was that such recognition would be accorded. Then followed Madero's death, whether at the hands of friends of the murdered Riveroll or as an extra-constitutional "accident," excused by national exigencies, history has not yet recorded.

What, then, of the attitude of the Government of the United States? Huerta was elected President in legal form by the Congress of Mexico. He is admittedly the strongest man in Mexico and best able to cope with the situation. He was not recognized by the United States, and thereby his hands were tied and further insurrection was encouraged; and now he has no money and cannot much longer carry on the Government. What then? Chaos followed by armed intervention on the part of the United States and a bloody struggle of many years at great sacrifice of life and property and civilization.

Two reasons suggest themselves as an explanation of this situation.

First—Some year or two ago the Latin-American Republics assembled in a love feast promoted by John Barrett, and solemnly signed an agreement to abolish revolutions and follow constitutional methods of government. It is now suggested that since Mexico has broken that agreement she should be made an example of before the world by being encouraged to fight herself to death in internecine warfare to teach coming generations the folly of such strife. Upholders of this hypothesis admit that recognition of the Huerta Government by the United States might have postponed such a struggle to the death, but are not sure that it would have averted it forever. Therefore, better have it over now. Much on the same principle as to say that if a man is suffering from tuberculosis and is seemingly sure to die the doctors should

not use every effort to prolong his life on the principle that while there is life there is always hope.

Second—It is an axiom that no Administration was ever defeated while it had a war on its hands. If there should be war on with Mexico in 1916, to accomplish the annexation of Mexico and Central America to the United States might give longer fame than the passage of a tariff or a currency bill; or still again perhaps the Washington Administration thinks Huerta drinks too much brandy. The same complaint was once made about Grant, which gave Lincoln an opportunity to make one of his famous remarks.

## Suspicion

It is one thing to be alert and on guard. To be suspicious is another. The first are manly characteristics, particularly desirable in one charged with the conduct of a nation. But for such a one to be *suspicious* in the extreme of the motives actuating the actions of others is an unfortunate weakness and replete with dangers when a factor in national and international affairs.

Whether the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounding every move of the Administration in regard to Mexico is born of inexperience and a determination not to make a mistake, or simply personal, we cannot say with justice. But the fact remains that the sleuth-like, exaggerated suspicion that has marked the conduct of the Administration in dealing with Mexico has materially impeded the very purposes and programme of the Administration to its own detriment.

Its suspicions of Ambassador Wilson's motives robbed it of the valuable knowledge and experience of that diplomat.

Its suspicion of President Huerta's responsibility for the death of Madero and Suarez has tied its hands in dealing with the responsible Government of Mexico.

Its suspicion that President Huerta would do this and do that, would resign so as to be a candidate in the elections, would have no elections at all, would not resign, would force intervention, would have an ulterior motive if he did right, would not protect Americans, would be moved by fear alone if he did—all these purely gratuitous assumptions have made the Administration look like an old farmer who has come to town with a carpet bag and an unshakable belief that every city man is a crook.

The Administration seems to have fond conviction that every Mexican is a subtle confidence man. It might be well for the overwise and over-suspicious Administration to sleuth a bit on the trail of those individuals who have won and used its confidence in relation to Mexico.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a Week**

**and Learn What's What**

**Below the Rio Grande**

# MEXICAN COMMERCE GAINS

**Despite Revolution Trade with United States Has Increased $11,500,000 Over Figures for Last Year**

Washington, September 19.—In spite of the unsettled conditions in Mexico, growing out of the revolution, trade of the United States with that country in the fiscal year just closed was greater than ever before. Figures made public by the Department of Commerce to-day showed imports of merchandise from Mexico in 1913 totaled $77,500,000, an increase of $11,500,000 over the previous year. Exports to Mexico amounted to $54,500,000, an increase of $1,750,000 over 1912. Manufacturers' materials formed the greater part of imports from Mexico and manufactures the bulk of exports to that country.

Copper, sisal grass, mineral oils, hides and skins, gums, lead in ore and coffee are the principal articles imported from Mexico, while manufactures of iron and steel, lumber, boots and shoes, agricultural implements, automobiles, railway cars, cotton seed oil, meats, wheat, corn, cotton, coal and coke are the principal exports to that country.

Copper in pigs, ingots and bars is the largest single item in the list of articles imported from Mexico, amounting to 17 1-3 million dollars in 1913, against 14½ million in 1912, while the copper in ore imported from that country amounted to over 2 million dollars in 1913, against a little less than 2 million in 1912. Curiously, about 3 million dollars' worth of copper ore is exported to Mexico, being chiefly the product of sections lying immediately along the Mexican border and of a grade readily handled by certain smelting establishments in the northern section of Mexico. Sisal grass imported amounted to 15½ million dollars, against 10 million in the preceding year; crude mineral oils, about 7 million dollars in 1913, against a little over 2 million in 1912; hides of cattle, 4½ million dollars; goat skins, 1¾ million; gum chicle, 1¼ million; guayule gum, a substitute for rubber, 4 1-3 million; India rubber, 1 1-3 million; coffee, 4 million; and cattle, 5½ million dollars, against 4½ million in the preceding year.

On the export side the list of articles is large and includes lumber, 2¼ million dollars, pipes and fittings, 2½ million, boots and shoes nearly 2 million, raw cotton 1 1-3 million, cotton seed oil 1½ million, mining machinery, 1½ million, electrical machinery practically a million, lard practically a million, sewing machines three-fourths of a million, automobiles over a half million, and corn a little less than a half million.

A very large proportion of the trade of Mexico is with the United States. Fifty-four per cent. of her imports, as shown by her official figures, are drawn from the United States, and 75 per cent. of her exports are sent to the United States, these figures being for 1912.

More than one-half of our trade with Mexico goes by water. Exports from New York to Mexico in the fiscal year 1912 were approximately 17 million dollars, while 23 million dollars' worth of imports from Mexico entered through that port. Of the 66 million dollars' worth of imports from Mexico in 1912 31 million entered through the Atlantic Coast ports, 23 million through the Mexican border ports, 10 million through the Gulf ports and 1½ million through the Pacific Coast ports. The 53 million of exports to Mexico that year showed 27 million through the Mexican border ports, 18 million through the Atlantic Coast ports (chiefly New York), 5 million through the Gulf ports and 2½ million through the Pacific Coast ports.

Mexico's imports of merchandise have grown from 52 million dollars in 1890 to 61 million in 1900 and 90 million in 1912; her exports of merchandise have grown from 18 million in 1890 to 37 millions in 1900 and 79 million in 1912.

## The Other Side of Mexico

To Americans who for months have had it dinned into their ears that in Mexico business was at a standstill, that industries were in a state of suspension or bankruptcy and mines and railroads were no longer operated, that the whole country was overrun by hordes of bandits and that chaos ruled everywhere, the news that commerce between the United States and Mexico during the fiscal year just ended broke all records must come as a shock.

All the while that 15,000,000 Mexicans, spread over an area almost three times the size of Texas, were supposed to be wholly absorbed in rapine and murder and civil war, they have found time to produce upward of 10 per cent. more goods than ever before to sell to their best customer. For the twelve months that rebels and Federals, aided by brigands, were reported to be engaged in creating national ruin, the same people have bought from the United States several millions more than the average amount of merchandise.

In view of the alarming reports of conditions throughout Mexico, with which the American public has long been fed, these cold trade statistics are disturbing. It begins to appear that although Madero was murdered by treachery and a military court under Huerta has just declared that Madero's death was not a "punishable crime," and that although the air at Mexico City has been thick with plots and revolutionary conspiracies and politicians' intrigues, the sole occupation of the Mexican people has not been civil strife. The great mass of them must have been living and working and going about their daily business in normal fashion.—New York *World* Editorial.

The news must "come as a shock" to the *World* especially, which has consistently been the medium for the misrepresentation of Mexican conditions by the Madero family and their disgruntled followers.

## One of the Five

That the sentiment of the people even in Mexico is opposed to President Huerta was the word brought to Washington to-day by Senor Hurtado Espinosa, one of the five members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies who refused to obey Huerta's commands at the time of the overthrow of Madero.—New York *World*, September 24.

That settles it. If Hurtado Espinosa says so, Huerta is a lost man.

Hurtado is one of the best known public men in Mexico—and the best qualified to interpret public opinion in that country. If you do not believe it, ask him.

It is interesting to note, however, that he was *one of the five* members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies who refused to obey "Huerta's commands" at the time of the overthrow of Madero.

We had understood from Maderists' statements that *the majority* of members of Congress were not present at the time of Madero's overthrow—that was their strongest argument against the constitutional status of the Huerta Provisional Government.

Of course there was no "Huerta's commands." Everyone in Mexico—with the exception of the Maderists—knows that before Madero's overthrow the Senate in a body urged Madero to resign, and upon his refusal urged General Huerta to put an end to the bloody and useless struggle.

But in view of the assertions heretofore made that there was no quorum in the Mexican Congress at the time of Madero's overthrow the admission that only *five* of the members of Congress refused to obey Huerta's commands" is highly important.

## Americans Not Worried

Mrs. Robert C. Elliott, wife of the presiding elder of the Methodist Church South of the City of Mexico, arrived in San Antonio yesterday from the capital by way of Vera Cruz and Galveston. She was accompanied by her four children. While in San Antonio they will be the guests of Miss Minnie L. Johnston of 1524 Buena Vista street.

Mrs. Elliott says she is not a refugee in any sense of the word, and that her visit here at this time is in the nature of a social visit. As to conditions in the interior of Mexico she could not say, but in the City of Mexico she says all is quiet, and that Americans are not alarmed.

"Americans are not being molested in the capital, and in my opinion they are as safe there as in San Antonio," she said. "Hundreds of refugees are leaving points in the interior and finding refuge in the capital. This they are doing in order to escape the annoyances being caused by wandering bands of bandits. There were a number of refugees on my boat, but most of them were from interior points."—San Antonio *Express*.

## Those Rebels

Four hundred dead and wounded piled in a heap, drenched in oil and fired was the last great horror that he witnessed. The rebel army is unprovided with facilities for care of the wounded, and they take this barbarous method of disposing of the dead and wounded. Those who are only slightly injured are left to shift for themselves, but those unable to travel are heaped with the dead and cremated. —Los Angeles *Times*, September 15.

# National Sentiment and Business

## THEIR RELATION

Regret was expressed in President Huerta's message to Congress for the fact that some of the Latin-American Republics had failed to recognize his Government. He referred, of course, to the Republics forming the A. B. C. Alliance—Argentine, Brazil and Chile. This has awakened only slight comment in this country and that to the effect that the mentioned South American Republics had followed the policy adopted by the United States because their Governments agreed with ours that recognition should be withheld on moral grounds.

Anyone at all familiar with South American politics will understand that the withholding of recognition of the Mexican Government by some of the South American Republics has been due to other motives.

The A. B. C. Alliance was formed at the instance of far-seeing statesmen for three principal reasons. First—To eliminate that feeling of antagonism which existed between the Argentine and the Brazilian and between the Argentine and Chilian nations, respectively. Antagonism which during the last twenty years at different times threatened to provoke war, first between Argentine and Chile, and then between the former country and Brazil. Second—To form a nucleus of the most advanced of the South American countries which could assume a preponderancy over the entire South American Continent. Third—and last, but by no means least—To form a protective alliance which would extend its protection to other South American countries against the imperial tendency of the United States.

Just at present the A. B. C. Alliance is anxious that this last motive should not be too apparent and, yielding to representations made by the United States, they have agreed for a time at least to withhold recognition from the Mexican Government, perhaps as a sop to the sentiment of resentment awakened in Washington official circles by the forming of the alliance.

There is no doubt, however, that even though the powerful South American Republics regard Mexico as possessing as yet a degree of civilization inferior to their own and are anxious to keep on the most friendly terms with the United States—their national sentiment is opposed to any undue interference of this country in the internal affairs of Mexico or any other of the Latin-American Republics.

This sentiment is of greater importance to us than may be thought by the casual observer. Friendly and commercial relations between nations as well as between individuals to be lasting and beneficial must be based on mutual trust. Our industrial development is dependent upon the facility with which we can compete with other countries in foreign markets—and particularly in those of South America in view of the coming opening of the Panama Canal. That national sentiment plays an important part in commercial relations has been amply demonstrated by past experience and is a fact to which Americans who have done business in Latin-America have often referred.

In view of this we think pertinent to reproduce here extracts of opinions from two authoritative sources, one from General Reyes, former President of Colombia, concerning the general sentiment in South America toward the United States, and the other from *La Prensa*, of Buenos Aires, the leading newspaper in South America, concerning the proposed protectorate over Nicaragua by the United States.

### By General Rafael Reyes

(*From the New York Times, September 20th*)

It may, perhaps, be permitted to me as one who has played a prominent part in the effort to secure the blessings of peace, both within and beyond the borders of some of the southern Republics, to point out what I regard as the primary causes of the doubts and suspicions prevailing in many of the Latin countries in regard to the attitude and intentions of the United States toward them.

The first and most important factor which operates as a bar to harmony of purpose and to mutual confidence is the popular misconception in the United States of the true significance and objects of the Monroe Doctrine, which, in many quarters, is looked upon as a kind of international police regulation to be administered by the authorities at Washington for the better preservation of peace and order in the somewhat extensive municipal area of Latin-America.

It does not appear to be sufficiently known or understood that President Monroe's famous Declaration in 1823 was designed as a measure of protection for, and not as an instrument of attack upon, the integrity of the then recently established Spanish Republics; and that, from its initial adoption down to its latter-day re-affirmation, it was intended and has been declared to be governed by the sole object of linking together the sisterhood of the American Republics and of guarding the weaker States coming within its sphere of operation against the undue aggression of any of the countries of the other hemisphere.

This interpretation of the much abused doctrine has been distorted by a not uncertain wave of misrepresentation, strengthened by a section of the press, into a widespread belief that the United States derives from the provisions of the doctrine in question the right to intervene in the internal affairs of, and to exercise a species of suzerainty over, some of the Latin Republics when it is considered necessary or desirable to do so. It is by that belief, to which color has been given on frequent occasions by mistaken official action, that the doubts and fears entertained in Latin-America as to the policy of the United States have been engendered.

## NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND BUSINESS—Continued

That pernicious propaganda has likewise tended to obscure the fact that every one of those Republics which, in their early political development, struggled so valiantly to free themselves from the yoke of oppression and the misgovernment to which in their colonial serfdom they had for so long been subjected, is a distinct unit among the American nations, with every claim known to justice and right to territorial integrity and the fullest independence.

Another factor which has served to accentuate the distrust of the Latin peoples of the American Continent in their international relations with the United States is the still largely prevalent want of knowledge of actual conditions. The term "South America," as applied with a delightful disregard of geographical accuracy, to all the Republics of the American Continent outside the United States, is usually associated by a not inconsiderable number of American citizens with a race of people possessed of territories enveloping great national wealth, but of a grade of civilization on a footing more or less of the Filipinos, or, perhaps, the Hawaiians.

It seems to be overlooked that the people of Latin-America are the descendants of a race imbued with that beautiful spirit which inspires all great achievements; that their intellectual qualities, their blood, and their energies make them ideal nation builders, embodying all the higher elements of progress. It seems also to be overlooked that the moral and material advance of some of those Republics has placed them in the forefront of great nations, and that what has happened in those cases will be repeated in the course of time by the now less advanced nations which have already furnished abundant proofs of their virility and progressive spirit.

Another dangerous weapon in this campaign of ignorance and slander is the ill-concealed attempt to convert the bogey of the "big stick" into a reality. The existence of that instrument is implied rather than expressed, but in many directions it is metaphorically flourished with resultant harm to the United States, as well as to many of the sister Republics. The effects of the aggressive spirit which dictates that implication of superior force may be seen in every phase of life. In one case it is the banker, who, with a natural desire for the protection of his investment, unwittingly causes his Government to impose conditions suggestive of an attack upon the independence of the borrowing State. In another it is the commercial traveler who approaches the Latin-American buyer in the belief that the latter is conscious of his inferiority and that he must yield, not to the blandishments, but to the political equipment of the would-be representative of "Uncle Sam," disporting the end of the "big stick" beneath the tails of his coat.

* * *

The records of history disclose many instances of the triumph of might over right, and the elasticity of international law still constitutes an effective weapon in cases where a resort to brute force is preferred to the adoption of measures inspired by principles of equity and by the law of nations for the adjustment of international differences.

* * *

The opening of the Panama Canal will doubtless produce a great inflow of immigration to the rich territories which the completion of that great work will render more accessible to the myriads of human beings who will leave the congested countries of Europe to seek a new home and a more bountiful living. That this stream of humanity shall not be repelled, it is an imperative necessity that imperialism and usurpations of territory disappear from the two Americas; that the Latin nations shall settle their boundary and other differences in the field of justice; that they shall bring closer together their commercial, intellectual and social relations in order that they may be strengthened to labor, side by side, with the great Republic of the North for the glorification of America as a whole.

Having for many years closely followed, step by step, the development of the American Republics and the convulsions of their ardent and vexed democracies, I am more than ever convinced that unity of action with the United States is necessary to initiate the advent of that glorious future to which they are so manifestly entitled. But that unity of action can only be accomplished by the removal of the causes which have led to the prevailing doubts, jealousies and suspicions. There must be a wider recognition of the fact that the relations of the United States with the Latin Republics are those of a friendly, powerful neighbor, with no other objects than the advantages to be gained from the ties of sisterhood and the extension of commerce. There must be a saner propaganda as to the inalienable sovereign rights and complete independence of even the smallest of the Latin States. There must be no "big stick," and no such use of the Monroe Doctrine as to make it an instrument of terror to the smaller Republics, and a subject for ridicule in the greater countries of the South.

The more advanced Latin nations appreciate and sympathize with the benevolent designs and objects of that doctrine, as is shown by the formulation of their own doctrine, intended to protect the smaller States against the employment of armed force by foreign nations for the collection of contractual debts. But they resent the spirit of domination and tutelage which implies that they need the protection of the United States against foreign aggression.

They have attained a position in the council of nations which gives them the right to a voice in defense of the interests of their weaker sisters. But, while they have always refrained from the exercise of that voice in an official or active form, it is conceivably possible, and it has even been suggested, that alliances may be formed with a view to giving effect to popular sympathies and sentiments.

Although widely separated by distance, and by lack of community of interests, the ties of blood and of common descent make an attack upon the independence of any one of these nations an attack upon them all.

## From La Prensa, of Buenos Aires

After giving a summary of the terms of the proposed treaty with Nicaragua, *La Prensa* says:

"Our correspondent in the United States affirms that the news of the proposed protectorate has been widely commented on in the press and particularly in Latin-American diplomtic circles, where it provoged great surprise.

"That same sensation of surprise and displeasure has been felt here in Buenos Aires and we do not hesitate in asserting that it will be felt in all the nations of the Continent. A protectorate, no matter how ably disguised, established over any country, means an attack on the sovereignty of that country, more so if—as in this case—there are conditions of prohibition which put the protected entity in the position of a minor. It would be compelled to ask the permission of its guardian to dispose of its property, to make use of its credit, and even to avenge attacks upon its national honor."

*La Prensa* justifies, to a certain extent, the protectorate over Cuba, saying that the United States helped Cuba to gain its independence. "Not so with Nicaragua," it continues, "this country conquered its independence more than a century ago and since then, with bad or good Governments, in peace or in war, has maintained its international entity.

"Neither the smallness of its population nor the relative limitations of its territory deprive it of the right to be considered as much as any other country with traditions, created interests and a name on the political map of the world.

"Mr. Bryan's proposition is fundamentally in disaccord with the declaration of 'hands off' and well-intended Pan-Americanism formulated by Mr. Wilson in his political programme. But leaving aside this circumstance, we believe that the President, Congress and all statesmen in the United States must seriously reflect before sanctioning a project the mere announcement of which has engendered great alarm in the Latin-American world and may destroy its sentiment of friendship for the great Republic of the North.

"We are accustomed to consider that Republic as a model worthy of imitation in what concerns the perfecting of its institutions in all lines of human activity.

"We should not care to have anyone suspect, with good foundation, that it has any plans of absorption incompatible with the peace, political integrity and progress of this part of the world.

"*La Prensa,* which is among the most enthusiastic and ardent advocates of the sentiment of Pan-Americanism and one of the most sincere admirers of the fatherland of Washington and Lincoln, calls the attention of the statesmen of the United States to the serious danger entailed in the plan announced by Mr. Bryan. Should it be carried out, even though with the consent of the Government of Nicaragua, we should have lost in one violent fall the long road gained by Pan-Americanism in the last ten or fifteen years."

## Square Dealing

The national spirit of our country is one of fairness and square dealing. That there are apparent exceptions or lapses in this regard and that these stand out with magnified importance proves the rule. Whenever unfairness or injustice is found here it is almost invariably the result of misinformation or offhand impressions. When fully informed and left to judge and choose their stand the American people are ever on the side of right and justice. There are times when we seem to the rest of the world a flighty, impressionable, emotional people, but it is noticeable that whenever called upon to express themselves at the polls on national issues the voters of the country act with a calmness and solidness of judgment that is disconcerting alike to the demagogue and to the cynic.

We earnestly believe that through our Government we as a people have not so far given a square deal to the Mxican Government and people. Principally because we have been outrageously misinformed as to Mexican life and conditions by those whose special interests and advantages are served by misrepresentation.

We have been led to believe that Mexico is given over to virtual anarchy and chaos. Now we are authoritatively informed by our own Department of Commerce that the Mexican trade with the United States in the fiscal year just closed was millions of dollars greater than ever before. The wonderful resources and vitality of Mexico and the peaceful tendencies of the vast majority of the people could have no stronger proof.

The present provisional Government announced a simple, direct programme from the beginning. Its work, its single aim was to put down rebellion and brigandage in certain sections of the Republic, conditions that had arisen and remained unchecked under Madero, and then to call for the election of a regular Government. Official Washington and a great majority of the newspapers of this country, instead of giving the provisional Government a chance to prove its purposes and ability, from the beginning sought to discredit its integrity and question its motives, the Washington Administration particularly evincing a truculently distrustful feeling. Meanwhile the Mexican Government has gone ahead doing exactly what it set out to do, with remarkable ability and extraordinary success.

When it became obvious to the most casual observer that the Federal authorities had the situation well in hand, we, or rather the Administration, began to question what the Mexican Government would do next. Not only that, but to dictate what it should do, on the assumption that it would not do what it had solemnly pledged itself to do, namely, to call free constitutional elections as soon as peace was restored. A date had been set for the elections, there was nothing done by President Huerta to cast any doubt on his announced intentions, but we still maintained an attitude of distrust. Was that fair? Was that a square deal? Is it not more akin to bullying injustice?

Now that the Mexican Government gives every indication of doing exactly what from the beginning it had promised to do, promised for itself willingly and openly to the people of Mexico, many in Washington and many newspapers are asserting that the credit belongs to President Wilson and John Lind. Is this fair? Is this a square deal?

If, in the near future, the Mexican people find a way out of their difficulties, if through bitter internecine strife they have evolved a better Mexico and learned a useful national lesson, if they see for the future a new and finer expression of their aspirations, should we not in all fairness give the country and its people the credit for their achievements?

## Back of Revolution Broken

(By direct wire to the Los Angeles *Times*.)

Nogales, Ariz., Sept. 12.—(Exclusive dispatch). The back of the revolution has been broken in Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Durango, and Venustiano Carranza has been driven in turn from Coahuila, Zacatecas, Durango, Sinaloa and the only asylum left him is Sonora, where he is bound, according to the rebel organ, *La Voz de Sonora*. Carranza in his flight has cut a pitiful figure with his meager force. A message purporting to be signed by Carranza, the rebels pretend, was received from Chinobambo, Sinaloa, dated September 11, in which Carranza states that he will be in Sonora within a few days. This is taken as evidence of the breakup of the revolution. Foreigners and especially Americans rejoice over the approaching end of the ill-advised rebellion.

Amusement was caused by the arrival to-night of former Governor Ygnacio L. Pesqueira, self appointed brigadier-general of the rebels, and his retinue of evicted rebel Congressmen. Ramon Denegri, Gustavo Padres, Carlos Plank and others, who follow the deposed governor wherever he goes. He says that he does not know if he will go to Hermosillo or back to Cananea tomorrow. It is suspected that he is feeling his ground to see if it would be safe for him to return to Hermosillo after his recalcitrant attitude toward Governor Maytorena. Others say that he has no intention of going to Hermosillo. Immediately on his arrival he invested in a quantity of agricultural implements. He never obtained a permit from Washington to cross American territory on his way to Sinaloa, via San Diego.

As a direct result of the warning from Washington to the rebel authorities not to molest Americans, rebel Governor Maytorena issued his proclamation ordering all American and other foreigners and those not enlisted in the so-called Constitutional army to deliver their arms and ammunition to the nearest rebel official within forty-eight hours. The order is aimed only at Americans, as to secure a weapon a native has only to enlist in the rebel army. This enlistment permits him to remain at home, as is now the case with 2,000 armed men in the district of Moctezuma, who are following their ordinary pursuits, yet belong to the regular rebel army. It is also regarded as a reprisal on Americans in Sonora, as a result of the failure of Washington to recognize the belligerency of the rebels, which the rebels expected some weeks ago.

In attempts to escape compulsory military service with the rebels, many Mexicans are leaving the Moctezuma district and many more will follow. The exodus follows an order for the conscription of 2,000 men in the district over and above those now in the service. The demand for the recruits comes as the result of the aggressiveness of the Federals south of Hermosillo, where reinforcements are needed to check the advance, as well as the threatened invasion of Sonora from the east by Federal troops. Maximo Castillo, with his force, is near Columbus, and the rebels are so panic stricken that they are holding back 66,000 rounds of ammunition for use of the forces of Francisco Villa, which they fear Castillo might capture.

As a result of Maytorena's decree disarming Americans it is believed that hundreds of Americans in northern Sonora, who had declared their intention of remaining in the State, despite the warning from Washington, will now hasten to leave. To be without arms and ammunition in a country threatened by an Indian war, as also by internal dissensions, would test the mettle of the most brave.

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San Francisco, September 14.—Weird details of a three-day battle at Topolobampo, Sonora, are given in correspondence published here today. The correspondent asserts the defeat of the rebels "broke the back" of the revolution in Sonora, and was brought about August 28, when the Mexican cruiser Tampico brought 100 troops from Mazatlan and put them ashore. When the Federals were driven back the rebel ranks were raked by the machine guns on the warship, and at the end the rebels took to their heels.—Denver *Republican*.

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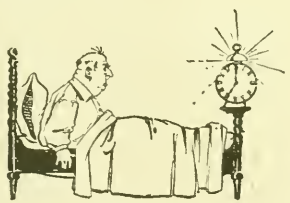
"He was the leader of the revolt against *General* Madero," says the New York *Herald*. The way the *Herald* distributes that title of *General* is a caution! Madero general! Who ever accused him of that except the *Herald?*



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For postal money order enclosed please send me copy of your paper, MEXICO, for one year.

A friend gave me a sample copy and I found that it expressed my ideas fully. Another friend to whom I showed it was equally pleased, but expressed the belief that it was owned and published by the present Government of Mexico. I argued that that made no difference if it published the truth, as it evidently does. He thought if you would make a broader statement as to ownership on page 12, it would give the paper greater prestige. The writer is an American, an unnecessary refugee from Mexico, and absolutely opposed to the present policy of the American Government toward Mexico, as are practically all Americans who have lived in the country and know the people.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Henry O. Flipper.

We are glad of the opportunity Mr. Flipper has given us to make an explicit declaration as to the purposes of MEXICO.

This publication is not owned by the present Government of Mexico. In fact, we do not even know whether any official of the Mexican Government is aware of the existence of this review, although we have placed it on sale in Mexico City and in Vera Cruz.

MEXICO is published by men who for many years have identified themselves with Mexican life.

Who are thoroughly acquainted with Mexican affairs and with the Mexican people.

Who wish to co-operate with all Mexicans in the consolidation and maintenance of a stable, honest government in Mexico, irrespective of personalities.

Who wish to co-operate with Mexicans and Americans alike in the consolidation and maintenance of close social, political, and commercial bonds between Mexico and the United States.

Who have strong convictions as to the manner in which this should be accomplished, and as to the present attitude of the United States Government toward Mexico.

Who, familiar with other Latin-American countries and in sympathy with the sentiments and ideals of their people, believe sincerely that mutual understanding, consideration and forbearance will best serve the interests of Americans who have social and commercial intercourse with Latin-Americans.

Who believe that justice is compatible with true nationalism and patriotism, and that patriotism does not consist in constant effort to bring out other people's failings, but rather in acknowledging other people's virtues and respecting their rights.

Who believe that Mexico is entitled to fair treatment at the hands of the people and of the Government of the United States.

Who believe that in endeavoring to obtain fair treatment they are serving the best interests of Americans themselves.

Who will give their sincere support to any Mexican Government as long as they are convinced that such a government is worthy of their support.

Who believe that the sincerity of their purpose and of their convictions is made patent in every line of this review.

Who believe that pursuing the policy they have adopted in the publication of MEXICO they are serving their own selfish interests, in establishing a lasting and profitable business enterprise.

## Encouraging Revolution

The reason usually ascribed by friends of the Administration in explanation or condonement of the unwarranted interference in Mexican affairs is that the United States must discourage and prevent as far as possible armed revolution in Latin-American countries. Apart from any question as to the necessity or propriety of this self-assumed guardianship, the fact still remains that the Administration's policy toward Mexico has encouraged rather than discouraged revolution in Mexico. So that no matter how altruistic and well-founded in democratic principles the Washington Government may consider itself the fifteen millions and more of peaceful, law-abiding Mexicans must marvel at both the futility and hypocrisy of our high-sounding protestations of friendship.

Those familiar with the course of Mexico's troublous affairs know that the revolution of Madero, which overturned the stable Government of Porfirio Diaz, was not only substantially aided from this side of the border, in the interest of American corporations, but also that its success proved to be a monumental mistake and brought Mexico to the verge of ruin and chaos.

They know that the utter failure of the Madero Government to gauge or control the forces it so irresponsibly set in motion provoked a volcanic eruption of lawlessness and disorder throughout the country. That the responsible elements of the Mexican people, seeing the depths of disaster into which the country was plunging and the absolute inability of the Madero régime to save it, were forced to rid themselves of the family and clique of revolutionists who had caused and could not stop the trouble.

The movement of Felix Diaz and others against the Maderos was not so much a revolution as it was a necessary intelligent step to save Mexico from the consequences of a revolution that was neither justified nor effective. It was to put out of power a group of revolutionary grafters before the country, as a result of their greed for plunder and their governmental incapacity, should go utterly to the dogs or invite United States armed intervention. Finally the movement was successful and a strong provisional Government was installed whose avowed and only purpose was to put down the lawlessness and brigandage which had grown up under Madero, and re-establish the peace and prosperity of the country. President Wilson's failure to recognize this Government and its consequent financial difficulties were immediately seized upon as an encouragement to continue their brigandage by the lawless elements and their revolutionary intrigues by the very group of Maderists who were responsible for Mexico's woes.

Happily, despite President Wilson's antagonism and pedantic insistence on inapplicable theories, President Huerta and his Government have overcome enormous difficulties and through their efforts Mexico is in a good way to the restoration of peaceful conditions.

But let not President Wilson lay the flattering unction to his soul that his attitude has discouraged revolution in Mexico or has impressed Latin-America generally with anything but the most profound distrust of American protestations of friendship and American diplomacy.

## Letters to the Editor

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: The only regret I have in connection with your sane and lucid publication is that you did not start it a year or more ago as a corrective to the amazing amount of misinformation about Mexico in the public press and as a source of light on the affairs of our sister Republic for Governmental officials from the President down. C. F. Stansbury.

New York City.

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: It was an exaggeration on Mr. Wilson's part, first to instruct all Americans to leave Mexico, and then to countermand this order. What impression must such a change of orders leave in the minds of the Americans in Mexico and the Mexicans.

We would be glad if some good could be accomplished by your paper, but it is probably difficult to change the general opinion which in a great measure is indifferent about Mexico, and in an equally large proportion knows nothing about Mexican conditions.

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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

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## FEDERICO GAMBOA

### CATHOLIC PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

The pictorial libel in the use of the cut below as a portrait of Gamboa is apparent at first glance and does not require expert demonstration. This picture was circulated by a supposedly reputable photographic firm and reproduced in scores of American newspapers, among others the Galveston *News*, the Chicago *Tribune* and the Kansas City *Star*. It is the clearest evidence of either extreme yellow journalism or inexcusable carelessness and stupidity.

It represents Gamboa as a fierce-looking bandit and it is usually supplemented by a printed explanation that it was taken on the field when Gamboa was leading some band in the Madero revolution.

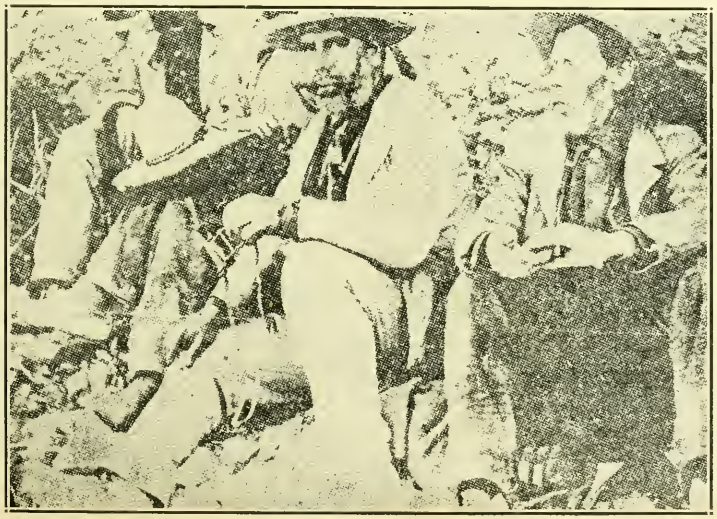
Gamboa has been long in the public eye in Mexico, although not active in the political life of that country. He was for many years sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the famous Mariscal and before the beginning of the Madero revolution he was appointed Mexican Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands.

You have only to look at his true picture to see the intellectual man, a member of the Royal Academy of Madrid, known throughout the Spanish-speaking world as an author of note and a finished diplomat.

Is it to be wondered at that the reproduction in the Mexican newspapers of the picture representing him as a bandit has awakened a feeling of indignation among all classes of Mexicans.

What would the feeling of Americans be if President Wilson were pictured in the European press as the worst of thugs with the lowest criminal instincts showing on every line of his pictured face? Oh, we have a lot of sense of humor and many would laugh, but not all. Besides, the publication of so libelling a picture is nothing short of criminal at a time when it affects the friendly relations of two nations.

**As American Papers Have Made Him Appear**



**As He Appears**

## ELECTIONS IN MEXICO

The experts on Mexican politics who by a strange turn of fate are at present most numerous in Washington, and whose fertile brains are daily fecundated by the rays of knowledge emanating from the incandescent junta, have written elaborate essays on the present electoral situation in Mexico. Many of them, after mature deliberation, long pondering and close examination of evidence, have come to the conclusion that the nomination of Federico Gamboa by the Catholic Party will complicate the international situtation and will create considerable opposition even in the "Huerta ranks"—whatever that means.

No illuminating explanation has been forthcoming for these assertions, but they are made, nevertheless, and are testimony to the Mexican political perspicacity of the Washington experts.

Perhaps we may be permitted to say that in our humble opinion Gamboa was selected by the Catholic Party as a compromise candidate who—because of his well-known Liberal ideas—would be acceptable to the Liberals themselves and therefore to a majority of the voters. Mr. Gamboa has never been identified with the Catholics of Mexico, and those who know him of old know that even some of his writings have at times been strongly criticised by the radical Catholic element.

## ELECTIONS IN MEXICO—Continued

It is evident that the Catholic Party, although at times intolerant in the past, is making a patriotic effort to co-operate with the best elements in Mexico to bring about a pacific solution of the political difficulties presented by the Presidential succession.

In this connection it is well to note the broad and modern spirit which evidently animates the two most prominent candidates so far in the field. For several months the organization supporting Felix Diaz has been establishing political clubs and conducting a campaign for his election. Mr. Gamboa immediately following his nomination has established headquarters in Mexico City and plunging into the work of organization, has laid plans for a "spellbinding" campaign.

Besides the campaign of oratory planned by both candidates arrangements have been made with the moving picture theatres, numerous throughout the whole Republic, for the presentation on screens of the candidates' platforms on which they seek the support of the people.

General Felix Diaz, in an interview given in Paris, has expressed his satisfaction at the nomination of Federico Gamboa and has sent to the latter a most cordial telegram congratulating him on the nomination, adding: "I am especially glad that you were nominated because our country needs such men as yourself to rule her destinies."

Mr. Gamboa replied at once reciprocating the sentiments of General Diaz, adding: "Today as yesterday, winner or loser, I am as always your friend and admirer."

Surely these are the acts of civilized men who are anxious to assist their country—in the greatest possible measure—toward the goal of democracy.

Contrast the acts and attitudes of these men with those of the self-styled Constitutionalists: "We shall not participate in the elections," they cry, "we shall consider any one elected as a traitor to the country and shall kill him under the law of 1862. Likewise under the same law"—which, by the way, is no longer on the statute books of Mexico—"we shall kill General Huerta and every person who has in any way participated in or recognized his Government and every person who shall participate in or recognize any future Government except our own."

Of course this wholesale extermination is conditional upon the capturing of the persons thus implicated and their seizing the reins of Government.

Lovable chaps—these exponents of the Constitution—and a lovely Constitutional spectacle they would offer to the eyes of the world if they should succeed in regaining power. However, it looks as if the world will be spared any such show, even though these "Constitutionalists" have the sympathy of some American newspapers and of some American public men.

Unfortunately it is not difficult to captivate the sympathy of the average American citizen who is ignorant of Mexican conditions, and of the personality of these patriots. It is sufficient for them to send a few agents to the United States, who find no difficulty in getting the ever-ready ear of the press and to spread broadcast the assertion that they are fighting for freedom, for democracy, for the people, fighting to obtain the realization of the people's ideals, "so long and unjustly repressed," as President Wilson said in his message to Congress!

As the men who have styled themselves Constitutionalists and claim to be the apostles of democracy are the same men who were responsible for the "election" of Francisco Madero and for his Administration it may not be amiss to recall the facts of that "election."

# The Elections of Francisco Madero

Francisco I. Madero, upon reaching Mexico City on June 7, 1911, after Porfirio Diaz had gone into exile, declared that in leading the revolution he had been prompted solely by the purpose to free his country from a hated régime and not by personal ambition.

He even went so far as to say to some of his intimate friends that he would not enter the race for the presidency at the elections that were to take place on the following October. All that was left for him to complete his task, he said, was to muster out all revolutionary forces—as he had promised to do—and then retire to private life on his ranch in Coahuila.

Madero's previous political conduct and subsequent events stand out clearly in the light of history to prove that Francisco Madero was not only insincere in his declaration, but that he was also either a common, self-seeking politician, or an easy tool in the hands of scheming relatives and friends, or both.

When Madero first entered openly the political struggle before the elections of 1910, he did so under the auspices of the Anti-Re-election Party, which, through his efforts, had been organized to bring about a change in the system of government. The Anti-Re-election platform had been adopted, not because it had been deemed necessary to the establishment of a more democratic government, but because there was a conviction that under a continuance of Diaz in the Presidential chair no political improvement was possible. Madero was the candidate of the Anti-Re-election Party for President, with Dr. Vasquez Gomez as his running mate.

Madero was free to conduct his political campaign throughout Mexico despite the fact that the Diaz régime was considered despotic. This is well known in this country but there is a very significant fact in this connection little known even in Mexico. A few days before the elections Madero had an interview with General Diaz in which he offered to withdraw from the Presidential race if General Diaz would agree to withdraw Ramon Corral's name as candidate for the Vice-Presidency and substitute his—Madero's—name.

Now, this meant that Madero was willing to cast aside his own supporters and the platform of the party which had nominated him in order to be Vice-President of Mexico.

An eminent Mexican writer and student of Mexican affairs, Dr. Lara Pardo, in his book, "From Porfirio Diaz to Francisco Madero," says: "If Madero had then been struggling for love of principles and liberty, for democracy and civilization, in that interview he should have proposed another agreement, much more feasible and valuable. He would have said to General Diaz: 'We do not aspire to the Presidency, we uphold the principle of non-re-election as an ideal more or less possible of realization and as a speedy means to obtain a change of régime, but we shall moderate our pretensions if some liberty is granted to us, if a participation in public affairs shall be given to the people even though in a small measure. In other words, we shall give up our campaign for the Presidency in exchange for some political freedom and an even minor representation in Congress.'"

Dr. Lara Pardo thinks wisely that General Diaz would have accepted and that it would have been the beginning of a healthful evolution.

But Madero was personally ambitious to the extent of being willing to become a part of the Diaz system—as he would have been compelled to be as Vice-President—and to abandon his party, as he did later.

It would be outside the scope of this article to describe countless incidents between that famous interview and the beginning of the revolution which would indicate the preponderance of personal ambition in Madero's scheme of action.

As we have said before, Madero had promised to muster out all revolutionary troops, and as he was the power behind the provisional Government of De la Barra, he induced the latter to ask Congress for an appropriation of twelve millions to pay off and muster out these troops.

The twelve millions were spent instead by Madero in strengthening the organization of his revolutionary forces, which he sent everywhere to take the place of garrisons composed of men from the regular army. This, in the face of opposition from the best elements of the population, who feared with reason that the revolutionary forces would be dangerous sources of disorder.

At that time brigandage had not taken root and the men that had taken up arms could have been sent back home to their work. Later it became impossible to do so because these men had found that it was much easier to earn a living by forming part of any revolutionary force than by working in the fields or in the factories. This was the vital mistake of Madero and it is obvious now that it was responsible for all the present disorder in Mexico as well as for Madero's downfall. He committed suicide by this one mistake.

# 257 UNBIASED MEN REPORT

**To the National Association of Manufacturers**

*"If the Mexican Government could secure the necessary financial assistance, the internal troubles would quickly disappear and business would resume its normal, prosperous condition. The failure of the Administration to secure recognition from the United States has delayed the strengthening of credit and put a premium upon disorder."*

The above is the consensus of opinion among the great proportion of correspondents of the National Association of Manufacturers who are established throughout Mexico. These correspondents are prominent banking houses, lawyers, merchants and agents of American and European manufacturers.

Realizing the importance of arriving at and acurate knowledge of conditions in Mexico for the guidance of American manufacturers and exporters, the N. A. M., which has a staff of some 1,800 commercial correspondents throughout the world, recently addressed an inquiry to 257 of its representatives in Mexico. The importance of this investigation will be understood when it is known that the United States is Mexico's best customer—taking three-quarters of her exports and sending to Mexico over one-half of what she imports.

The investigation was thorough. It covers all of the Mexican States except two that are comparatively unimportant. The

**Continued on next page**

## THE ELECTION OF FRANCISCO MADERO—Continued

Why did Madero refuse to muster out his own troops and why did he put them in control of all important places in the Republic if not to insure his own election in October?

The proof of this is contained in a letter which he addressed to Congress, dated September 14, in which he declared that if Congress postponed the date of elections, which had been set for October 1, the people—meaning himself—would rise up in arms again. The opinion was almost general then that no fair elections could be held on October 1, as the country was in a state of turmoil far worse than it had been at any time during the revolution preceding the resignation of Diaz.

Madero's threat, and the knowledge that it could be carried out because of the revolutionary troops which were then in arms in greater number than ever, had effect on Congress and the date of elections was not changed.

Meanwhile, on the eleventh of June, General Bernardo Reyes had reached Mexico City from Havana. He was received enthusiastically by the business, financial and industrial elements of the City of Mexico. He issued a statement declaring that he accepted the principles of the revolutionary party: real suffrage and non-re-election, and that he would co-operate with the provisional Government and with the revolutionary party in the work of reconstruction which he supposed would begin immediately. On June 20, Madero and General Reyes held a conference at which Madero offered to General Reyes the portfolio of Minister of War effective upon his—Madero's—election to the Presidency.

On the next day Francisco Madero declared the Anti-Re-election Party dissolved, the party which had nominated him the previous year, and announced that his friends would form a new party to be known as the "Progressive Constitutional Party." The Anti-Re-election Party refused to be dissolved and a few friends of Madero organized themselves as the executive committee of the Progressive Constitutional Party. Headed by Gustavo Madero, brother of the leader, these men went about their task with cunning and ability. Among them figured the same men who are to-day among the leaders of the self-styled Constitutionalists—Juan Sanchez Ascona, Eusebio Calzado, Manuel Urquido and others.

They eliminated from their ranks all elements they could not easily control, even though they had been the most useful elements in making the revolution successful, such men as Dr. Vasquez Gomez.

They held a convention, the delegates comprising many of the revolutionary leaders, and at this convention, against the will even of the majority of revolutionary sympathizers, they forced the nomination for Vice-President of Pino Suarez, a hitherto unknown school teacher from Yucatan.

Meanwhile, General Reyes had been urged to enter the race and, having declared his intention of doing so, obtained a statement from Francisco Madero that the latter would welcome the appearance of any other candidate.

There again we have a patent proof of Madero's insincerity, for no sooner had the Reyes party been organized under the name of the Republican Party than its adherents everywhere were objects of persecution.

Local authorities appointed by Madero throughout the Republic opposed even forcibly the organization of clubs and their campaigning for the election of General Reyes. In Mexico City, where Reyes made his headquarters, he was prevented even from making speeches in public. A band of a thousand or so of poor peons was organized by the Progressive Constitutional committee, supplied with large quanties of "pulque," their favorite beverage, and with a little money. Almost daily this band would parade the streets, and stone the houses of men known to be opposed to Madero. On September 3 they prevented a public demonstration in favor of General Reyes who, upon appearing to address the crowd and urge good behavior, was stoned and wounded.

On September the eleventh the Revista Party issued a statement announcing that because of persecution which prevented the necessary working for the electoral campaign the Reyes adherents would take no part in the coming elections. This, of course, was what the Progressive committee had worked to bring about.

Meanwhile, it had been proposed by members of Congress that in accordance with the declarations made many times by Madero the electoral law should be changed before his election. The old electoral law, providing for indirect vote and not being based on proportional representation, made it impossible to have fair elections and gave the absolute control of the machinery of election to the authorities in power. Madero and his followers ever since the time of his first campaign under the auspices of the Anti-Re-election Party had bitterly assailed this law and demanded a more equitable one.

He was now a candidate, however, and had absolute control of the machinery. So he vigorously protested against any change in the electoral law, threatening Congress again if it should dare even to consider the proposed reforms. This old electoral law was finally repealed and a new and equitable one insuring the freedom of the ballot enacted only a few months ago under the Huerta Government.

Persecutions against all men opposed to Madero and to the executive committee of the Progressive Constitutional Party became so rampant that many persons had to leave the country. Almost daily there were concocted by members of the famous committee stories of plots and conspiracies against Madero, and some of them were staged so that the public would believe them and so that many innocent persons could be imprisoned as a warning to any one daring to oppose Madero.

When election day arrived the presence of revolutionary forces everywhere kept most voters at home. An honst correspondent of a New York newspaper sent a confidential message which said, among other things: "With the exception of very few places, the men who are in charge of the polling booths have had nothing to do but talk and smoke."

Thus Madero was "elected" by 19,970 votes according to the majority report in Congress. The minority report was that the elections had been a fraud and that they should be held again. Even though every one knows that of the four million lawful voters in Mexico under the most favorable circumstances not one-tenth would or could take part in any elections, the small number of votes polled by Madero is astounding.

Yet it has often been declared in this country that he was the only man who had ever been truly elected in Mexico!

The fact is that those elections were managed exactly as those under the Diaz régime had been managed, only with much less regard for appearances.

They were managed by the men who to-day have raised the cry that elections under the Huerta Government cannot be fair, that they will not accept the result under any circumstances because they have contracted with the nation the obligation to see that elections are fair and square!

## 257 UNBIASED MEN—Continued

correspondents are impartial residents who are familiar with the conditions not only of their immediate localities but of the surrounding territory. The results have been compiled by William M. Benney, manager of the Foreign Department of the N. A M., and Vicente Gonzales, Adviser on Latin-American Affairs of the N. A. M.

The correspondents were asked to report on the present conditions of business in their districts; what business failures had taken place in their communities; to what extent local business men were restricting credit and to what degree foreign creditors were accommodating their debtors; whether the increase in the prices of goods had corresponded to the rise in exchange, and what the business prospects were for the near future. In their replies the correspondents did not confine themselves alone to answering these inquiries but volunteered much interesting information on the general business and political situation. The results of the investigation show that the gold resources do not permit the Government to maintain the Mexican peso at its former exchange value. Prices have risen and the markets are uncertain. Credit has been seriously disturbed. *The Mexican Government is making headway in restoring normal conditions but needs money to accomplish this purpose.*

The district chiefly disturbed consists of a block of the larger States in the north, viz., Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, Durango and Zacatecas. The States in which business is disturbed but not so seriously as in the territory above noted, are: Mexico (and the Federal District), Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, San Luis Potosi, Tlaxcala, Queretaro, Morelos and Michoacan. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec has suffered.

*Northern States.*

CHIHUAHUA.—Buisness in this State is almost at a standstill. No credit is being given unless guaranteed by mortgages. Few importations. A considerable rise in prices has taken place, partly on account of the rise in exchange and partly because of the scarcity of farm crops, as agriculture has been largely abandoned.

COAHUILA.—Business bad or stagnant, but so far no important failures. Merchants generally have curtailed sales and both local and foreign credits are restricted. Prices have been soaring in keeping with the rates of exchange. *The majority of the correspondents view the situation hopefully, feeling that considerable headway has been made by the Federal Government.*

NUEVO LEON.—As in Coahuila.

SONORA.—Business bad; credits impaired. Import orders cancelled or suspended. A general rise in prices. The only failures have been those of Chinese houses and some weak local firms, as banks and other creditors have desired to help the mercantile class all they can, merchants objecting to pay foreign accounts because of the rise in exchange. *Federal Government reported making headway.*

TAMAULIPAS.—Correspondents in Tampico and Laredo report business as excellent—better than it was three years ago. One correspondent, in Ciudad Victoria, reports business as bad. All agree that there have been no important failures and the majority state that there have been no notable restrictions on credit, either locally or on the part of foreign merchants. Prices have risen. In general, the tone of the reports is hopeful, much of the business confidence being based on the great development of the petroleum region in this State.

*Central States.*

MEXICO CITY.—All business in Mexico City has suffered greatly during the last three years, some lines being almost stagnant. Importations being restricted, local manufacturers in some instances have benefited. Dealers in war materials and supplies have done well, but on the whole the bad effects of the revolution far overbalance the benefits to particular interests.

AGUASCALIENTES.—Business has suffered but little from the abnormal situation. No failures of importance. General curtailment of credits on account of the uncertainty of exchange. General increase in prices about 10 per cent.

GUANAJUATO.—Reports contradictory, but impression is obtained that business has not suffered in this State as much as in many others. No failures of consequence. Tone of reports generally optimistic.

HIDALGO.—Business slack. Situation quite similar to that in Aguascalientes. *Express confidence that the present Government will overcome difficulties.* Uprising in this State said to be chiefly among Indians in mountainous district and has caused no serious damage.

PUEBLA.—Business favorable. No failures of importance and very little restriction of credits. Prices of imported goods have risen 20 to 30 per cent. *All appear to be optimistic as to the present Government* overcoming difficulties.

SAN LUIS POTOSI.—Business has diminished somewhat, but no recent failures. Outlook hopeful.

ZACATECAS.—Business bad. Mining operations practically suspended. The leading merchants of Sombrerete have closed their places of business and those in other towns are said to be selling for cash only.

DURANGO.—Business curtailed as in Zacatecas. In the hands of the revolutionists.

*Gulf States.*

VERA CRUZ.—From Cordoba and Jalapa business is reported as good; from Orizaba as satisfactory except the grocery line; from Puerto Mexico as very bad. many farms and ranches on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec have been abandoned. Disturbed conditions of other States have had little reflex action on Vera Cruz.

YUCATAN.—Business generally good on account of the high price of sisal hemp. Rise of exchange has affected seriously those who owe money abroad.

*Pacific States.*

CHIAPAS.—Business very good. No failures for several years.

JALISCO.—Business fair to good, the revolution having affected this State but little. Prices have risen 20 to 30 per cent.

MICHOACAN.—Business paralyzed but no failures. *Government proceeding actively against the rebels and gaining control of the situation.*

OAXACA.—From Oaxaca (city) business is reported as good; at Salina Cruz depressed. One failure in each place—both of little importance. No particular restriction of credit. Only a slight rise in prices. Not much affected by troubles in other States.

## The Report

Although this report of the National Manufacturers' Association speaks for itself, it might be well to call the attention of the reader to the fact that the correspondents of the association are "impartial residents—the great majority foreigners—who are familiar with the conditions not only of their immediate localities but also of the surrounding territory."

The reports are in marked conflict with the statement made by President Wilson in his message to Congress that no progress had been made by the Mexican Government—or as he chose to qualify it, "by the authorities in control at Mexico City"—toward the re-establishment of peace.

President Wilson has never revealed the source of his information as to conditions in Mexico and all that is known to the public is that he refused to accept the reports of an Ambassador who had occupied his post there for more than four years.

Such authorities as Mr. James Creelman have asserted in signed statements that President Wilson was blockading the Mexican Government financially. The consensus of opinion of the correspondents of the National Manufacturers' Association is that if the Mexican Government could secure the necessary financial assistance the internal troubles would quickly disappear.

Is it, then, the intention of the Washington Administration that such troubles should not disappear? Or are all the correspondents of the National Manufacturers' Association fools or knaves? In connection with the publication of this report it is quite interesting to note that the New York *Times* was the only New York newspaper to give it in full, while the *Tribune* devoted little space to it but handled it fairly. The New York *Sun* suppressed that part of the report which states that the failure of the Mexican Administration to secure recognition from the United States has delayed the strengthening of credit and has put a premium upon disorder.

The New York *World*—the all-for-Wilson-right-or-wrong-now-and-forever newspaper—did not publish a line of the report.

The New York *Herald*—the yesterday-bitter-on-the-professor-to-day for-Wilson-to-morrow-for-any-old-body newspaper—likewise remained silent on the subject.

## If You Were Huerta

If you were a Mexican like Huerta, with the blood of Spaniard and Indian flowing in your veins, who knew your country and loved it passionately, who had served it faithfully as a soldier for two-score years, to whom every phase of its greatness and its limitations was familiar and vital, would you fade out of existence on the academic say-so of an American college professor who could not possibly know Mexico, its people and its problems, except by hearsay?

If, like Huerta, the wheel of events had so turned that you were made President of Mexico, at a time when the office was one of trials and perils beyond the power of an ordinary man to meet, and you had shown the ability and capacity to cope with every situation, would you be inclined to listen patiently to the Chautauquan pronouncement of an alien who has had no experience such as yours?

If you were Huerta and, fully appreciating the terrific demands made on your ability and patriotism, you were by implication and insinuation publicly pilloried by the President of a foreign country, if in countless ways that President went out of his way to interfere in the politics of your country, would you have shown the remarkable dignity and self-restraint that have characterized Huerta under these trying circumstances?

If you were Huerta and your country was overrun by plundering, pillaging bands of outlaws, and in order to subdue them and restore normal conditions you were in need of money, would you not resent the action of a foreign ruler who, in order to impose his arbitrary and theoretical dictum upon you and your country, would deliberately close your resources of credit to bring you to terms.

If you were Huerta, a soldier by instinct and training, having to deal with complex and baffling problems, as ruler of sixteen millions, would you feel kindly toward the doctrinaire cocksureness of men thousands of miles away concerning your affairs?

If you were Huerta, the chances are you would have "blown up" long before this and told the world in undiplomatic language that the Washington Administration was an officious meddler in your affairs and consigned it to the eternal bow-wows.

Don't you really think that Huerta has loomed up rather big under the circumstances?

## Lind's "Headquarters"

Vera Cruz, Sept. 28.—That General Huerta and his organization will support Frederico Gamboa, candidate of the Catholic party for the Presidency, is the report brought from the capital to-day to the headquarters of John Lind, President Wilson's representative.—A. P. dispatch, September 29.

So General Huerta has an organization and John Lind has "headquarters"! We should like to know where Mr. Lind's branch offices are situated and what his organization—he must have one since he has "headquarters"—purposes to do.

# AS IT REALLY IS

### A PARALLEL WITH A PURPOSE

There are two ideas that stick in the craw of some well-intentioned but misinformed persons in their consideration of Mexican affairs. It has been dinned into their ears so long that the present Mexican Government came into power as a result of treachery and assassination and that those who are fighting against the Government are actuated by high ideals of democracy that it would be remarkable if these ideas had not taken a certain hold on the popular imagination. "Error runs swiftly down the hill and truth climbs slowly," an Oriental proverb, explains why these conceptions have been accepted so readily in certain quarters.

To show what the real situation has been and is, it may be informing to draw an imaginary parallel with conditions in the United States.

Let us say that the Republican Party has been in power for a quarter of a century. The country has prospered, the dignity of the nation has been maintained, and the national credit is firmly established. As a consequence of a long stretch of power, however, certain abuses have crept into the conduct of governmental affairs. Big business has been granted special privileges, despotic methods have grown up in Congress, the rights of labor have not been fully respected, the distribution of wealth has not been on an equitable basis. Socialism and syndicalism have grown apace. Strikes and acts of violence have indicated popular unrest.

At this psychological moment an impractical dreamer, immensely wealthy, backed by a powerful family, preaches a crusade to the people of the country. Playing on the ignorance of the masses, with all the tricks of the demagogue, he demands the forcible overthrow of the existing Government, promises that if he is put in power he will divide the wealth of the country among them, there will be no more injustice or poverty, the strong will be leveled and the weak raised. In other words, a social millenium is to come, not to be worked for, not to be striven for as all great reforms are, but to come as a result of an armed uprising and his own fiat.

The people swallow the bait, the impossible, impractical promises of the demagogue are acclaimed hysterically as every one's due. Workers throw down their implements of industry and take up the implements of war. The dreamer is hailed as a savior. After a generation of peace the passions of war are aroused. The owners of property are looked upon as common enemies, the authority of the State is despised.

The Republican Administration, gauging correctly the force of the flaming passions of the deluded mob and unwilling to perpetuate itself at the expense of terrible fratricidal strife, resigns.

The demagogue becomes President. He is a great agitator but with no practical experience or ability in handling public affairs. Moreover, he is surrounded by relatives and followers who do not share his theories but have pushed him to the front for their own advantage, to procure the seats of power and to plunder the country. On the one hand the dreamer finds it impossible to fulfill his glowing promises of a millenium, or perhaps he has forgotten them in a childish satisfaction with his triumph. At any rate, he does nothing to satisfy the expectations of the aroused masses. On the other hand, his relatives and hangers-on deplete the national treasury, damage the national credit.

Business is paralyzed. The men taken from their employment and promised wealth without work refuse to return to the plowshare, the mine, or the loom. Instead they take to brigandage, terrorizing, destroying property, looting, living on the country. The agitator is amazed at the result of his own folly, but he does not blame himself for the conditions that exist. He blames the people themselves, says they are not fit for democratic government, he grows bitter, tries his hand at despotism, storms, rages, insults—but to no avail. He has sown a wind and is reaping a whirlwind. The country is tobogganing toward perdition.

Capable, responsible, patriotic men advise him, argue with him, but his scheming false friends and relatives control his actions and encourage the pitiful efforts of a weak and by this time really demented man to maintain himself and them in power at any cost.

At last there comes armed revolt in the Capital itself. Nothing less can make the President see that if the country is to be saved from utter anarchy he must go. He calls on the Army, which he has treated with contempt and insulted on every possible occasion, to defend him. The head of the Army, a soldier first, last, and always, obeys the summons. Then follows a bloody, prolonged battle in the streets of the Capital. There seems to be no end of the conflict. Property is destroyed needlessly, hundreds of non-combatants are shot down, foreign nations with interests in the country are threatening to intervene, the Senate in a body asks for the resignation of the President as the only hope of ending the strife and saving the nation.

But the President is now talking and acting as one possessed. He demands that his soldiers blow up the city with dynamite before he will yield. He shoots down a messenger who is sent to him by leaders of the Army. The members of Congress and responsible citizens appeal to the general commanding the Army, in the name of humanity and patriotism, to arrest the President and put an end to the hopeless conflict before foreign troops are landed. The old soldier

agrees, arrests the President, makes a truce with the leader of the revolt, demands and gets the President's resignation, which is accepted by Congress, is constitutionally named Provisional President as the strongest and most able man to restore normal conditions to the country. The ex-President is killed several days later, whether murdered by friends of those he had wantonly ordered killed in his demented frenzy or as a result of an attempt of his followers to free him, is not determined.

Now, if all these things had happened right here in the United States, which, thank God, they never can, would our conclusion be that it was a struggle between those actuated by high ideals of democracy and the forces of treachery and assassination? Would our sympathy be for the dispossessed clique, which had worked on the ignorance and cupidity of the masses and the weakness and incompetence of an agitator President to bring a nation to the verge of ruin to further their personal ambitions? Would our sympathy not be given rather to the men whose courage, capacity and patriotism were called upon to save their country, only to be maligned, misrepresented and falsely accused before the world?

"Error runs swiftly down the hill, but truth climbs slowly."

## Works' Way

United States Senator John D. Works, speaking at exercises dedicating a site for a statue to commemorate Cabrillo, discover of San Diego Bay, came out unmistakably for intervention in Mexico. In part he said:

"We are responsible in no small part for conditions in the Republic of Mexico. We cannot avoid or shirk that responsibility. It is the business of our Government to protect its citizens at home or abroad.

"We have settled difficulties in other countries, why not in Mexico? We have sent our bluecoats ashore to protect our interests in other lands, why not in Mexico? How long can we sit by idle and allow our citizens to be forced to flee for their lives and to come back into this country without means of gaining a livelihood?"

The California Senator admits that we are responsible in no small part for conditions in Mexico and concludes therefore that we should intervene to put an end to those conditions. But intervention means war and Senator Works knows it. It is just such fallaciousness and hypocrisy as contained in his remarks that make the Latin-Americans lose confidence in our good faith.

## To Receive De la Barra

President Poincare Will See Mexican Envoy on October 4.

Special Cable Despatch to the New York *Sun*.

Paris, September 25.—Señor Francisco de la Barra, Mexican Ambassador to France, has been invited to present his letters of credence to President Poincare on October 4.

Remember how, a short time ago, the Washington "high officials" intimated that De la Barra would be given the cold shoulder by the French President. Despite the fact that France had recognized the interim Government of Mexico and had agreed to receive De la Barra as Ambassador long before he left for France.

## Smuggling

El Paso, Texas, September 21.—Smuggling munitions of war across the border to the Mexicans is being indulged in from Brownsville to the Pacific Ocean, and the smugglers are meeting with more or less success. Occasionally, American troops patrolling the line intercept those seeking to replenish the supplies of the Federals or Rebels, such as in the case of the band at Carrizo Springs, but thousands upon thousands of rounds of ammunition are being taken into the Republic of Mexico daily.

The seizures of ammunition and guns are comparatively small. The smugglers taken prisoners are very few.

The United States Government, which recognizes no Government in the Republic of Mexico, refuses to sanction the shipment of munitions of war across the border, either to the Federal forces or to the revolters. The revolution continues, just the same, and if one is to judge by the number of killed and wounded in battles, the combatants have more ammunition now than ever before.

Every day or two the American troops strung out along the border seize supplies of ammunition and guns intended for Mexico, but the estimate of the amount which is safely carried across the river each week is very high.

Here in El Paso the dry river bed makes it easy for border runners, and thousands of rounds of cartridges are smuggled across in driblets every week.

One of the methods pursued here is to have large quantities of ammunition delivered at the home of some unsuspected Mexican family and wrapped in small bundles; both men and women take it across the line.

Until recently the customary way of smuggling was the loading of the war munitions into automobiles, and with Americans driving, go down the valley to a convenient place, where they would turn off to the river bank and cross under cover of darkness.

Local ammunition dealers are receiving large quantities of cartridges and rifles and apparently little effort is necessary on their part to dispose of their stock; the one trouble being to keep it replenished. Several days ago orders were issued by the authorities in Washington to place all ammunition and guns seized by the officials and troops of the army here at Fort Bliss, the customs officials having objected to the storing of explosives in the Federal Building.

Upon receipt of the orders the officials commenced the movement of the large supply of ammunition which was stored in the Federal Building, when they found that much of it had been stolen since being placed there. When two heavy boxes of ammunition were opened, instead of finding cartridges there were a half dozen bricks in each box, the ammunition having been removed. Each box was supposed to have contained 1,000 rounds, while a seized trunk of ammunition was found to be short 2,400 rounds.—*Houston Post.*

## A New Era for Mexico

To the man of vision and foresight recent developments in Mexico have presaged a speedy return to complete peace and the beginning of a new era of commercial and industrial progress. The recent report of trade conditions has shown that, despite internal strife and political clashes, the country is possessed of an amazing vitality and seemingly limitless resources. The Mexican people have learned a bitter and costly lesson from the three years of conflict and disorder that were ushered in by the Madero revolution. Their leaders also have learned that certain needed economical reforms must be inaugurated if the future peace of the country is to be assured.

These reforms could never come by revolution but they will come by natural evolution. It is not too much to expect that the tragic experiences of the Mexican nation in the last few years may really prove a blessing in opening the eyes of the people to the advantages of peace and order and informing the world of the greatness as well as the problems of the Mexican Nation.

## Obstructionists

The so-called Constitutionalists have shown their real calibre and have come out in their true colors by refusing to participate in the forthcoming elections or to abide by their results. First it was Huerta they didn't like, then Felix Diaz, next Gamboa and now they say that nobody will satisfy them as President of Mexico except—except—why, of course, one of their little group of Maderist malcontents.

It has been unfortunate for Mexico that this group has fooled the Washington Administration as long as it has, with its cunningly concocted rigmarole of thwarted democratic ideals, and autocratic usurpation, its bloodcurdling lies. They would swear away the reputation of every man in Mexico as long as the Washington Administration was receptive. But they have cried "Wolf" so often that naturally little or no attention can be paid to them much longer and their present puerile obstructionist tactics will not avail against the logical course of events. Yes, it begins to look as if Mexico were rid of that Maderist crowd of troublemakers for all time.

## The Last Legs of the Rebellion

General Huerta, through the Foreign Office, has sent to the legations and embassies the following:

"The revolution is practically suppressed. Military operations, properly speaking, will not have further importance. All that is lacking, which the Government is proceeding to do, is to locate sufficient troops in such a way as to control the northern States which are in rebellion. The election will take place, because the Government so promised to the nation on April 1. The Government is resolved to give guarantees to all candidates. Already there are two tickets for President and Vice-President, Diaz and Requena and Gamboa and Rascon, and there is some talk of Calero and Flores Magon."

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# THE NEW AGRARIAN LAW

## As Explained by Its Framer, Ex-Minister of Finance Esquivel Obregon

In their efforts to mislead American public opinion, Maderist juntas and press agents have obtained the co-operation of that portion of the press which through patriotic or other motives has endeavored to justify President Wilson's attitude toward the Mexican Government. For well-nigh eight months it has been dinned into our ears that the Huerta Government is that of a military dictator sustained in power by bayonets, unmindful of the people's needs. That the mainspring of the new Maderist revolution headed by Carranza—and a few others—is a determination on the part of worthy patriots to give the people of Mexico an opportunity for realizing their just aspirations which have long been repressed. That the Huerta Government represents special privilege and, even in the message delivered to Congress by President Wilson, that there is no probability of the restoration of peace in the distracted Republic except by force of arms.

The impression sought to be conveyed is that no effort is being made by the Huerta Government to satisfy the legitimate needs of the people, among which is that of obtaining a fair distribution of land.

In view of all this misrepresentation, with which our readers are undoubtedly familiar, it is pertinent to give here an explanation of the bill for the subdivision of land recommended by the Mexican Executive. The bill was framed by Mr. Torribio Esquivel Obregon, lately Minister of Finance, and presented to the Mexican Congress with an earnest request by President Huerta himself that it be given prompt consideration.

After reviewing some of the causes of the first revolution and referring to those men whose activities had been curtailed by some unwise economical policies of the Diaz Government, Mr. Esquivel Obregon says:

"These men, looking for support, went then among the masses, aroused the indifference of the working men, offering them liberty and justice, without realizing how these words would be understood, and promised, besides, a distribution of land and an increase of wages.

"It was not, then, the lower class that made the revolution. Now as always, and in Mexico as in all other parts of the world, the lower class is an inert mass moved by the agitators.

"Neither the agitators nor the people were animated by a desire for justice or eagerness for the triumph of human rights. In fact, upon the success of the revolution, the former sought opportunities in the field of business, while the most sanguinary and hideous injustices predominated wherever the people were not under the control of authority.

"Many of the men who are revolutionists would be unable to keep in their possession a piece of land given them to cultivate, because to keep it they must have a deep sentiment of attachment to the soil, and the moral stamina to enable them to work perseveringly and to obtain the necessary credit to work their land.

"However, there is no doubt that the revolution is a perverted manifestation of energies which properly applied could be converted into factors of national welfare, and it is therefore necessary to guide them into the right channels.

"It is necessary to assist all those without means to cope successfully with conditions. As they have neither money nor individual credit—and this can hardly be established with the present banking system—it is indispensable that the public credit should come to the assistance of all those who wish to co-operate with perseverance in the most important national development: that of subdivision of land, of improving methods of cultivation and of colonization.

"This is the object of the projected law which I presented to Congress. The workings of this law and its effects can be briefly explained as follows:

"Whoever wishes to acquire a certain ranch or farm with the intent to subdivide it, will first come to an understanding with its owner in regard to the price and will then apply to the Government to obtain in bonds the sum corresponding to the price of the property. The Government will proceed to the valuation of the ranch and if the report from the experts appointed for the purpose and from other commercial sources is favorable, the Government will deliver to the original owner the purchase price in bonds—payable in twenty-five years and bearing interest at five per cent. This with the condition that the buyer pay first to the Government in cash ten per cent. of the value of these bonds to form a special fund for small rural credits.

"The buyer will acquire clear title to the property, but this will be mortgaged to the Government as guarantee, together with the ten per cent. in cash, that the division of the property will be duly made and that both the face value of the bonds and the interest will be duly paid.

"The buyer will subdivide the property according to the rules established by law. The mortgage held by the Government will be divided in as many parts as those in which the land will be divided, and each subsequent buyer or colonist will be indebted to the Government for that proportional part of the original cost corresponding to his land, while the difference between the original cost and the price at which the colonist buys the lot will be represented by a second mortgage held by the first buyer. The time for payment on each lot will be the same as determined for the payment of the bonds, twenty-five years, and the interest payable to the Government at five per cent. a year.

"The fund created with the ten per cent. guarantee that all buyers or "fractioning companies" must pay to the Government will be used to extend to the colonists necessary credit and assistance, according to a special law that will be promulgated and that will take special care to exclude all political influence from the management of such fund.

"This system will produce the following results:

"It will give the present landowner the opportunity to dispose of his agricultural property in exchange for bonds bearing five per cent. interest.

"The Government will not suffer any loss, since the value of the bonds as well as the interest on same will be guaranteed by first mortgage on the property and by the ten per cent. in cash.

"If any probability of loss must be admitted, this would be very small and it is a risk which the Government should accept without hesitation for the general welfare of the country and because the increase in agricultural production—as a consequence of the subdivision of land—would largely compensate the Government for any eventual loss.

"The buyer, or 'fractioning company,' will have ample encouragement because, buying at a comparatively low price large extensions of land, it can sell it with great profit at the increased price of small tracts, without losing while the operation is in force the income from the ten per cent. paid to the Government. This because on one hand he would receive the dividends derived from the use of the special fund for small rural credits, and, on the other, he could immediately negotiate the certificates which he would receive upon making the said payment and at the end of twenty-five years he—or his representatives could collect the said amount.

"The colonist would obtain land at very favorable terms, as he would have twenty-five years in which to pay its cost in instalments and would have to pay only five per cent. interest, an extremely low rate, almost unknown in our country. In this way there will be created a great incentive for all enterprising men who wish to devote themselves to a profitable business. Each one will devote his energies to the most practical solution of the subdivision of land instead of concocting schemes of political regeneration that are undermining our wealth and our character.

"As it is not possible that everywhere in our territory where there is good land and abundant water, there will be found Mexicans who will be willing to buy land, the 'fractioning companies' will endeavor to use the best means for the establishment of foreign colonization. This until now has not been successful owing to the fact that colonizing companies have sought only the

# LOBBYGRAMS

Slowly, but with a certainty that indicates the light is breaking in on them, the Washington legislators are approaching the view that the Mexican Government should be recognized. Indeed, many of them have held this view since the historic Gamboa message. Now there is a general feeling that the light should be turned on the whole proposition from the beginning to its present stage.

The Administration Senators and Representatives—of the latter there are few, it may be said—hold to the Administration view that the whole diplomatic conduct in the situation has been exactly correct in detail. They include in their approval William Bayard Hale, and Lind. Senator "Billy" Hughes, and his colleague, Senator "Jim" Martine, the two New Jersey Representatives, shout it from the housetops of the city and announce it in the streets—and other places. The Administration cannot err! Even if it did, say they, the error is on the right side—north of the Rio Grande.

The seeming finality of the Hughes-Martine cocktail of opinion—from New Jersey—carries little weight beyond the avoirdupois of the two sturdy and rotund protégés of President Wilson—for their seats in the Senate were made possible through the Wilson influence as Governor of New Jersey. That fact, of course, had no part in the shaping of the Hughes-Martine opinion. Singular! Two lusty mouthpieces.

Senator John Sharp Williams, one of the ablest men in the Senate mentally, but sadly handicapped by physical ailments, opposes the Hughes-Martine view. He took some of the cocksureness out of Senator Hughes a few days ago by a statement made with all the Williams vigor of tone.

"I think," he said, "the attitude of the Administration is the most remarkable diplomatic incident in my twenty years in Congress. I have yet to hear a definite explanation to account for it. It looks as if we are innocent of diplomatic usage. Plain moralists, birch rod in hand, poised to trounce those whom we think violate our code of ethics. I have no delicate scruples as to stating my position and I will say now that when the question of Mexico comes before us in the Senate I will express my opinion of this diplomatic affair."

Representative Herman A. Metz, of Brooklyn Borough, New York City, has positive ideas on the subject of Mexico. He discussed it earnestly with Representatives Foley, Goldfogle and Griffin, of New York, and several others, recently in Washington. Said Metz: "What are we running, a government or a Sunday-school? I am sick and tied of all this tomfoolery. Where are we getting to, anyhow? Have we set up in the business of creating a moral code for the rest of the world, and having made it to our own satisfaction are we going to crowd it down the throats of other nations by force of arms? Looks like a case of the Bible in one hand and an ax in the other. If I had anything to do with it the country

## THE NEW AGRARIAN LAW—Continued

payment from the Government of so much per head on the colonists they have imported. But if these same companies were seeking reliable buyers for their lands they would exercise spcial care in the selection of useful agricultural workers.

"The Government will not be compelled to seek foreign loans or contract any indebtedness that will weigh on the tax-payers, and, instead of immobilizing circulating capital with the purchase of lands, the rural property will be *mobilized* and there will be created in considerable quantity the circulation of negotiable securities with a guaranteed and fixed value.

"All economical difficulties are to be found in the obstruction to the circulation of wealth and the economical problem is a problem of circulation of wealth. This being so, the solution given to the agrarian problem by the law presented by me to Congress is scientific in the best-accepted meaning of the word, increasing as it does the circulation of wealth. It puts in movement what to-day seem fatally immovable and, besides, instead of seeking the solution of the thousands of problems with thousands of details for each locality comprised in the agrarian question of our country with a rigid law purporting to regulate everything, it invites and stimulates individual initiative. It also furnishes this initiative with ample means to solve individual cases, adapting itself to the infinite requirements of varying conditions.

"The projected law presented to the Mexican Congress contained the following remarks and provisions:

"1st. If, as is probable, the real cause of the revolution is economic, the conditions by which it has been engendered are derived at the same time from two opposite directions. On the one hand, from the landowners on account of their inability to pay the enormous indebtedness which weighs on their land. Indebtedness which in the majority of cases bears an interest higher than the average profit derived from the land under the system of management of "latifundiae." In these conditions the landowner is anxious to sell his property, but on account of lack of money on the part of that class which wishes to buy, he cannot sell it.

"On the other hand, in the middle and lower classes there are many who can no longer satisfy the necessities of life with the daily wage which cannot be increased because the land does not produce sufficiently in the hands of its present owners. These men are anxious to buy land but cannot do it for lack of money.

"Both classes are desperately struggling, possessing interests which in appearance are opposite but which in reality are the same. What is lacking is an intermediary able to conciliate them.

"This law purports to create this intermediary.

"2d. The financial elements used for the acquisition of lands must have no other limit than the possibility itself to acquire the lands to be subdivided and there must be no necessity to resort—at least directly—to foreign credit subject to fluctuations and delays.

"3d. There must be avoided as much as possible the necessity for the Government to increase with new expenditures the service of its indebtedness, so that the condition of the taxpayers will not be aggravated.

"4th. The interest weighing on land properties must vary between 5 and 6 per cent., and not exceed this limit.

"5th. Acquired rights must be respected scrupulously and in all cases the conditions mentioned before must be taken in consideration in order to proceed with equity and by means of contracts, because it cannot be expected that peace can be the result of injustice or violence.

"6th. If it is desired that the subdivision of property be put in effect speedily, wisely and according to the requirements of each locality, it is indispensable to create everywhere inducements for individual interest and initiative, which is the most potent social force than can be brought into play.

"7th. The acquisition of land by individuals who are not interested in agricultural development must be avoided. Their only aim would be—having purchased a tract of land—to resell it as quickly as possible and spend its price with detriment to their own morals and with no advantage to the public wealth.

"8th. If land only should be furnished, and not the possibility of obtaining honestly the means to cultivate it, the work would be incomplete, and the law must provide also for this necessity.

"The national credit would be the intermediary between the large landholder who wishes to dispose of his property and the man who, with his family, wishes to acquire a tract of land to cultivate it. This by means of the Government's guarantee of the bonds issued by the "fractioning companies" or by the Government itself, to cover the cost of the properties.

"These bonds would be guaranteed by the first mortgage and by the Government itself, so that they would always figure among the best of Mexican securities."

## LOBBYGRAMS Continued

would have been rid of this Mexican embarrassment months ago. What have we to do with the killing of the Maderos? What have we to do with Huerta? Mexico is Mexico, and that is all there is to it. Let's recognize the Government and get through with this tiresome business."

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The United States Commissioner of Elections in Mexico is wondering whether he will be able to cope with the situation on election day. Being a New Yorker, he has had considerable experience in contested elections. It is understood he was a Hearst worker in the Mayoralty election of 1905, and was one of the several hundred Hearst men beaten up in that struggle. On that occasion he barely saved himself and two others from death at the hands of the Tammany guerillas. If he can prevent murder in Mexico at the elections he will consider he has earned Uncle Sam's promise to pay some time in the future. Viva the Commissioner!

"Uncle Joe" Cannon was in Washington the other day looking over his old seat in the House, to which he expects, in the whirligig of politics, to be returned by his constituents in Illinois next year. "Uncle Joe" discussed the political issues of the day in the old-time Cannon-like style. Tariff, currency and platforms as viewed by the Administration, called for Cannon sarcasm. He was asked about Mexico.

"'I think I hear the school bell tolling," said the former Speaker of the House, with twinkling eyes. Drawing out his watch he exclaimed, "Goodness! It's luncheon time. Mexico! Well, out in Danville, when I was a boy, if two lads got into a scrap we usually let them have it out till one or the other quit. The schoolmaster sometimes interfered, and sometimes he got a drubbing.

"I fear those good old times are past. The schoolmaster now carries an army with him. Let us make over the whole world, restrict everybody's drinking to diluted grape juice and sterilize the blood of the human race and thus rid it of the fighting germ."

Looking at his watch again, the former Speaker said: "Shucks! I almost forgot I have a special engagement with the schoolmaster," and he walked away chuckling at his joke.

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## Inside Information

Constitutionalist representatives here, when shown this statement to-day, said it is merely a part of an attempt on the part of Huerta to show that he is making great progress, with the purpose of lending an air of legality to any elections which may be held. They said that a reaction from this activity will come in a few days. Reports sent here by American consuls show the falsity of the claim that the backbone of the revolution has been broken, they said.—Washington *Star*.

Here is some news. It was not known before that the "Constitutionalists" in Washington had access to the consular reports received by the State Department.

# PROGRESS IN MEXICO

The Mexican Government has presented to Congress a bill for the establishment of a committee of some of the most noted business men and lawyers of Mexico to pass upon the claims presented by foreigners for damages suffered during the revolution. Several meetings had previously been held in the Department of Foreign Relations for the purpose of determining ways and means of reaching a prompt solution, foreign diplomats having been invited by the Government to participate at these meetings.

The committee's decisions on the validity and value of claims will be based on general principles of equity, shorn of superfluous judicial formulas and will be rendered within a determined period of time, it being understood that its decisions will not establish judicial precedent. The Government has decided upon this speedy and unusual course of adjusting all claims to give patent proof of its friendly attitude to all foreigners who co-operate with it in the development of the country.

Mexico has entered into an agreement with Great Britain allowing the navigation of merchant vessels in the Bay of Chatumal and on the Hondo River.

The total income of Mexican consulates during the fiscal year 1912-1913 was $988,626.76, with a total expenditure of $541,055.25, leaving a balance in favor of the National treasury of $447,571.41, Mexican currency, an increase over the previous year of $86,172.40, Mexican currency.

The prompt and radical measures taken by the Mexican Government to suppress the yellow fever in Campeche on July last were most effective as only seven cases were recorded.

A bill has been presented to Congress by the Minister of Justice creating a pension fund for retired magistrates. Another will be presented at this session creating a commission composed of members of the Supreme Court and of the bar to reform the system of Federal Courts in order to insure the absolute independence of the judiciary.

Other bills will be presented by the Minister of Justice aiming to reform the organization of justices of the peace and to establish junior courts.

Of the rudimentary schools for the education of the poor the establishment of which was approved by Congress at the last session, two hundred are already in operation with an attendance of ten thousand pupils.

The distribution of free meals to poor school children has been thoroughly reorganized in the Federal District. There are now nineteen such places of distribution furnishing daily 10,813 meals to pupils of 179 schools.

The establishment of a minimum wage, obtained through the good offices of the Department of Labor at a convention of manufacturers and working men, has proven beneficial to the development of industry. New cotton mills have been started and several factories that had closed have reopened.

The Department of Labor has successfully arbitrated in the settlement of several strikes. The Government has established a special statistical office to compile data on labor throughout the Republic in order to reform the laws affecting human labor. It has also initiated the establishment of Chambers of Labor, two of them being already in operation in two different States. These Chambers of Labor will be under the supervision of a central organization known as the Academy of Social Reforms.

The Department of Interior is about to present a bill providing for the building of workingmen's homes at a low cost on easy terms, and for the exemption of these houses from any legal attachment. Also for a life insurance arrangement by which the ownership will be vested in the family of the workingman in case of his death.

A delegate was appointed to the convention of the International Association of Labor and another is now in the United States studying laws and customs for the protection of child labor.

Mexico was represented at the Statistical Congress, which met in Vienna in September, and will be represented at the International Convention for the Prevention of Strikes, to be held in Ghent.

The dredging of the Panuco River has been going on for some time and several oil companies have obtained from the Government concessions for private docks on this river. The work of improving the port of Guaymas had been started recently and is progressing.

The Mexican Congress has under consideration contracts for the repair and improvement in the works of the harbor of Vera Cruz and for the construction of a drydock in the same harbor. Also contracts for the enlargement of the port of Manzanillo and for the establishment of modern water and sewerage systems in the City of Manzanillo, San Pedrito and Cuyutlan.

During the last fiscal year the length of Mexican railroads was increased 111 kilometers and contracts have been awarded for the construction of several minor branch lines, besides a very important contract to a Belgian company for the construction of five thousand kilometers of railroads.

Mexico has at present 2,769 postoffices, which handled in the last fiscal year 101,000,920,217 pieces of mail.

The Mexican regular army is at present composed of 182 generals, 1,081 chiefs of battallions, 5,537 officers and 84,985 privates, a total of 91,785 men.

Under the Department of the Interior there are, besides, 10,000 rural policemen, 4,000 city policemen and 16,200 regional State militia, making a total of 30,200 men.

# PUBLIC OPINION

## Sob Statesmanship

Sob statesmanship over the disputed manner of the death of Madero has nearly run its course and has been superseded by a conjecture that maybe he got about what was coming to him.

Under General Porfirio Diaz, Mexico was prosperous, and American life and property were safe. That the rule of the old soldier was inevitably drastic and sometimes bordered on the tyrannical may not be denied, but he knew his countrymen and knew that Anglo-Saxon methods of control could not be pursued successfully with them. The murderers and bandits taken in the act were not accorded the privileges of a preliminary examination, and an indictment, and a demurrer to the indictment, and a motion to strike out, and a change of venue, and a continuance, and peremptory challenges, and objection to evidence, and a motion for a new trial and an appeal.

They were simply stood up against an adobe wall and shot with the purpose of doing substantial justice.

There is now no sympathy for the Madero family in Mexico, and no disposition to place any member of it in power. Mexico remembers the 100,000 lives lost in the three years' strife that commenced when the powerful Madero family entered Mexican political life. They call to mind the depletion of the National Treasury and the prostration of National credit which occurred under Madero's rule.

They recollect the score of young cadets of the military school, all under age, and of good families, who in the beginning of the ten days' fight which preceded the overthrow of Madero, were, by orders of Madero and his brother, shot down in the patio of the National Palace without even the semblance of a trial. They do not forget that forty Mexicans of good families were by Madero's orders summarily executed without trial; and while they may not approve of the process by which Madero himself was rendered unable to perpetrate further atrocities, they remark that "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword," and shed no tears for the fate of Francisco I. Madero.

It was reserved for President Wilson to grow maudlin over the fate of Madero, to accept without investigation and without proof the statement of the rich Madero family that President Huerta was personally responsible for a sudden and unwarranted removal of Madero, and jumped to the conclusion that it was his duty to ignore or defy the law of nations and to refuse that recognition of Huerta as provisional President which was promptly accorded by Great Britain, and Germany, and France, and Austria-Hungary, and Belgium, and Denmark, and Spain, and Holland, and Italy, and Portugal, and Russia, and Switzerland, and China, and Japan, and Turkey, and several South American nations.

President Wilson, with no other authority than that derived from his unwarranted imperturbable, egotistical confidence in his own greatness and wisdom and virtue, not only defied the law of nations by refusing recognition of the de facto Government of a neighboring and friendly nation, but he added to it the unparalleled impertinence of dictating that Huerta should not be a candidate for election to the Presidency of Mexico, and he crowned his folly by directing all Americans in Mexico to run away, and promised that the United States would help them to run away—second-class.

The dignified patience with which President Huerta has received these insults, and the sarcastic generosity with which he has offered to pay for fleeing Americans the difference between a steerage and a cabin passage are further illustrated by his able and manly message on Tuesday last to the Mexican Congress.

In that message he regretted that the action of President Wilson had caused the Mexican nation to suffer unmerited affliction, and had retarded the pacification of the country. He did the American people the credit of believing that the action of their President did not meet with their approval.

The splendid reception accorded to President Huerta on the celebration of Mexican Independence in the City of Mexico, on Tuesday last, offers abundant evidence that he possesses the confidence and esteem of his countrymen, and gives rise to the hope that the bandits who have so long desolated our sister Republic will be conquered in good time, and a rule of peace and order and prosperity will result.

The *Times* greatly regrets that its sense of justice and fair play has required it to criticise the Mexican policy or rather impolicy of President Wilson. If and whenever the exigency shall arise, it will say with all patriotic Americans: "My country, right or wrong." But it does not believe that Woodrow Wilson is the entire country. There are others—one hundred million others.—Los Angeles *Times*.

## An Imperialistic Policy

The London *Spectator* has discovered that the Wilson Administration has adopted bodily the foreign policy of the Republicans and continued the imperialistic policy of Roosevelt. This is a fact that I have been endeavoring to hammer into the heads of Congressmen who were elected as a protest against the imperialistic policy. What's in a name? A dictator in the White House may be called Bull Moose or Professor Wilson; the effects upon the rights and liberties of the people are the same. Foreign observers see us in bulk and note the tendencies to which we are blind. The Democratic Party did not elect Woodrow Wilson to imitate Theodore Roosevelt. His instructions from the voters were to bring the Government back to constitutional methods and to be a President, not an Emperor. Has he conformed to those instructions in domestic or foreign affairs? A Congress crouched under the lash all through the Summer and our strained relations with all the other Republics on this hemisphere, with Great Britain and with Germany are answers to this question.

Dear John Bull:—We can spare the Professor a few days to settle that Ulster trouble, if you wish. His success in China, Japan and Mexico shows his practical expertness. Yours, with best wishes.

The Military Court of Mexico, after a thorough investigation, which has occupied six months, decides that "the death of Madero was not brought about by a punishable crime." This is good enough for Mexico and Europe, but not for our White House. Professor Wilson knows much better than any military court. Why, the decision actually acquits President Huerta and proves that "my policy" has been directed against a perfectly innocent man! This will not do at all. The Military Court is all wrong. Three more cheers for the infallible Wilson!

President Huerta was precisely right when he discriminated between the American people and Professor Wilson. Our people are satisfied with the Huerta Administration, and the overwhelming proof of this is contained in our own official reports, which show that we have done more business with Mexican customers and producers than during any previous year. The increased volume of trade, in spite of all the obstacles which the obstinacy of President Wilson has interposed, is marvelous.—*Town Topics*.

## U. S. Attitude in Mexico Assailed as An Insult

The attitude of the United States toward Mexico was criticized yesterday by Dwight Furness, for twenty-five years a resident of Mexico City, in an address before the Current Events Class of the First Congregational Church of Evanston.

"President Huerta came into office legally, and is the rightful President," he declared. "The attitude of this country toward his Administration is a direct insult to the whole Mexican nation.

"The rumor that Madero was murdered to make way for the Huerta Administration is absolutely false."

Mr. Furness also praised the conduct of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson during the disorder which came at the time when Madero was fighting to retain the Presidency. He added:

"The Huerta Government is recognized by five-sixths of the population of Mexico as the lawful Government, and the only ones who are opposed to him are the bandit chiefs, whose sole object is plunder, and who have committed every crime in the calendar." —Chicago *Inter-Ocean*.

## PUBLIC OPINION Continued

Of the American refugees arriving to-day on their way to the United States a number formerly were well to do. They are now penniless. Most of the foreigners also have left the State of Durango, according to the refugees, who say that the rebels rob Mexicans and foreigners indiscriminately. Some ranches were looted so often that absolutely nothing portable remains.

There has been a great deal of talk about "recognition." The dictionary meaning of the word is: Formal acknowledgment that one knows or accepts something, as, the recognition of one State by another"; but it is said that in diplomacy the term has a wider meaning, and it is asserted that in the present case there has been "recognition."

It is a little hard to understand, except in an academic way, exactly what is the practical difference between a de facto government and a de jure government, so long as the de facto government is in actual possession and exercise of the functions of government.

The point is made that, though denying "recognition" to the Huerta Government in Mexico, the present Administration at Washington has, as a matter of fact, given "recognition" to Huerta, in its official correspondence, in the maintenance of the Embassy, in the conferences of the President's confidential agent, Mr. Lind, with Huerta in his official residence and in other ways.

The only authority in Mexico with which the United States has been in communication is the Huerta Government. That in itself is very significant.

It is admitted by the authorities here that Huerta controls the most populous and progressive part of Mexico, and that within his zone he exercises practically undisputed authority. The territory lying outside his sphere of influence is larger in extent, but it is undeveloped and has not counted for very much in the building up of Mexico except in the way of being attractive for the exploitation of outside promoters and for revolution.

This territory is held by the revolutionists, with whom the Government at Washington has not been in diplomatic communication, and to whom it has refused recognition as belligerents.

It is said that the Constitutionalists will not take part in the October elections and will not recognize the results of these elections; but will continue in their present course, and that will make another embarrassing situation for both Americans and Mexicans.—Philadelphia *Public Ledger*.

### Porfirio Diaz

After thirty years of almost autocratic rule, Porfirio Diaz went into exile in order that his fellow-countrymen might experiment with a supposed government of the people by the people. In his absence the Mexican ship of state has drifted on the rocks. The experiment was a hopeless failure from the beginning, not only because the strength of Francisco Madero, who could tear down but not build, was pitifully unequal to the prodigious task, but also because the only idea of freedom possessed by so many Mexicans is to get what they want when they want it, regardless of law or the rights of others. Under the provisional rule of an old soldier, who was one of the trusted lieutenants of President Diaz, a semblance of order has been established in the republic. The continued verbal activity of the Bombastes Furioso of the north, who threatens to kill without trial any Mexican who dares to vote for a President without his permission, proves nothing more to the contrary than the persistent exaggeration of the internal troubles by Americans who have wickedly aimed to create a sentiment in this country in favor of intervention.

An election under the forms of law is to be held in Mexico next month, and Gen. Diaz has been invited to return to his native land in an advisory capacity. He has entered upon his eighty-fourth year, but he is still the ablest, wisest, and most influential of living Mexicans. There are indications innumerable that a great majority of thoughtful and law-abiding Mexican citizens now feel that their country would be much better off if he had never been forced to resign. Many needed reforms, such as the institution of equitable land taxes, could have been secured under his rule. Nothing for the good of Mexico has been accomplished in his absence. Whoever may be elected President in October, the Mexican outlook will be brighter with aged Don Porfirio back in his old home.—New York *Times*, September 29.

### Coming Out of Mexico

For several weeks now thousands of Americans have been coming out of Mexico as fast as they could make their arrangements to reach some point of embarkation. They have come from the Mexican ports on United States transports, on other sailing vessels, and have crowded the railways where such transportation was possible. In some instances the desire has been so great to get out of the country that long trips have been made overland, as in the case of the refugees from Torreon, who were reported captured by Constitutionalists, but who finally showed up at Saltillo, in the State of Coahuila, unhurt.

Ask these refugees why they came out of Mexico and nine out of ten of them will declare it was on account of the vague mystery embodied in the warning of President Wilson. The majority of these people resided in sections remote from any active communication with the outside world, on account of the destruction of the railway traffic of the Republic. They have had no mail or telegraph facilities and were ignorant of what was transpiring in the outside world and when the warning to come out of Mexico was given them by consular representatives of the United States they hastened to comply, because they were led to believe that something was about to happen.

These refugees from the interior of Mexico will also tell you that they were treated with the utmost consideration by both of the warring factions in Mexico—that they were under no apprehension of danger under existing conditions, and that as a matter of fact they only consented to leave the country and all their personal belongings because they were led to apprehend that something was about to happen in the direction of eventualities between the United States and Mexico that might render their remaining in that country dangerous. They acted upon this assumption and have come out of Mexico, and they are much surprised upon their arrival in the United States to find that there is apparently nothing in the developments to warrant apprehension of any trouble between the country of their nativity and the country of their adoption. They have found the Wilson warning nothing more in reality than the repetition of the Taft injunction for every American in Mexico to make a run for the border as an evidence of American good will for Mexico. Naturally, there is more or less resentment expressed, and some of the language employed is not at all complimentary to the Washington Administration.—El Paso *Times*.

### Perfectly Safe

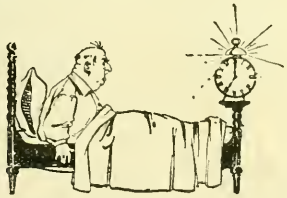
It appeared from a message received here by the Methodist Episcopal Church Board of Foreign Missions from Dr. John W. Butler, Superintendent of its mission in Mexico City, that American missionaries of all denominations were reluctant to leave Mexico. Acting on this information, the Methodist Episcopal Church Board of Foreign Missions and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions have instructed their missionaries in Mexico to use their own discretion.

C. J. King, who came in from Mexico last evening via Eagle Pass, said: "Quite a number of Americans have been frightened out of Mexico and will return to find everything they possessed gone. They mistook for preparations for intervention this Government's plea, for helplessness to protect them, when they would have been perfectly safe in remaining in Mexico."—El Paso *Times*.

(By Mexican Cable to the New York *Herald*.)

Mexico City, Mexico, via Galveston, Texas, Sunday, September 28. Reports received at the War Department to-night are to the effect that the rebels in Chihuahua have been routed with a heavy loss of life and are now in full retreat toward the border. The fighting lasted two days.

General Huerta has an army exceeding ninety thousand men, which is daily being campaigned into greater efficiency.



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## No Muzzling

"Mexico," a weekly publication interpreting the sentiment and opinion of Americans interested in fostering friendly and mutually advantageous relations between the United States and Mexico, has freely criticized President Wilson's Mexican policy.

As editor of "Mexico," I wish respectfully to reply to some of the statements made by Secretary of the Navy Daniels, speaking before the Indiana members of the Associated Press.

He deplored the fact that many American newspapers have seen fit to criticize, even frankly and honestly, the stand taken by President Wilson toward Mexico. Such criticism of Administration policies should, he thought, be restricted to internal matters and should stop "at the water's edge." The world should know, he contended, that any stand taken by the President in a matter of foreign relations is supported unquestioningly by an undivided people, who, if necessary, would execute it by force of arms. He intimated that the press or individuals giving any different impression to the world were disloyal and unpatriotic.

As to the press-muzzling purpose of the Secretary's speech, I shall remark only that it is the first attempt of any Administration to restrict the cherished freedom of the press. The attempt will, of course, not succeed and will meet with the condemnation it deserves. As to the Administration's evident resentment of criticism, I suggest:

That frank and honest criticism of any stand taken by the President of the United States which involves the destiny of one hundred million people is necessary for the safe conduct of popular government and should be welcomed by a broad-gauged and well-intentioned Administration.

That a national sense of justice demands free and frank discussion of our relations with other countries, and that this sense of justice is not incompatible with the purest patriotism, the most intelligent loyalty.

That any United States policy toward Mexico affects directly the welfare and property of thousands of Americans in Mexico and other thousands who have commercial or social connections there. Therefore it cannot be altogether a foreign policy and is in a large degree an internal one.

That although Secretary Daniels' point of view is that press criticisms in international crises might on occasion make the avoidance of war most difficult for a peace-loving Administration, the fact is that much of the criticism directed against President Wilson's Mexican policy has come from those who, knowing Mexican conditions and the Mexican people, have firmly believed that his method of handling the Mexican situation was most likely to result in an unnecessary unjust and burdensome war. Also that many of those who have most enthusiastically supported the attitude of President Wilson have done so in the belief that it was impractical and the hope that it would finally bring about armed intervention.

That Mexicans as a rule interpreted President Wilson's attitude toward the Mexican Government as unfriendly and as foreshadowing intervention. Under these circumstances it is perhaps well for the Administration and for the country that American papers and individuals have by their criticisms convinced the Mexicans that we as a people have no quarrel with them, that we are not their enemies.

That in view of our increasingly close relations with the Latin-American countries it will help rather than hurt the interests of the United States if at least a portion of our press shows a disposition to demand justice and reasonableness in any stand that the Administration may determine to take toward them or any one of them.

If there were no question of the right or justice of President Wilson's attitude toward Mexico, he would have every true American citizen at his back, to war if need be, and there would be no occasion for the attempt to restrict frank and honest criticism.

Thomas O'Halloran,
Editor.

## Mexican Eyes

Recognition by the United States is not required by the Mexican Government as far as its actual existence is concerned. That Government has been declared the Constitutional Government of the nation by Congress and the Supreme Court and its authority is not disputed except by those followers of the Maderos who are naturally disgruntled and by bands of brigands who oppose it as they would oppose any constituted authority. Recognition or no recognition, there is an established legal, recognized, actual and active Government in Mexico.

United States recognition is desirable for two reasons: First, it has been made a condition precedent to the advancing of money by certain bankers; second, the withholding of recognition has embarrassed the Government in its work of restoring peace and order by injuring its financial credit and by encouraging the forces of lawlessness and rebellion.

It is necessary that we should to a certain extent take the Mexican point of view if we would see clearly the meaning and value of our own attitude toward Mexico. In our self-satisfied way, looking at events and results purely from our own point of view, we may be led into errors that will produce results quite opposite from those intended to be procured. As an example, the urging of Americans to leave Mexico by President Wilson in his message was no doubt done with good intentions, but its practical effect was to convince both Americans in Mexico and, doubly so, the Mexicans themselves that this country had hostile intentions. Such wasn't the case, but a little knowledge of things from the point of view below the Rio Grande would have convinced the Administration that the misinterpretation was inevitable. So as regards recognition. We may reassure and protest to the Mexicans that we are absolutely impartial, inspired by the finest principles and motives, seeking the permanent peace of Mexico in a friendly spirit, but when the Mexicans themselves see that the unmistakable effect of our attitude is to thwart the efforts being made to bring about stable conditions in the country and to give every bandit chief a longer lease in his life of pillage and blackmail, we can hardly wonder that American solicitude is mistaken for American interference and that President Wilson's pronouncements of friendship are interpreted as thinly disguised enmity.

If we want to be fair in dealing with Mexico we must look at things as they really are, even to the extent occasionally of looking at them with Mexican eyes.

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LOST, STRAYED OR STOLEN.

Has not been heard of in three weeks.

WILLIAM—THE CONQUEROR? NO. COLQUITT WOULD OBJECT.

BAYARD—SANS PEUR—PEUT ETRE—MAIS SANS REPROCHE? QUIEN SABE!

HALE.


"A PIRATE OF PARTS."

A STORY OF VAGABOND PLAYERS BY A NOTED NEWSPAPER MAN.

"A Pirate of Parts" is the title of a rollicking new story by Richard Neville, well known as a newspaper man, dramatic critic and philosophical observer. "A Pirate of Parts" is the Pickwickian term of endearment applied to the leading character. The book gives the reader an insight into the life and actions of a strolling player of many parts and his merry crew of thespians, who are always ready for any dramatic effort from "Hamlet" to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and who, in the very proper belief that the world owes them a living, proceed by humorously ingenious methods of barnstorming to obtain that which the world owes them. The story is quaint, humorous and original and will appeal with peculiar force to those who sympathize with the struggles to live of the "poor player, who struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no more."

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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1.—NO. 8. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1913. FIVE CENTS

## MEXICO and the OIL INTERESTS

September 30.

(Special to the N. Y. "Eve. Sun.")

Deputy Querido Moheno introduced a bill to-day providing for a Government contract for another foreign loan of 50,000,000 pounds to be expended in purchasing and nationalizing all petroleum properties in the republic. Not only Moheno but many men in all parties are convinced that Porfirio Diaz was overthrown by the Standard Oil interests because he had refused to concede pipe line and railway rights and franchises which would have meant an absolute monopoly of Mexican petroleum properties by the Rockefeller corporation.

The majority of well informed Mexicans still believe that Madero had the promise of Standard Oil aid in the revolution which carried him into power, and that his failure to "deliver" before his assassination is at the bottom of the United States' refusal to recognize the Huerta administration.

The Moheno bill provides that all discoveries of petroleum and hydrogen carbon mineral compounds shall in the future belong to the Government, even though they might be located on the properties of private individuals. It sets forth furthermore that the development of petroleum and kindred products shall be a public utility, and that to this end the Government shall take over all existing petroleum properties and such other lands as may be necessary to gain a monopoly of the business and control the output. The President of the Republic is empowered to develop and exploit oil lands directly through contract or by rental to private companies. He must give an accounting of his transactions in this respect to Congress every six months, however. The proceeds of the proposed loan are to be devoted to paying for such property as the Government may see fit to "condemn" under the provisions of the act. The properties thus affected shall stand as security for the loan.

The life of the loan is not to exceed fifty years and the rate of interest is fixed at a maximum of 5 per cent.

(By Mexican Cable to "The Herald.")

Mexico City, Mexico, via Galveston Tex., Tuesday.—Deputy Querido Moheno, speaking at last night's session of the chamber in support of his bill proposing the establishment of government control over the petroleum industry of Mexico, declared that the revolutionary troubles could be traced to the war between the oil interests of the country. He added that the industry is one of the greatest in Mexico, and with government control a sure source of income could be provided, enabling Mexico to keep a standing army of such proportions in the field that the United States would see the necessity of keeping hands off in Mexico, and that missions such as John Lind's would be conspicuous by their absence.

SENOR FEDERICO GAMBOA (IN MIDDLE) AND GROUP OF PROMINENT MEXICANS.

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Before commenting on the assertions contained in the above dispatches we wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that none of fifty or more leading newspapers from all parts of the United States which we have examined published this news.

The New York "Evening Sun" published the extensive telegram in one of the afternoon editions and killed it in the last edition. The morning "Sun" did not print a word about it. Of the New York morning newspapers the "Herald" was the only one that carried the news, in a special from Mexico City, and none of those that receive the Associated Press service had anything about it. They did publish a lot of rubbish about a girl arrested as a spy in Juarez and many other El Pasograms, but nothing of the bill presented to Congress by Querido Moheno, to-day the Minister of Foreign Relations. Yet this bill is intended to make a government monopoly of an industry in which many Americans are largely interested and which both in Mexico and in this country is believed to have had a decisive influence on the events which have shaken Mexico during the last three years.

Why this silence of the Associated Press correspondent in Mexico City and of the American newspapers in regard to an important news item in which reference and allusions are made to large American oil companies?

The correspondent of the "Evening Sun" states that the majority of well-informed Mexicans believe Madero had the support of Standard Oil in the revolution which carried him into power and that his failure to "deliver" before his death is at the bottom of the refusal of the United States to recognize Huerta. This belief is shared to a certain extent by many persons in the United States. Reference has been made from time to time in a few newspapers of this country to the supposed participation of Standard Oil in the Mexican turmoil.

A few days ago several papers carried a story from Washington stating that Huerta's representatives in Washington had received an extract of an interview published in "El Pais," of Mexico City, referring to this same subject. According to the story a rich landowner of the State of Jalisco upon his return from San Antonio had declared that the manager of the Standard Oil for the Southwestern district had told him revolutions would continue in Mexico until his company succeeded in acquiring full control of the oil wells in Mexico. That Standard Oil had protected the Maderist movement and opposed that of Reyes for this reason and that Standard Oil would lend the Huerta Government two hundred million pesos if it could obtain the concessions it wanted. That they would, besides, pay 12½ cents tax per barrel instead of the 5 cents tax which is now being paid by the British interests and guarantee recognition by the United States, as the Company controls the United States Senate.

(Continued on next page.)

## Oil Interests (continued)

Finally that Standard Oil would not rest until Mexico had a president who would do exactly what S. O. wished.

This interview—published in "El Pais"—strengthened the belief of Mexicans in general that in effect Standard Oil was closely connected with their troubles.

No evidence has ever been produced to prove that oil interests have supported revolutions in Mexico, for the simple reason that such proof would be unobtainable even though such moral and material support has been given. In matters of such importance no tracks are left.

Well-informed people are of the opinion that those in Mexico and in the United States are in error who believe that Standard Oil has fomented the Mexican revolution. This error is due to the fact, they say, of a general confusion as to the identity of the Standard Oil Company and of the Waters-Pierce Company.

While it is true that the Waters-Pierce Oil Company was still a subsidiary of the Standard at the time the Madero revolution was started, the Mexican business of the subsidiary company was absolutely under the control of the Pierce interests.

The estrangement of the Pierce and the Rockefeller interests was known to these well-informed persons long before it became public and culminated in a suit which was finally settled out of court by an agreement that the Pierce interests would buy all stock owned by the Rockefeller interests in the Waters-Pierce Company.

The Waters-Pierce has been since reorganized under the name of the Pierce Oil Corporation, in which the Rothschilds are supposed to be heavily interested, and which has become one of the most formidable rivals of the Standard Oil.

In support of this contention that the Rockefeller and the Pierce interests were not in accord even as far back as five years ago these persons state that at that time a man in the confidence of 26 Broadway was sent to Mexico ostensibly to help in the management of the Waters-Pierce business but in reality to report the result of his observations to the home office. That when Mr. H. Clay Pierce found out the man's true mission he asked him to leave. The agent left Mexico City, but returned within a few days, stayed in the house of a friend and continued his work of investigation. Later he went from Mexico City to the Tampico oil fields under an assumed name.

The confusion of the two companies in the public mind has stood the Pierce interests in good stead, these persons allege, as it has permitted the Waters-Pierce Company to keep in the background, and it has never taken the trouble to set the public right.

Against the Pierce interests there has never been forthcoming any more evidence than against the Standard Oil in regard to supposed support of Mexican revolutions. But the well-informed persons point to the fact that there is enough circumstantial evidence to show that the Pierce interests have been vitally interested in the political changes in Mexico.

First of all, they say, the Pierce interests enjoyed a practical monopoly of the oil trade in Mexico until the Diaz Government granted concessions to the British oil interests headed by Lord Cowdrey to develop the oil industry and enter the commercial field.

The Pierce interests also controlled the Mexican Central Railroad. The merger of Mexican railways under government control and the granting of concessions to the British interests were prompted by the desire of the Diaz Government to prevent an absolute monopoiy of Mexican petroleum properties by the Pierce interests.

Efforts were made by the Pierce interests to have the concessions revoked but with no avail.

Thereupon the so-called oil war ensued, causing large financial losses to the interests involved.

During the Madero movement Gustavo Madero, brother of the leader, spent much of his time in Washington, where he became intimate with Sherby Hopkins, a well-known attorney, who later before the Senate committee of investigation acknowledged his connection with the Pierce interests. Mr. Hopkins was the legal adviser of the Maderist junta and upon the final success of the revolution received $50,000 for his services. Shortly after Madero entered Mexico City as the victorious leader of the revolution Mr. Hopkins went to Mexico City and engineered a publicity campaign in favor of the Pierce interests and against the Aguila Oil Company.

As he testified later, he went there "to make it hot for the British oil interests." About the same time Gustavo Madero and a few friends organized an oil company with a million pesos capital. It was current opinion in Mexico at that time that special concessions would be given by the government to the new company, destroying the effects of those granted to the Aguila Oil Company, and that these concessions would be transferred later by Gustavo Madero to the Pierce interests.

No attempt was ever made to hide the close friendship between the Madero family and the Pierce family which, it is said, continues very intimate to this day.

The general manager of the Pierce interests in Mexico, Mr. Galbraith, was on an excellent footing with the Madero Government and he was offered by Ernesto Madero the presidency of the National Railways. Mr. Galbraith was very anxious to accept the position, but after a consultation in St. Louis with Mr. Pierce he refused it. It was said at the time that the offer had been made to calm for a while at least the impatience of the Pierce interests to have what they called the blue-sky concessions to the British interests revoked or at least equal ones granted to them. This was in accordance with promises made by the Maderos in Washington in exchange for support received, it was said, but the Maderos did not dare keep their promises immediately upon their ascension to power and wanted to delay the matter until public attention could be diverted from it.

Upon the fall of Madero certain secret investigations were begun in Mexico City to ascertain what participation the oil interests had in the Madero revolution. Officials of the Pierce Company have many friends, even among Mexicans, well informed of government movements. About the twenty-fifth of March one of the Pierce officials received an unsigned and typewritten note from one of these friends notifying him of these secret investigations. It read: "An investigation is being made of the participation in the Maderist revolution of the Washington attorney."

Mr. Sherby Hopkins, the Washington attorney, is said to be still in very friendly relations with the Pierce interests. He is also a prominent figure in the Bellevue Hotel, where the present rebel junta headed by the brother-in-law of the late Francisco Madero meets daily.

Dr. William Bayard Hale while in Mexico City counted among his intimates Mr. Galbraith, the general manager of the Pierce interests, and other men closely connected with these interests. A few hours after Dr. W. B. Hale arrived in Washington from Mexico City he received a visit of his old friend Mr. Sherby Hopkins, with whom he was in consultation for several hours.

All of which is very interesting, but proves little. So far.

## The Right Spirit.

(Special Cable Despatch to the New York "Sun.")

London, Oct. 6.—The Madrid correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" sends a despatch saying that Gen. Felix Diaz in an interview given aboard the steamer "Corcovado" at Santander said:

"I am returning to Mexico simply because I wish to comply with the constitutional precept that candidates for the Presidency must be present on election day. If I am elected President my programme will be amply liberal. I shall devote myself chiefly to social questions. If Señor Gamboa is elected I shall place myself immediately at his service with a view to aiding if necessary in the pacification of the country and its progress. I would accept any post offered to me.

"I do not believe in the possibility of armed intervention on the part of the United States. It would provoke a war which would be ruinous to both nations and the consequences of a struggle are incalculable."

## One Way.

Panfilo Natera, the rebel chief who a few months ago raided Zacatecas and held it a few days against the advance of the Federals, has surrendered unconditionally to the Government. His surrender was brought about by his fiancee, who refused to marry him unless he became loyal to the Government. Panfilo Natera threw down his arms and recommended all his followers to do the same. He is now a happy bridegroom. It is said that the Mexican Government is seeking a hundred or so good-looking and patriotic girls to send to the hundred or so other rebel and bandit leaders.

## Ask J. G. B.

Lord Northcliff, just before his departure from New York, declared that he had no intention of entering the newspaper field in New York because—he said—it is impossible to direct a newspaper by cable. How little Lord Northcliff knows of American journalism!

Mr. James Gordon Bennett has been directing the New York "Herald" by cable for many years and no better example could be had of a successful newspaper with a consistent cable policy. Why, even the future war with Mexico is being mapped out and managed by cable!

## A Turncoat.

It is not known whether or not the Carrancistas and other rebels are supporting the move of the Maderista Deputies but the Carrancistas and the Maderistas form now practically the same political party. It is said, however, that many prominent Maderistas, including several relatives of the late President Madero and of his Cabinet Ministers, regard Carranza as unworthy of serious consideration, being chiefly an ambitious turncoat seeking personal advantage at the country's expense.—New York "Herald."

## Tabasco.

State Department advices from Monterey dated September 26 say that order now prevails in the State of Tabasco, but there are rumors that the rebels in the southern part of the state are only waiting for reinforcements from the State of Campeche to resume fighting.—Washington "Star."

It is quite interesting to note that information about Tabasco in the extreme South of Mexico comes from the Consul at Monterrey in the extreme North. That Consul at Monterrey must have some special means of communication with a State 2,000 miles South.

## Reception of De La Barra

Paris, Oct. 4.—President Poincare's official reception at 3.30 o'clock this afternoon of Francisco L. de la Barra at the Elysee Palace as Minister Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the French Republic was carried out according to the prescribed ceremonial of the protocol and was exceedingly cordial on both sides. The Mexican Minister was conveyed in a state carriage, escorted by a squadron of cuirassiers, to the palace, where a guard of honor presented arms in the courtyard while Señor de la Barra, in full uniform and wearing the insignia of grand officer of the Legion of Honor, handed to President Poincare the letter of recall of his predecessor and also his own letter of credentials.

The new minister in a brief speech alluded to the economical interests and the common aspirations toward the same ideal of justice and liberty that united the two republics and said:

"I bring to the French people the cordial greeting of a brother people, a people that has just undergone a period of severe ordeal, such as occurs in the history of all nations. There can be no doubt that my country will emerge from its painful crisis stronger than ever. Our past history, the progress achieved by my government in its work of pacification, the extraordinary economic vitality of Mexico and the patriotism of its children are sure guarantees of this happy result."

After an eloquent tribute to the French Republic and nation the minister added: "I have the honor of wearing upon my breast the insignia of the order with which France rewards at home the services of her glorious sons and distinguishes abroad her devoted friends. This title alone authorizes me to offer to your excellency the warm expressions of my wishes for your personal welfare and for the material and moral progress of France."

President Poincare replied in cordial and suitable terms.

**At the Foreign Office the situation in Mexico is considered more satisfactory than at any time during the last year. Mexican funds show strength and firmness after the recent bear attacks on the Bourse and are receiving better support from the public than hitherto.**—New York "Tribune."

## Persecution of Priests

The rebels are persecuting the Catholic clergymen. Yesterday the rebels placed in the planchas (vertical dungeons barely admitting a human being and causing excruciating agony) three Catholic clergymen. Their names are Garibay, Portela and Soto, and are said to be guilty of no offense. Lawyer Miguel A. R. Lopez came forward to defend them but the rebels threatened to place him in the planchas if he did not immediately withdraw as their attorney. The rebels demand $3,000 for each priest before releasing them. A delegation of women called upon Rebel Governor Maytorena interceding for the priests. After keeping them waiting for two hours, Maytorena dismissed the women with the statement that he would study the question. The rebel Governor is receiving much criticism for his conduct.—Los Angeles "Times."

# Elections and Other Things

*Extracts from a special article in the New York Times of Sunday, October 5. The writer signs himself "An American Resident of Mexico." Whoever he is, it is obvious in every line that he knows Mexico and whereof he writes. He is inaccurate in stating that the census of 1910 has not yet been compiled. The population according to that census is 15,151,888. Otherwise the article is remarkably well-informed.*

The Mexican Presidential election is set for Oct. 26, which date was fixed last spring by Gen. Huerta.

And what does a general election mean in Mexico?

It means that votes are cast by fifteen-one-hundredths of one per cent. of the population. Such is Mexican democracy. This proportion of votes to population ruled in the last election (1911) hailed as a triumph of democratic ideals after the so-called autocracy of Diaz, which election resulted in the accession of Francisco Madero to the Presidency.

President Madero characterized this election as "the only fair election ever held in Mexico." Let us analyze this election. Let us bring this vote out from the official records of Congress.

The total vote cast in the entire Republic of Mexico for President in 1911 was 20,148, of which Madero received 19,992. For Vice President Pino Suarez received 10,205 out of a total vote cast of 19,406. The total population of Mexico in 1911, exclusive of foreigners, was 13,600,000. Thus the total vote cast for the Presidency was .148 of one per cent. of the total population.

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These elections were practically the Diaz elections over again. Madero dictated the names of about all the Governors of the States of the republic, and even of the Vice-President, Suarez. It may be said in perfect truth that Madero, for all his book on democracy, followed along the same trail that Gen. Diaz made to maintain himself in office.

The press censorship he instituted, the shutting down of one of the principal newspapers of the capital, even without recourse to law, the imprisonment of many leading citizens of the capital on the slightest evidence that they were against the Government—verily the Diaz Government to us old-timers looked mild in comparison.

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What is the matter with Mexico?

Some of us who lived many years in the country under the peaceful but iron rule of Gen. Diaz, and a few of us who crossed the line even when Gen. Gonzalez was President in the early eighties, can perhaps answer this question a little better than the average reporter who tours Mexico, studies the people out of a car window, and writes a history of Mexico and the Mexican people on the return trip.

The returns from the census taken three years ago (1910) have not even been compiled, so busy has been the Government with revolutions. However, the census of 1900 gives the population of Mexico as 13,611,712. In dividing this heterogeneous population into classes it can be said that the upper class comprises less than 5 per cent. of the population. The second class 15 per cent. The third class 80 per cent.

Of the total population of Mexico, it can be said that over 75 per cent. are illiterate, and do not care which political party is in power, or who is President, so long as they are left alone to pursue their vocations in peace. The Mexican Indian is a peaceful man, and where trouble has occurred it has been largely on account of the robbery of his lands. A glaring instance of this can be seen in the State of Sonora, where unprincipled men robbed the lands of the Yaquis, driving a brave and thrifty race of Indians to be bandits. They only fought for their "tierra."

The average Southern Mexican Indian is innately polite. He can often teach manners to our white people of the North, while he can neither read nor write.

They are extremely simple, but will learn if you are patient and be kind to them, and they will show gratitude where most of the middle class will not.

Of the first class, comprising not over 5 per cent. of the population, it may be said that 90 per cent. want nothing to do with politics. They are largely the people of "blue" blood, and comprise the wealthy class—owners of the large haciendas, banks and factories. In times of peace they win, in revolutions they lose.

There can be no true democracy where a majority of the population of any country are as illiterate and unruly as in Mexico. It cannot be denied that Gen. Diaz is the greatest man Mexico has ever produced, and one of the world's greatest nation-builders; he realized this better than any one. He maintained himself in office for thirty-two years, twenty-eight of which were consecutive, by the strong arm and the machete. Diaz was a dictator, but he was a wise one and knew his people, and his country for the first time in a century began to advance and have credit among the nations of the world.

What Gen. Diaz did for Mexico is too well known to repeat here. What Mexico did for Gen. Diaz was to banish him to foreign lands where even Kings and Queens are doing homage to one of the greatest living rulers. Gen. Diaz's downfall was due to the men that surrounded him; he was old and had passed the fourscore years usually allotted to men for their activities. Mexico will some day dedicate her greatest monument to Diaz.

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The present revolution in Mexico has no principle or right back of it, and there is no union of forces or head to its Government. Every chief, with his forces, is an

(Continued on next page)

# NAILING THEM!

General McCoskry Butt harshly criticized the Administration's Mexican policy in a statement to the "Tribune" a few days ago. The general wants war, and therefore the Government's attitude toward Mexico has turned him—a life-long Democrat—into a Republican. Now, that is too bad! But....who is Butt?

### It Would Seem So

Vera Cruz despatches tell of the return to Mexico of large numbers of Americans.

Does this mean that conditions in our troubled sister Republic are not as bad as they have been pictured?—New York "Herald" Editorial.

Once in a while the "Herald" opens its Venetian blinds to a little ray of light—and forthwith bangs them shut again. Is the light hurtful to "Herald" eyes?

(By special wire to the El Paso "Times.")

Marathon, Tex., September 24.—J. R. Landrum, justice of the peace and notary public of Brewster County, and postmaster at Boquillas, Tex., is said to have joined the rebel army in Mexico as a surgeon, leaving his affairs in the United States in a very tangled condition.

When Postoffice Inspector W. W. Marshall, of Austin, a passenger on the weekly mail hack from Marathon, reached the postoffice at Boquillas last week, he found that Postmaster Landrum had departed for Mexico on urgent business some six hours before his arrival. Upon inspecting the office, he found the books, which showed a balance due the Government of something over $1,200, a few stamps, and $5.25 in cash. The rest of the cash was missing.

The call of the Constitution must have been too strong for Landrum. But he is not the only one who has had to heed the call from Mexico. If it is true that he has joined the rebel army he is now among his peers. Many are among them whose books upon being inspected have shown a balance due to the Government (in most cases the Mexican Government) or to some private corporation, and whose cash drawers contained, alas, only a few stamps.

But what is a balance between a despotic Government and a lover of the Constitution?

(Special Cable Despatch to the New York "Sun.").

Paris, Sept. 29.—The budget committee of the French Parliament has made a recommendation that French bankers abstain from lending money to Mexico.

The nail is in the following dispatch to the Boston "Transcript":

Paris, Sept. 24.—The French Government, it is understood, to-day indicated to the leading French bankers that it will not consent to any foreign loans being issued, on the Paris market, or admitted to the Bourse, until after the French Government has effected its own loan to meet military requirements. This decision applies also to the Balkan States, whose agents have recently been very active in aranging loans in Paris, while Mexico, too, is included.

### Hale's Antennae

"Rev. William Bayard Hale's efforts to establish wireless communication between Mexico City and the American warships in Vera Cruz harbor came to a sudden stop," says Robert Silberberg, who returned to El Paso the other day from a four months' stay in the Mexican national capital. "Dr. Hale quietly engaged a few mechanics and had wireless antennae erected on the top of the Iturbide hotel, right in the center of the city. Communication with Admiral Fletcher was carried on for a few days, but one evening a squad of soldiers from the palace garrison commandeered the plant and quickly demolished it. No message was sent to Dr. Hale and the doctor, naturally, did no talking. A second attempt to set up aerial connection from the roof of the Y. M. C. A. building was not interfered with until the outfit was in working order. Then it met the same treatment by the Federals. Dr. Hale thereupon took the hint and resumed filing his official despatches to Washington at the Government telegraph office on Cinco de Mayo street. Dr. Hale is now in Washington.—Houston "Post."

Aerial connections from the Y. M. C. A. building were not set up by the ex-Reverend Hale.

The wireless operator in this case was Ferris, the Mexico City correspondent of the Munsey newspapers. He was in league with Hale, but his apparatus did not work.

The doctor, by the way, had many others in league with him.

And to think that his reports, according to general belief, served to shape the Administration's Mexican policy.

## Elections and Other Things---(Continued)

independent unit, operating solely for loot and the destruction of property. It has become a business. Let us look at some of these principal chiefs and their work.

The most prominent is probably Carranza, former Governor of the State of Coahuila. During the latter months of his administration Francisco Madero mistrusted the Federal Army. He conceived the idea of creating a kind of State militia in some of the States where he could rely on the Governors to do his bidding. He began by sending money to Carranza to begin this organization in the State of Coahuila, of which Saltillo is the capital. Carranza's bank account grew, but there was no State militia formed. Finally Carranza was pressed hard by Madero for an explanation, and in January Carranza was preparing quietly in Saltillo to start a revolution against Madero, his chief, to cover up his defalcation of Government money. On Feb. 18 the Madero Government fell, and Carranza immediately afterward withdrew his Government money from the banks,* together with some 350,000 pesos belonging to the State of Coahuila, gathered the police force of Saltillo and numerous others of the lower class about him, formed a band of one thousand men, with all the arms they could secure, and withdrew to the City of Monclova, in the same State, cutting the railroads behind him.

Saltillo, a city of thirty thousand inhabitants, was left without a government or guard. Within twenty-four hours a bandit named Cos, who is still a leader, with twenty men, entered Saltillo and held up the banks and merchants for over 100,000 pesos in assessments, while the people looked on in abject fear. This seems incredible, but these facts were told to the writer by both leading Mexican and American residents of Saltillo shortly afterward.

We old-timers in Mexico, who have traveled all over the country without even a weapon under the peaceful reign of Gen. Diaz; we who know the national hymn of Mexico as well as we know the "Star-Spangled Banner"; we who know that there are as good people in Mexico as in the United States, as well as some bad ones; we who are good loyal American citizens; we who have spent years following various lines of business and professions in Mexico and have many friends among the natives; we who know Mexico and its people and have interests in the Republic, we do not want intervention, because we believe they have the strongest man in the country at the head of the Government. All he needs to-day is the moral support of the United States, and recognition, so he may obtain his loan, and the situation will soon be cleared up. He has to-day 60,000 men in the field. The military situation in Mexico is far better than it was ninety days ago. All the Mexican Government needs to-day is money to pay its loyal troops, and her troubles will soon be over.

Does the United States Government want to see the downfall of the Huerta Government in Mexico? If the Huerta Government falls intervention must follow; that will mean occupation and finally annexation of a part of Mexican territory. This will require 200,000 men, millions of money, and many lives. Former Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson was right when he said ninety-eight per cent. of the leading Americans in Mexico wanted the Government of Gen. Huerta recognized.

The situation to us in Mexico looks like either recognition or intervention. There does not seem to be any middle ground. The propositions of our Special Ambassador, Mr. Lind, are not only not feasible, but very obnoxious to Mexico as a nation. The non-recognition of the Huerta Government gives great encouragement to every bandit chief. Should Gen. Huerta, with his very able cabinet and scant resources, finally dominate the situation, there will be no thanks coming to the United States for its present attitude. Mexico needs the friendship of the United States urgently in the form of recognition of her present Government. This recognition has already been given her by all the leading nations of the earth. Why shouldn't we give it and save our prestige before it is too late?

Intervention? None of us want it. All we foreigners want is for the Mexicans to stop fighting among themselves and go to work. We want peace.

* 1,260,000 pesos.

## Colquitt in Panama

(Special Correspondence.)

Panama City, October 1.—This city is in the grip of a mad joy, the overflow of which pervades the Canal Zone and the whole Republic of Panama. "Eats-'em-alive-all-in-one-piece" Colquitt is here on a visit. The Great Protector has arrived.

Upon his arrival at Colon, Colquitt telegraphed to Austin: "Veni, vidi, vici." And he has. A petition is being circulated, signatures to which are being affixed with contagious enthusiasm, to retain Colquitt here and make him a permanent fixture of this part of the world.

A man on the inside, however, states that the joy of the people here will soon be changed into grief, as he knows positively that the Governor of Texas will not accept the invitation. He will at some other time—says this friend—but at present he could not bear to cause infinite sorrow to the people of Texas, who would never recover from the irretrievable loss of Colquitt. Besides, the Governor must return to keep up the good work of forcing President Wilson's hand to intervene in Mexico.

In fact, I may as well tell you—but strictly confidentially—that there is a powerful motive for Colquitt's visit here. He wanted to study the topography of the big ditch so that upon his next visit—and he will not come by sea then—he will know where to stop. You see, Colquitt is going to lead the Light Brigade into Mexico and he fears that the impetus of his southward rush will carry him all the way down to Cape Horn, if he should not know the Canal when he comes to it. He does not intend to go any further south—at least, not immediately—upon his conquest of Mexico and Central America.

You may safely say to the people of Texas that for a while they will be spared the grief of losing Colquitt, although they may as well prepare themselves for that tragedy in the near future. Colquitt is a determined man and despite President Wilson's policy of non-intervention, he may yet take things into his own hands and cross into Mexico to save his countrymen clamoring for his help.

## Tupper

By the way, what has become of the Reverend Doctor Tupper, the worthy official of the Peace Forum, who when last heard from was on his way to Washington to petition the President in behalf of the rebels?

The Doctor (oh, these Reverend Doctors!) had been royally entertained at Piedras Negras and had become convinced that the cause of peace could best be served by allowing the rebels and bandits to have the arms they wanted.

The disinterested Doctor had promised Carranza that he would use his great influence with the President to get a permit for the importation of arms and so stated in an interview at Houston, Texas. Since then he has not been heard from. Another peace advocate gone wrong!

# OUR BANDIT FRIENDS

OR AT LEAST WASHINGTON'S.

**Robbery, arson, vandalism, blackmail, looting, counterfeiting—so reads the daily account of the doings of the so-called "Constitutionalists." Can any one with reason believe that these bands of outlaws, cutthroats and thieves are, as President Wilson seems to have thought, noble patriots fighting for the principles of pure democracy? Is there any crime under the sun that these men have not committed? Is there any other way of dealing with criminals of this stamp except by putting the fear of the strong arm of the law into their hearts?**

**These are the kind of men with whom President Wilson asked the Mexican Government to enter into a solemn armistice, as if it were possible for a civilized Government to conceive of any such thing. To stop the depredations of these men, to put an end to their terrorizing, is the task the present Government of Mexico has set for itself, a big task when it is taken into consideration that under the last Administration these bandits roamed and marauded unchecked, grew in numbers, and found the life profitable and to their liking.**

## What They Are Doing

### Crimes Against Catholics

Nogales (Ariz.), Sept. 30.—(Exclusive Dispatch.) The rebels are jubilant over their treatment of the Catholic priests and sisters. In addition to the imprisonment in the pianchas of priests, among whom are the Cura Viviano Soto and the Vicar Martin Portela in charge of the bishopric, a Catholic daily published in the offices of El Estandarte in Hermosillo, has been closed by the rebel authorities. Another Catholic publication, El Hogar Catolico, is threatened with the same lot. El Eco de la Guerra, rebel daily of Hermosillo, bitterly attacks the Catholics and clergy, and El Paso del Norte, another rebel mouthpiece, urges Carranza to relieve the Catholic clergy in Mexico of everything they possess. It is reported that strained relations exist between Carranza and Obregon growing out of the incarceration of the clergymen.

The latter felt that Carranza should accede to the petition of the women of Hermosillo to show clemency to the priests but the rebel head was obdurate; whereupon the rebel general threatened to ask for his discharge.

The protest against putting priests in dungeons in Hermosillo was simply an appeal to the manliness of the revolutionists. The whole population is indignant at the severe penalty imposed on the priests, which puts them on the same footing as criminals.—Los Angeles "Times."

### Plunder.

George Lewis, a mining engineer, of Boston, arrived here on the Ward liner Morro Castle from Vera Cruz. The bandits, under the direction of General Carranza, he said, cleaned out the district where his mines lay and he was forced to quit.

"These bandits, or so-called Constitutionalists," he said, "have swooped down upon villages and mining camps and plundered right and left. They robbed one peaceful family near us, and threatened to kill every one in the district if there was any outcry. They have burned bridges, torn up railroad tracks and wrecked the country so that no business of any sort could be carried on."—New York "Tribune."

### Fake Money.

Douglas, Ariz., September 23.—The Sonora currency—resembling green cigarette coupons—has been counterfeited promiscuously, according to reports which reach the border. The insurgent currency bears no signatures and is said to be imitated easily.—El Paso "Herald."

### Government Business.

Special Agent C. E. Lewis, of the Treasury Department, assisted by L. O. Howell, of the Custom House, Tuesday seized a five-carat diamond ring, valued at $800, and a diamond set bracelet worth $1,200, and placed Jose Diaz Lopez under arrest on the charge of defrauding the Customs Department of the United States. Lopez admitted bringing the jewelry to El Paso and of having attempted to dispose of it.

It is thought that the jewelry had been taken as loot from a wealthy rancher or business man in Hermosillo, and that it had been sent here to be converted into cash. Lopez admitted having been commissioned by the Sonora State Government for this purpose.—El Paso "Herald."

### A Harrassed Medico.

El Paso, Tex., September 24.—Dr. E. C. Shackelford has arrived here from Santa Rosalia, Chihuahua, Mexico, fleeing from Pancho Villa, the rebel leader, who gave him twenty-four hours to get out or be killed. Dr. Shackelford is a native of Frankfort, Ky., and has been living in Santa Rosalia six years.

He says when Villa and his rebel band entered the town September 15 Villa sent for him, told him he was tired of "you American filibusters," and declared he would shoot them all if they did not get out.

"Villa took all my books and accounts, and told me he would collect my money," the doctor added. "He also forfeited my house and furnishings to the rebels, and placed two guards over me to see that I did not depart with any money or property. I left at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 16th. I had to walk out, carrying a suit case, which is all I saved.

"I hired an old mule at a ranch, and finally reached the Texas line. My family was forced to flee from Santa Rosalia in May last. They are now in Chihuahua. All the Mexican men of prominence in Santa Rosalia have had to flee from the rebels, and when I left there Tuesday Villa had threatened all the prominent Mexican women in town into jail and had searched every home for money.

"Villa told me he was going to kill the American officials of the Conchas Dam Company, near Santa Rosalia."—Washington "Star."

### Land Grabbing.

Sonora rebels are dividing the lands of the "Cientificos" among the poor "Constitutionalists." General Lucio Blanco has started with the "El Borrego" ranch of Felix Diaz, located near Matamoras. The persons receiving the lands are required to cultivate them. Major Francisco Jose Magica, Blanco's chief of staff, and Ing. Manuel Urquidi, sub-secretary of public works under Francisco Madero, are assisting in the division of the lands.

### Poisoning the Water.

Every man known to possess a weapon has been summoned to Peyotes to assist in the defense, and large quantites of arsenic and cyanide of potash have been sent down to prevent the Federals from obtaining water.

It is reported that thirty-five soldiers, who drank water at Barroteran, died on the field before medical aid could be summoned from the hospital provision.—Los Angeles "Times."

# LOBBYGRAMS

## Huerta's Secret Agent

Washington, October 10.—It became known to-day that a special representative of President Huerta has been in Washington for some time. He has escaped detection until now, being an American newspaper man and political writer. Even though he showed occasionally some interest in Mexican affairs, it was thought that he was gathering material for magazine articles relating perhaps to what is known as the Mexican problem. It has finally been disclosed, however, that he has been commissioned by the Mexican President to make a careful investigation of the methods of the Washington Administration and keep a faithful record of events, especially as they refer to the relation between the Executive and Congress.

His observations and expert comments are said to be embodied in lengthy reports which he forwards almost daily to the Mexican capital.

Although when questioned the American newspaper man denied that he was in any way connected with the Mexican President, an intimate friend of his stated to-day that he believed the reports which have linked his friend with the Mexican Executive are true.

It seems, according to this friend, that some time ago severe criticism was made in Mexico City of President Huerta's disposition to respect the absolute independence of Mexican Congressmen. Huerta's advisers had earnestly counseled that in view of the situation in Mexico it was necessary for him to show a firmer hand, even to the extent of dictatorially forcing the Mexican solons to do his bidding.

Realizing the wisdom of his friends' advice, and lacking somewhat in political experience, President Huerta had cast about seeking the best example to follow. Consequently he had commissioned the American expert political writer to make a thorough study of President Wilson's methods, the Mexican press having frequently reproduced articles from American newspapers illustrating Mr. Wilson's masterful, dictatorial methods.

The informant added that in view of the apparent present disaccord between the Mexican Executive and Congress he felt sure that the reports forwarded by the former's agent in Washington would prove extremely instructive to Huerta. The splendid example of political "discipline" to be had in Washington, where the members of Congress are as putty in the Executive's hands, cannot fail to prove enlightening. With the report of October the third the agent enclosed a cartoon from the New York "Evening Sun," by McCutcheon, showing President Wilson as a ringmaster in the political circus, with one hand holding a bag labeled "Jobs" and the other cracking a whip as he drives the Democratic donkey around the ring and Congress through the paper hoops of tariff and currency. It is a bit disconcerting in this cartoon, however, to find one of the spectators skeptical of the performance. He is saying: "Just you wait! That donkey will behave as long as the sugar lasts and then look out!"

## All the Money They Want

Washington, D. C., Oct. 5.—General Carranza has reared his capital at Hermosillo, Sonora, and has funds to buy a navy and push the war. Francisco Escudero has brought $500,000 from Washington and has been appointed Secretary of the Treasury.. —News note.

This item was printed in the New York "American" of last Monday. The Washington correspondent believed it was news. Coming from the Carranza junta in Washington, through its chief director, Captain Sherby Hopkins, it must be fact. Its one fact is that Carranza has taken refuge in Hermosillo in his flight before the steadily advancing victorious columns of the Federal army. He now calls Hermosillo his capital and announces he has a great army to back up his claim to governmental dignity.

But it was not a strong enough announcement to convince even the financial interests which have promoted the disorders in Mexico. So Don Sherby Hopkins added the purchase of a navy with $500,000 "brought from Washington by Escudero, who has been appointed Secretary of the Treasury." Thus having made it look like real news, Don Sherby remarked: "The Carranza government can get all the money it wants." In Washington? It would add to the enlightenment of the American people on this great question of Mexico to tell how it comes that money for the revolutionists is collected in Washongton.

Another item in the story: The "fiscal agent" in Washington told the newspaper correspondent that it is proposed "to buy an armed vessel from some foreign government, but not from the United States." With this armed vessel it is proposed to seize the customs houses on the West coast and appropriate the receipts for the Carranza treasury. But—"they can get all the money they want," says Don Sherby.

## "Nerve"

Charges were made to-day by the Constitutionalists here that Mexico is being depleted of money by foreign capitalists, who are taking advantage of the present condition of affairs to get as much out of Mexico as possible. They said that unless a change of administration comes soon Mexico will soon be made bankrupt.—Washington "Star."

It may be said for the men who have made the above charges that at least they do not lack "nerve."

The Washington rebel junta is headed by Perez Romero, brother-in-law of the late Francisco Madero, and comprises several men who took an active part in the Madero Government. The squandering—to use the gentlest expression possible—of public funds during the Madero regime is unparalleled even in Mexican history. Nearly one hundred millions besides the usual revenues were "spent" in a little more than a year. Almost every department of the administration was in a chaotic condition and the country was plunged into a worse state of anarchy than it had ever known. The rebellion against Madero was brought about mainly on account of the disastrous "mismanagement" of the now so-called constitutionalists.

The Huerta Government in eight months after finding the public treasury depleted and the public credit gone, has reorganized almost entirely the public administration, making remarkable progress in the re-establishment of peace and increasing the Army from 25,000 to 90,000 men. This it has done with an expenditure of only about a million a month, or eight million pesos in all, besides the usual budget, and in spite of all difficulties with which it has had to contend. The contrast is evident, but whatever else may be said of the Washington constitutional diplomats you may be sure they do not lack nerve.

## Still Traveling

Those "constitutional" patriots are just natural born travelers. First it was Venustiano Carranza journeying from Piedras Negras to Hermosillo by way of Torreon, Durango and Sinaloa, unmolested, as his junta stated in Washington. The only object of this little trip, it was announced, was to "inspect his armies." Now it seems "General" Villa has undertaken a tour of inspection, starting at Santa Rosalia, and Jesus Carranza with his General Staff and members of the War College are starting out from Piedras Negras. After a triumphal march through the States of Coahuila and Durango they will inspect "unmolested" the various armies and join the "Chief" in Sonora.

Of course this is strictly according to a plan of mobilization previously conceived and now faithfully being carried out. The "evacuation" of Piedras Negras and Santa Rosalia was simply due to the fact that the War College of the Liberators had found these places of little strategic importance. This does not mean, of course, that the upholders of the Constitution do not still hold sway over the Northern States of Mexico. Oh, no! They control everything in sight. The appearance of a few Federal troops at Santa Rosalia and at Piedras Negras is a mere coincidence which only tends to prove how careful and scientific was the mobilization plan of the patriots.

One fact which has been carefully kept secret by the Constitutional War College and its diplomatic representatives in Washington is that the present movements of the Liberators are part of an "enveloping" plan by which they will attack from the rear the careless Federals that have been lured into an advancing movement to the north. Clever, clever ticktacks.

Ammunition smuggling continues brisk along the entire patrol line above and below El Paso. Reports from the residents say that an ammunition smuggling party is operating near the island by the foundry almost every night and that quantities of ammunition are being taken across, along the border.—El Paso "Herald."

The entire visible supply of ammunition and rifles here have been shipped to Peyotes. The Constitutionalists received no less than 100,000 rounds of cartridges late yesterday afternoon, but no inkling of the real origin of this has been made public.—San Antonio "Express."

**Smuggling goes merrily on—Washington authorities please notice.**

# Lest We Forget

John Lind is still sojourning in Vera Cruz.

* * *

William Bayard Hale is taking a vacation in the Vale of Oblivion.

* * *

Ambassador Wilson is still muzzled, but not for long.

* * *

The Carranzists are cooped up in Sonora.

* * *

President Wilson's mysterious prediction of dire calamity for Huerta "before many days" was words, words, words.

* * *

Huerta promised peace and peace is near.

* * *

There used to be a troublesome bandit leader named Zapata.

* * *

American "refugees" are still looking to the State Department for return tickets to Mexico.

* * *

The junta keeps up its constitooting, but the toot is ever thinner.

* * *

What has become of Fall?

* * *

There was no reply to Gamboa's second note. None possible.

* * *

The Administration is only occasionally maudlin over Madero now.

* * *

"Those having authority in Mexico City" control the border from Sonora to Matamoros.

* * *

Huerta hasn't been "tottering" for quite some time.

* * *

Oh, Munsey!

* * *

And Colquitt, the Conqueror!

* * *

President Wilson's financial blockade and moral isolation were dreams, idle dreams.

## Resurrection

(Special Despatch to St. Louis "Globe-Democrat.")

El Paso, Tex., September 29.—S. C. Hulse, general manager of the Northern Power Company at La Boquilla, Mexico, arrived at the border to-day, after being reported killed by the rebels. Hulse is a son-in-law of Lieut-Gov. Reynolds of Pennsylvania, who was active in having the Government make an examination of Hulse's case at the time he was reported to be in danger.

Another resurrection!

Poor Senator Penrose! Why didn't Hulse stay killed? The Senator could have made a few more thundering speeches and covered himself with glory.

All these resurrections show a lamentable lack of consideration and respect for certain Senators on the part of Americans in Mexico. Something ought to be done about this.

Perhaps Senators Fall and Sheppard will see to it.

# WHAT A WOMAN THINKS

*The following letter was written by Miss Agnes F. Kelly to her brother, John J. Kelly, St. Louis, general agent of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company of Worcester, Mass., and published in the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat." Miss Kelly has been living in the City of Mexico about seven years:*

My Dear Brother:

I have your kind letter of the 23d ulto., which only reached me to-day. I note what you say in regard to the political situation here, which, as far as Americans are concerned, principally, has been greatly intensified owing to the order of President Wilson that all Americans should leave the Republic at once * * *.

Then the great question with those who did not go at first summons, "yours truly" among the number—as we all said last year that we would wait until we were notified by the United States Government to leave, and then we did not want to go—the inconsistency of human nature—what best to do. Did the United States Government really mean intervention? Armed, for we have had here the other already, and one would say she would go, **while another you would meet would tell you that regardless of the United States stepping in or not, he or she would remain.** * * *

You, of course, know that Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson was recalled. He was the best informed on the Mexican situation, having been in the country many years and was well acquainted with the Mexican character. He favored the support of the Huerta Government, the present government of Mexico, while, at the same time, he also supported legal elections; that is, for the present he believed that the present government should be recognized by the United States as Huerta is the strongest man to-day in the republic, and has done more in the short time he has been in office than any of his predecessors, save the old gentleman, Porfirio Diaz; but Henry Lane Wilson was a Republican, and we all here feel that it was due to that that President Wilson gives no credit to anything he stated, which was simply weakness on the part of President Wilson, and he foolishly sent Mr. Lind here, who knew nothing of the language or the character of the people, and expected him to familiarize himself in a couple of weeks with the situation from an unbiased standpoint. President Wilson gauges the Mexican people on the same standard as he would the American; but he must not forget that while we have a highly cultured and educated class of Mexicans, we have the ignorant in the majority. * * *

Huerta to-day has 80,000 soldiers, and **has sent his soldiers out not to loot and steal as does the northern rebel, but to protect the lives of the people from the marauding bandits. Huerta, of course, has as much right to the presidential chair as did Madero.** Madero went through the country campaigning some years before poor old President Diaz was forced to resign, the man who made Mexico what it is to-day. President Diaz favored foreign capital, and instead of Mexico City being a little village without electric light, or any kind of light at night, some thirty years ago, no one left her home or his home after dark without carrying a lantern, no water mains, no street cars, it to-day is one of the loveliest cities on this continent. Madero furnished the worst bandit, Zapata, with arms and ammunition, and sent his men out to take Ciudad Juarez and any other city they could, and pushed his cause, as he termed it, liberty and democracy, until he simply roused the low classes to a spirit of rebellion, and then when he found himself in the presidential chair, he discovered he could not keep the promises he made, and the country has gone from bad to worse. * * * To imagine that an armistice could be entered into with such ferocious leaders is absurd, and this all the better proves that poor President Wilson was not in touch with the situation. These men, who but a couple of years ago, were but common laborers, even if they knew how to work, are now living like princes, and it is ridiculous to think that they would enter into any agreement that would wrest from them their spoils and oblige them to return to hard labor.

Mr. Giesecke, who is of one of the largest rubber concerns in the State of Coahuila, in the City of Saltillo, surprised me with a letter written by him from Vera Cruz last week, saying that his being there and fearing I was here, and, owing to the alarming accounts he heard concerning political conditions here, he advised me to leave at once, ending his letter by telling me that should I need any funds not to hesitate to call on him. I immediately wired him back, thanking him for his kind letter and offer, and that I would take his advice and leave. But, as he stated in his letter that he thought business would force him to visit Mexico City, he would see me which he did on Thursday last. He himself went to Washington and saw Bryan personally, and told him of the exact situation, and, though his company has lost over $2,000,000 since last March, and the last report on June 15th that there were 3,700 rebels on their rubber ranch, **he states that at Washington a rebel leader who brings any story there is listened to more favorably than the man whose entire plant has been destroyed.** * * *

The Latins are exceedingly courteous, and notwithstanding all that has passed between the two governments, not a sound has been heard here in the streets from a Mexican rebel against an American. **On the contrary, the foreigner is treated with more decorum here to-day that in his native country.** Undoubtedly much of this now friendly spirit that exists—and well for the American here—is due to Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, who was favorable to Huerta, seeing that he was the man for the situation. President Huerta is as much entitled to be president, **and far more deserving of recognition, than ever Madero was.** * * *

I hardly think the Catholic party will win out, as one of them admitted that while they far outstripped the "Felicitas" in the number of their organized clubs—over 57,000 throughout the republic—the latter had the advantage over them as Felix Diaz was very popular. * * *

The Huerta Government is doing all in its power to crush these fiends, but without money, what can Huerta do, and if Wilson recognized his government, it could then get all the money it needed to increase its army and squelch those ravaging demons that are swarming the country. We all feel here that if Wilson had recognized Huerta the thousands that have left their homes—abandoned their only means of support—gave up all they worked for for years, would not have suffered all they did, and will, in future. It was a blessed thing that the Madero Government was overthrown. Affectionately yours,

AGNES.

# A NEW ERA

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY IN MEXICO.

Mexico City boasts of the greatest water-works in the world. They have just been completed after thirteen years of incessant labor and an expenditure by the Mexican Government of about eight million dollars.

The water is drawn by centrifugal pumps from four wells constructed near the Xochimilco Lake. These pumps at present extract 265,000 gallons per second but have a capacity of one-fourth more.

They furnish a minimum of 265 gallons per day per inhabitant. The works have been so built that this same minimum can be furnished each inhabitant when the city's population reaches 1,250,000.

The water is first pumped to four enormous tanks or reservoirs elevated 165 feet about the city, with a capacity of 1,118,300,000 gallons.

The Mexico City water-works have been declared the best in the world by John R. Freeman, the well-known hydraulic engineer of New York, and Colonel Goethals, in charge of Panama Canal construction. Daniel Bellet, an eminent French engineer, in his work "Latest Inventions" cites the Mexico City water-works as a model of their kind.

The chief engineer of the works is Señor Marroquin y Rivera, a noted Mexican graduate of the Mexico City School of Engineers.

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A concession for the use of one hundred and thirty-seven gallons per second of the water of the Rio de los Muertos, in the State of Nuevo Leon, was granted on September 6th to Mr. Benino Garcia Lozano. The use of the water is granted specifically for the generation of electric power and light.

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M. S. Weil has applied for a concession to establish four fine-glass and crystal factories in the Republic of Mexico, with a proposed capital of $550,000.

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### More Eloquent Proofs of Mexico's Prosperity.

Custom House receipts during the month of August have been as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | $3,354,984.91 |
| Additional duty | 334,138.97 |
| Exports | 296,238.75 |
| Port charges | 142,684.87 |
| Total receipts | $4,128,947.50 |

In these figures are not included the receipts of the Custom Houses at Guaymas and Santa Rosalia.

Below are the receipts of the various Custom Houses in the order of importance:

| | |
|---|---|
| Vera Cruz | $2,099,298.17 |
| Tampico | 725,198.59 |
| Mexico City | 370,749.42 |
| Progreso | 328,275.83 |
| Ciudad Juarez | 118,395.79 |
| Laredo | 117,013.77 |

These receipts for August, 1913, against those for August, 1912, show an increase of $397,262.69, or more than ten per cent.

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For the increase of equipment of the regular army contracts have been made for the purchase of the following:

Twenty-eight batteries of Chumond-Mondragon cannons, with 100,000 rounds of shells; 10 batteries of mountain pieces; 48,000 Manser rifles; 150,000 Mausers of a different model, with 110,000,000 rounds of ammunition; 500,000 rounds of Winchester ammunition, calibre .44; 500,000 rounds of Remington ammunition; 80,000 Marten-Hale hand grenades; 25,000 cavalry sabres; 20 Colt machine guns, with 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition; 400 Hotchkiss machine guns; 500 sets of American harness for the use of the artillery corps; 177 armored automobiles with mounted machine guns; 50 automobiles of various makes; trucks for the service of store houses and ammunition factories; 10 aeroplanes for the aviation corps.

A contract has also been awarded to an Italian ship-builder for two military transports of 3,500 tons each, with four cannons of 75 mms. each.

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In the first six months of 1913 the Mexican Government sold to private parties 114,817 acres of National lands.

The surveying of National lands is progressing rapidly in the States of San Luis Potosi, Michoacan, Vera Cruz, Tabasco and Chiapas, the Territory of Lower California and the Federal District, with the assistance of the local Governments. Upon the completion of the surveying the lands will be sold or leased in small tracts.

At the present time the Government has ready for occupancy 36,795 acres of National lands, which will be awarded in small tracts in accord with the Government's policy to encourage the establishment of small farms.

Following this same policy the Government will award to small farmers 46,683 acres of the best land in the State of Morelos, which it has acquired from private owners.

In the new contracts for the leasing of National lands the Government will not grant great extensions to any single lessee, as was done formerly.

In the State of Vera Cruz 9,760 acres of National lands have been subdivided for the establishment of an agricultural colony. A contract has been entered into by the Government for the establishment of another colony in the State of Tabasco on 61,750 acres of National lands with the stipulation that the land revert to the Government if the concessionary company should make use of the land for speculation and not for the settlement of colonists, as agreed upon.

According to figures obtained by the Department of Promotion, the total area proper for the growing of forests in the Republic of Mexico is 247,000,000 acres. The area covered at present by timber is of about 25,000,000 acres, but the Department of Promotion is making successful efforts to increase this area.

In the Federal District alone 748,057 trees were planted in the last year, while during the same period 61,754 trees were planted in the different States of the Republic. The Government has at present in its nurseries 2,629,360 trees and is encouraging private initiative for the conservation and improvement of forestry.

The railroad traffic between Saltillo and Torreon has been re-established and the whole railroad situation has been greatly improved.

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The Mexican Government has received the proceeds from a loan of 15,000,000 pesos made by several Mexico City banks.

At the stockholders' meeting of the National Railways of Mexico, October 2, it was announced that the Government had paid the interest, aggregating $1,500,000, on the general mortgage bonds.

Negotiations are being carried on in London by Senator MacManus for a large loan to the Mexican Government by English bankers.

SCHOOLBOYS IN MEXICO CITY RECEIVING MILITARY TRAINING.

## Peace Progress.

Military operations against the rebels, which have been been conducted steadily and successfully, culminated last week in several decisive Federal victories. The main forces of rebels under Villa and other leaders in the State of Chihuahua were severely defeated at Santa Rosalia and the remnants of the scattered rebels forced to take refuge in the State of Durango. The whole force under Jesus Carranza and Pablo Gonzales in the State of Coahuila was repeatedly defeated by the Federal column commanded by General Maas, who swept the northeastern part of the State, recapturing one by one all the points held by the rebels up to Ciudad Porfirio Diaz.

Thus the backbone of the rebellion in Coahuila and in Chihuahua was broken and the whole northern border came again under the control of the Government with the exception of the Sonora line and the single point of Matamoras, at the extreme southeast.

Federals in several columns are now advancing against Matamoros, which is expected to fall into their hands within a few days.

Durango and the northwestern part of Zacatecas are now the last strongholds of the rebel bands, besides the Fuerte district in Sinaloa, and Sonora. Federal columns under the command of General Rasgado have been sent to Sinaloa and General Trucy Aubert will enter Durango.

Railroad traffic between Torreon and Monterrey has been reestablished and trains are now running daily and regularly on the direct route between Mexico City and Laredo and between Ciudad Juarez and Chihuahua. Communication between Torreon and Chihuahua will soon be reopened, as well as between Torreon and Zacatecas. The work of repairing the railroads between these points is advancing rapidly.

# El Pasograms

El Paso (Tex.), Oct. 1.—(Exclusive Dispatch.) A. Gonzales, describing himself as a special financial agent of the Sonora revolution, almost starved to death at Columbus, N. M., yesterday, while trying to exchange $26,000 Sonora State currency for one standard size hand-picked ham sandwich. Gonzales crossed the line at some point near Columbus with the fiat money in his overalls, and attempted to pass it for the makings of a square meal. The restaurant keeper in Columbus said he would be glad to accommodate him, but his wife had put down all the carpets and needed no padding for the pantry shelves. Finally the Mexican appealed to the United States soldiers of the Thirteenth Cavalry, and he was given a feed after the money had been taken from him by the commanding officer.—Los Angeles "Times."

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(Special to the New York "Herald.")

Hermosillo, Mexico, Saturday. Early to-day the Constitutionalist force, consisting of about two thousand men, with four cannon, attacked Hermosillo. The town was defended by about an equal force of Federals. Fighting lasted all day. The result is not yet known.

And we thought Hermosillo was in the hands of the rebels and was the Carranza headquarters!

We learn something new every day from the New York "Herald."

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(Special Despatch to the New York "Herald.")

Hermosilla, Sonora, Mexico, Thursday.—The Constitutionalists' diplomatic agent in Paris, Miguel Diaz Lombardo, cabled to General Carranza that President Huerta has instructed his agent to "obtain an immediate loan of $20,000,000 from French banks on any conditions; case absolutely necessary. Cable funds within a week or all French vessels in Mexican waters will be sunk."

General Carranza replied:—"Publish in French press that no loan made to so-called Huerta government will be recognized by the Constitutional government."

The competition between the New York "Herald's" special correspondent in Hermosillo and the El Paso fellows is daily becoming more exciting. In fact, Hermosillo is now out-elpasoing El Paso.

That probable sinking of French vessels in Mexican waters is—

Probable, did we say? Inevitable! Since Carranza says he will not recognize any loan and therefore, of course, the French bankers will not lend the money.

Well, the Merritt Wrecking Company is on the job (unpaid advertisement).

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(Special Despatch to the New York "Herald.")

Hermosillo, Mexico, Monday.—Eight hundred Federals, in an armored train, sortied yesterday from Guaymas, but were driven back by the Constitutionalists, who advanced from their position at Maytorena and occupied Batamotal, twelve miles from Guaymas.

Because of the Federal forces at Losmochis last week, General Ojeda has been relieved and ordered to Mexico City. General Blanquet succeeds him.

The "Herald" has a good rebel victory story almost every day. Their general accuracy can be gauged by the above statement regarding General Blanquet's succeeding General Ojeda.

General Blanquet was reappointed Minister of War on October 6.

# THROUGH BRITISH EYES

Extracts from an article by SYDNEY BROOKS in the October "North American Review."

* * * But no American President has two greater incentives to circumspection in his dealings with the southern Republic than this. He cannot but be acutely aware that a war between Mexico and the United States would inflame all Spanish American sentiment against the latter country and would undo whatever has been accomplished by Mr. Root and Mr. Knox and the Pan American Union in winning the good will of the Central and South American Governments. South America in general, and the Republics that are dotted round the shores of the Caribbean in particular, perfectly well realize that they have more to fear from the United States than from any European country. They remember Panama and the American treatment of Cuba and San Domingo. They have studied the Nicaragua Treaty that Mr. Bryan sprang upon the Senate last July, and they detect in its provisions a formula for the expansion of American authority that may easily lend itself to repetition. They observe that the habit of interfering in Central American affairs for the purpose of enforcing what Mr. Roosevelt used to call a standard of "decency" is growing more and more popular at Washington, and that large numbers of Americans are becoming accustomed to regarding their country as the natural policeman and official receiver of the neighboring Republics; and they would one and all consider intervention in Mexico as a direct and definite menace to themselves.

The other and yet stronger argument in favor of a strict neutrality is that the United States is ill-prepared, politically and materially, for the alternative. To seize and hold the three or four strategic points in Mexico might be a comparatively simple matter, but to dominate the country and to wage the inevitable guerilla warfare that would ensue would require at least 250,000 men and probably three or four years of time. It would be by far the biggest and most hazardous undertaking on which the United States has embarked since the Civil War. That at least is certain, but the extent of the commitments that would be incurred after the pacification of the country had been effected is beyond computation. They might easily involve a permanent occupation of Mexican territory and full responsibility for its government. No sensible American, I take it, wishes to put his hand into a hornet's nest like that, or would regard it as anything but a national disaster if the United States were to become involved in such endless and complex liabilities. * * *

That is a prospect of such tremendous import and would entail, were it to be realized, so great a dissipation of the national wealth and energy and so far-spreading and intricate a series of political and constitutional problems that to prevent its realization at almost any cost is the first duty of American statesmanship. * * *

President Taft met the situation—I quote his own words—by a policy of "patient non-intervention, steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation, and the exertion of every effort to care for American interests." * * *

In President Taft's version of his policy, quoted above, I have made prominent the words "steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation." The President, it will be seen, made it the second plank in his platform, putting it immediately after non-intervention and immediately in front of the protection of American interests. The point is of particular interest because it is precisely here that Mr. Wilson has departed from his predecessor's policy, and it is precisely because he has departed from it that the present tension exists. General Huerta stepped into the Mexican Presidency a week or so before Mr. Wilson entered the White House. There at once came up the question whether the United States should accord recognition to the new ruler as the "constituted authority." Had Mr. Taft remained in power the question would have been speedily settled and Mexico to-day would be on the way to tranquility. * * *

His strong common sense would have prevented him from inquiring too closely or pedantically into the title of a President of a Spanish-American State in a time of revolution. So long as the new head of the State gave proof of resolution and capacity—and General Huerta has given proof of both qualities Mr. Taft would have treated with him, even though he was unable to produce a certificate of his election from the receiving officer, and even though charity itself could not pretend that he was anything more than a successful military adventurer. As for my second assumption, that an early recognition of General Huerta would by now have brought Mexico within sight of peace and security, the whole course of events in the past half-year appears to justify it. As Mexico's immediate and most powerful neighbor, with a stake in the country greatly in excess of that of any other nation, America's attitude toward the Republic necessarily means more, and carries with it greater implications and significance than the attitude of all other Governments put together. * * *

Whatever the defects of the General's title to his office—I believe as a matter of fact that a court would decide it to be perfectly valid according to Mexican law—the fact remains that he has for six months defended it successfully and by methods that seem equally removed from the indecisiveness of Madero and the high-handedness of Diaz. That is a fact which, in the opinion of British onlookers, ought to count. That it has not counted with the authorities at Washington is ascribed by some observers to the influence of commercial and financial interests, and by others—and they, in my judgment, are nearer the mark—to a certain squeamishness of conscience which prevents the American Executive from having any direct dealings with a ruler of General Huerta's reputedly unpleasant record. * * *

American diplomacy, in short, appears in British eyes to have landed itself in a mesh of rather puerile inconsistencies. It will not itself intervene nor allow any other Power to do so; it will not recognize General Huerta; it disputes alike his authority and his power to restore order; at the same time it announces its intention of holding him severely to account in the event of injury to American lives or property; it draws a picture of a country unable to fulfil its international obligations and plunging deeper and deeper into the morass of civil war, and proposes a general election as a suitable remedy; it fixes on the one man who has shown himself competent to cope with local conditions and insists that he must retire from the forthcoming contest; it demands the immediate cessation of hostilities, but offers no inducement, financial or political, by way of loan or of diplomatic support, to this desirable end, and apparently expects all the bands of brigands in Mexico to compose their differences and abandon their agreeably exciting mode of life at the mere request of the United States; and finally it winds up by warning all Americans in Mexico, who have lived through three years of revolution and ought by this time to be pretty good judges of the local situation, to leave the country as speedily as may be, promising them the assistance of the American Government in their flight. The net result of this extraordinary array of recommendations has been to inflame Mexican resentment to a pitch that makes the possibilities of intervention no longer remote. In his message to Congress, President Wilson stated that "if Mexico can suggest any better way in which the United States can show its friendship we are more than willing to consider the suggestion." In the opinion of the outside world "the better way" has long ago been indicated. It consists in recognizing General Huerta without any further reservations. * * *

# PUBLIC OPINION

## President Wilson's Voice

Secretary Daniels in his Indianapolis speech on Wednesday demanded of the journalists of the country "the quickening of all ennobling sentiments until the ethical principle is firmly established in American journalism that the voice of the nation's head once expressed on a foreign question is the voice of the united country.'

The doctrine of "lese majeste," which Secretary Daniels hopes to see accepted by the press in the United States, may prevail in European empires and kingdoms, although it is seldom actually invoked even there. It will certainly never be accepted by "The Times."

If, through the egotism and blunders of President Wilson, a war should be precipitated between this country and any foreign power, "The Times" would cordially and loyally support the President in his war measures. But in doing this it would not therefore indorse his mistake or cry hosanna to his egotism.

"The voice of the nation's head"—as Secretary Daniels designates the utterances of President Wilson—on the Mexican question was—

1. That President Huerta murdered ex-President Madero.

2. That because of such murder President Wilson would not recognize Huerta as provisional President of Mexico, although he had been elected by the Mexican Congress, recognized by the Mexican Supreme Court, was in control of the army and navy and all the civil departments and had been recognized by practically all the governments of Europe and Asia.

3. That President Wilson demanded that President Huerta should resign his Presidency and pledge himself not to be a candidate for election by the Mexican people.

The first of these assumptions of President Wilson—that Huerta murdered Madero—was warranted probably as a suspicion, but was not clearly established by the evidence, and later testimony and the verdict of a court of inquiry leave it in doubt whether Madero was not accidentally killed by his own adherents, who were trying to aid him to escape.

The second assumption is utterly unwarranted, even if the first one were correct. Under the law of nations as expounded by all European and American writers on international law President Huerta was entitled to recognition as provisional President, no matter how he obtained the place, and "the voice of the nation's head," differing from all the voices of all the nations of the world, was an ill-considered, not to say an upstart and egotistical, voice.

The third assumption of President Wilson, that he has a right not only to order the resignation of Huerta, but to forbid his future candidacy for office in Mexico, is so utterly without warrant from any point of view, so ridiculously absurd, that for Secretary Daniels to claim that Mr. Wilson's voice in this respect is the "voice of a united country" is as if one were to assert that the bray of a misguided donkey is the roar of a mighty lion.

Secretary Daniels complains "that the attitude of some of the newspapers of the United States and occasional expressions by well-known Americans might have given the impression that the people were divided in their opinion on this subject of the recognition of the Huerta regime."

Secretary Daniels draws an illogical conclusion from an erroneous premise. The American people are not "divided in opinion" with respect to the unwisdom of President Wilson's action and the inconsiderateness of President Wilson's utterances. They are united in the opinion that President Wilson was wrong—utterly wrong—in both. They are further of the opinion that his action and utterances have obstructed the restoration of peace and orderly government in the Mexican republic and have added to the dangers and difficulties of Americans therein. The remedy of President Wilson for these evils—that Americans should run away from Mexico, assisted by the United States, second-class—does not increase the disposition of Americans to believe that "the voice of the nation's head is the voice of the united country."

"The Times" is forced to the conclusion that the voice of President Wilson on either foreign or domestic questions is not the voice of the nation, but the voice of an arrogant, obstinate, self-opinionated pedagogue, who has carried his schoolmaster habits into the White House. He may escape criticism from those

"Who bend the pregnant hinges of the knee
That thrift may follow fawning."

He will not escape it from "The Times."
—Los Angeles Times.

## A Diplomatic Diamond

It is amazing the United States should have said to Mexico that she must do this and must not do that. But for the idea of overlordship in all the affairs of all the Governments and countries in this Western Hemisphere, as expressed by Hannis Taylor in his work on international law, the position that has been taken by the American Government in the Mexican troubles would be the subject of world-wide merriment. It is no laughing matter, however, as the European Powers probably regard it. American overlordship means that America is taking a good many chances. It is a brave thing for America to do; but is it a wise thing?

It must be confessed, however, that there was never anything exactly like the diplomacy of the United States in this Mexican matter. It is most remarkable that the United States should interfere with the purely domestic affairs of a friendly nation to the extent of saying that any particular person shall not be a candidate for the chief magistracy of that country and that an election in that country shall be held under the supervision of this country.

It is, in effect, a declaration that Mexico is, in the exercise of one of the highest attributes of sovereignty—the right to govern itself in its own way under its own rules—a dependency of the United States. Had Mr. Wilson made the point very clearly that he was carrying out and extending the Monroe Doctrine as defined by Grover Cleveland, there could have been no misunderstanding of his diplomacy in this case. If he is not doing that, there is no ground for his course.—J. C. H. in the Phila. "Ledger."

It is quite conceivable that, had the United States assumed any other attitude than it did, Huerta never would have found himself in a situation so singularly auspicious to the conception of such a message. That very animus of the Wilson administration which was supposed to militate against his power and influence only went far enough to prove the greatest element of his strength. —Houston "Chronicle."

## The Church Speaks

The Rev. W. Ellsworth Lawson of the Congregational Church at Foxboro, Mass., who was for twelve years in ministerial work in Mexico City, is frankly for recognition of Huerta. Speaking recently to his congregation he said:

"It seems to be that America faces two propositions only: First, the recognition, without conditions, of Huerta, a provisional President; second, American intervention and occupation. All the rest is, in my opinion, sheer sentimentalism. The fine talk of a 'free and open Presidential election' is, whether Huerta be a candidate or not, the funniest of all the solemn palaver that has come from the Government and the press for many months."

Concerning intervention Mr. Lawson says:

"I have talked with several army men on that dreadful proposition (intervention), and I have yet to find one who would really welcome it. It would be, as an officer remarked to me sixteen months ago, 'a dirty job, compared with which the Cuban war was a Sunday school picnic.'

"Shall the United States, then, recognize Huerta? It seems to me the only alternative. Though one knows not these days what an hour may bring forth, I do not believe that Huerta and those who stand behind him have the slightest intention of weakening. He is the one strong man who has been thrown to the top by the great political earthquake."

## Latin-American Troubles

The "South American Supplement" of the London "Times" of August 26 publishes an article on "Revolutions in Latin America," in which the author remarks on the absence of "any serious attempt to study their causes, origin, meaning and objects," and proceeds to attempt to fill that need. He thinks that the very ubiquity of such troubles must presuppose a common cause which it "should be possible to ascertain as a preliminary step to their remedy."

Proceeding, the author traces the republican origin of all of these countries "except Brazil, which remained a monarchy until 1889;" he thinks that the constitutions adopted have been in the main "misfits," and that therein lies the main cause of unrest.

"This statement will probably profoundly shock many very worthy Latin-Americans, but its proof lies in the history of all

the Republics for the last century, a history bristling with civil wars, revolutions, military mutinies, transient dictatorships, frequent lapses from Constitutional rule, and other evidences of an unstable political life. The Presidents, the good ones as often as the bad, chafe under the restrictions imposed upon them, and few have escaped the accusation of violating the Constitution in spirit or in letter; the legislators make little or no attempt to defend and enforce Constitutional principles; the people and the political parties, civilians and soldiers, are constantly restive, and fail to find satisfactory outlets for their aspirations or remedies for their grievances by constitutional methods."

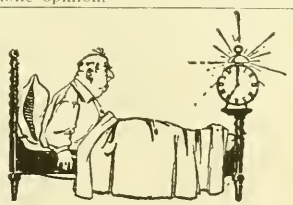
South Americans cannot be supposed to be naturally unruly, for after all, save in Central America, they are mostly transplanted Europeans, and * * * there is nothing in their blood, inherited ideas or traditions, to render them more ungovernable than their European cousins to-day.

The fault, then, must lie with the rules under which they live politically; it is not that the Constitutions are bad, nor the people at fault; it is, "merely that they are unsuited to each other."

The democratic and representative methods suitable to English and Americans are not the right thing—and as a natural result the tendency is "in the direction of a more autocratic form of government."

Representative government has not been a success, but on the other hand "it may be urged that representative government cannot be said to have broken down, since it has never been properly tried. That is to some extent true, but the greater truth is that the principles upon which it is based are not yet properly understood either by the people themselves or by their governors, despite their professions of democratic ideas. This may be seen very plainly at the elections, though the point is one requiring fuller elaboration than can be given to it here. A South American election, even at its best, is only a struggle for partisan predominance, and in no case a method of consulting the wishes of the people upon any point of public policy.

"The political, economical, educational religious, and other problems that agitate the constituencies in the democracies of Europe and the United States, though they equally exist in South America, are not referred to the people in any form, and the candidate who appealed for electoral support on the strength of his views on these problems would be regarded as a candidate not for Parliamentary honors so much as for the lunatic asylum. Thus, though an election may afford some indication of relative party strength—and that only very imperfectly—it affords no indication at all of public opinion."

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## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

Latin peoples, the author proceeds, have neither the habit nor the tradition of submitting their problems to the popular voice and it is this fact that makes their divergence from the theoretical representative government modeled on that of the United States so great.

"Experience has shown that in this part of the world it is a frankly autocratic government which generally gives the best results, provided the men at the head of affairs are fairly honest, intelligent, and patriotic."

Military rulers were the inevitable result of the circumstances under which these countries first came into being, the writer of the article thinks; even in times of peace he was the safest leader, and all the governments still have a military and not a "popular" basis.

"How powerless a South American government can be when its own armed forces are turned against it has been illustrated by recent events in Brazil and Paraguay."

This system has become so well established that "the South American people would hardly understand any other form of government," and any attempt at change puts the country "out of gear."—"Pan-American Magazine."

## Other Points of View

"The administration at Washington was not warranted in assuming the role of dictator in enforcing the requirements of the Mexican constitution and might well have satisfied itself with assuming that the de facto President of that nation would recognize and obey its constitutional law."—Philadelphia "Bulletin."

"Statements such as made by Senator Sherman are ill-advised, ignorant and useless. There are thousands of Americans now in Mexico who know the absurdity of his statement that "no American with a home in Mexico is safe." He declares that 1,000 American lives have been sacrificed and $20,000,000 of American property ruined or destroyed. There is nothing to support this; the claims are so large it is obvious he is woefully 'off' in his guessing. It would be interesting to know from what source the Senator procured his 'figures.'"—San Antonio "Express."

"It is generally believed in Mexico," says E. B. Harrison of the Parral district, "that the recognition of the Huerta government at Washington and the enforcement of the neutrality laws would result in the restoration of peace in Mexico before Christmas. There is a feeling among the wealthy Mexicans of northern Mexico that the people of El Paso are not inclined to help toward restoring peace and order in Mexico. Indeed, one of the wealthiest men in the Jiminez district told me that if the business men of El Paso would try they could do a great deal toward bringing the Washington government to a better understanding of conditions in Mexico and the importance of asking a more definite stand to bring about peace."—El Paso "Times."

Branding the conditions under which American men and women are being shipped from Mexico to the United States under orders of the State Department as shameful and inhuman, J. T. Willett, American resident of the Southern Republic for half a century, declares that he voices the sentiment of 50,000 other American "refugees" when he asks, "Now that we are here what are you going to do with, and for us?"

Willett declares that the policy of the State Department, "which none of the American residents of Mexico seems to understand," is causing American producers to lose millions of dollars. He declares that while Americans are prohibited from carrying out their contracts to furnish the Mexicans with food and clothing by the policy of the State Department, the producers of England, Germany, France, and other foreign countries are reaping a harvest.

"I would be guilty of high treason, I am told, if I fulfilled contracts for potatoes and other foodstuffs, involving $385,000, with a people who have not planted a crop for three years," said Willett last night "Yet in the port of Vera Cruz one can see scores of heavily laden foreign vessels literally taking the trade away from the Americans right under their noses.

"We are told to leave Mexico. We arrive here as prodigals, and what happens? Surely there is no killing of the fatted calf for the prodigal's return. Instead the wolf seems to draw closer to the door.

"It is a shame to see the way in which respectable and decently bred American women have to sleep on cots during the journey home from Mexico in the dirty quarters of certain vessels. Their companions for the most part are a lower order of colored natives, Chinamen, and rough foreigners.

"When I arrived in New York, after hearing that my $385,000 contracts were not worth the paper they were written on, I received $5 for my expenses to San Antonio. My case is only one of thousands of similar cases. I have made the journey home and have no more hardships to endure, but I speak with the hope of probably remedying conditions for those who are to come to the States from Mexico later."

Willett declares that the Administration's policy toward Huerta will make him accept the Presidency of Mexico.

"Suppose a Japanese fleet should enter one of our harbors and tell the people of the United States that Mr. Wilson would have to resign," said Willett. "Why, every American with red blood in his veins would jump right up and declare that Wilson was their man, and he would remain despite consequences. That's how the Mexicans feel. It seems assured that Huerta will continue to handle the reins in Mexico indefinitely. He is daily becoming more and more an idol in the hearts of Mexicans.—Washington "Herald."


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# "MEXICO"

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## Roosevelt in Latin America

Theodore Roosevelt is on his way to visit the three most powerful, advanced and progressive Republics of South America—Argentine, Chile and Brazil—where in a series of lectures he will make known his views on democracy.

Even to so remarkably well-informed a man as Roosevelt much that he will see in these South American countries will be a revelation. He will gather first-hand evidence of wonderful material and political progress.

Whether Theodore Roosevelt is destined to be President of the United States again or not, he will assuredly continue to wield great influence in the political life of this country. The personal contact of such a man with the South American people and their mutual acquaintance will undoubtedly greatly benefit our relations with the countries below the Canal.

It was during Roosevelt's Administration that Elihu Root, then Secretary of State paid an extended visit to all the nations of Latin America. Root's presence in those countries and the first-hand knowledge he acquired of their people did much to dissipate a certain feeling of antagonism to the United States, and consequently to improve our friendly and commercial relations with them.

Some of the feeling of antagonism has been reawakened by the extremes to which "dollar democracy" was carried under the Taft Administration, and especially by the attitude of the present Administration toward Latin-American countries.

While Roosevelt is supposed to be the personification of the "big stick," Latin-Americans will like him for his frankness and ready understanding of other people's characteristics.

Whatever they may think of Roosevelt's international policies, Latin-Americans feel that at least they know where they stand with him.

They will not hear from him soft, mellifluous expressions of friendship in direct contradiction to his actions.

Roosevelt is a widely travelled man and whatever his faults, he is not narrow-minded nor hypocritical. He is human.

To a man like Roosevelt as President of the United States brandishing the "big stick," Latin-Americans could oppose their strength.

To hypocritical declarations of friendship and covert, high-handed methods they could oppose only silent hatred, which would be reflected in all their social and commercial relations with this country.

Roosevelt will make many friends in Latin-America.

## Help the Blunderers

Whether the forthcoming elections in Mexico provide the Washington Administration with an opportunity to retire with more or less grace from its anomalous position, or whether certain exigencies require the continuance of the ad interim organization, the fact will always remain and in the light of history will be clear that the failure of Washington to recognize the Mexican Provisional Government was a monumental blunder and the greatest single factor strengthening the arm of rebellion.

The extraordinary military success of the Federals within six or seven months' time, postponed as it was by financial embarrassments, is an earnest of what the Government could have accomplished with the money the Madero faction took from the National treasury. What it could more readily have done with the moral support of United States recognition. What it can and will do if given half a chance. Peace in Mexico could have been a settled fact to-day were it not for the Administration's academic, arbitrary attitude. When we realize that this means that hundreds of human lives, millions in money, and other millions in property would have been saved does it not seem a startling, inconsistent, irresponsible, self-contradictory thing for the Administration to say that it is a friend of Mexico and the Mexican people?

Is it not conceivable that some moral responsibility may rest in Washington for those hundreds who have been killed?

For the last few years the situation in Mexico has not been a picnic. Neither has it been a pink-tea nor a Sunday school outing. It has been a stern reality of brigandage and bloodshed, which has had to be and must still be met, not with inconsequential theories, but with physical power.

Perhaps the intelligent leaders of the Provisional Government may find some way short of national humiliation or hurt to help the Washington blunderers out. Patriotism may demand it. There are some people who will never admit they have made a mistake. This kind of person rarely reaches the heights of power, but if accidentally he does, Heaven help the weaker victim of his mistake.

**Read "MEXICO" Once a week and Learn What's What Below the Rio Grande**

## Things to Think About

President Wilson has made it clear to the world that neither his Administration nor the people of the United States have any desire or intention to intervene in Mexico by force of arms. That some newspapers and jingo statesmen have openly or by implication advocated such a course has had no weight with the great majority of the people.

There is a certain specious appeal in the idea that when American lives and property are in jeopardy American soldiers should protect them. But when this military protection involves war with another nation, a war that would cost the lives of thousands of Americans and untold millions of dollars, it is time to pause and consider, especially when there is no evidence that the dangers to Americans in Mexico have been any greater than would be the dangers to foreigners in this country in case of civil strife. Also when it is taken into consideration that the Administration has refused to lend its moral support and closed the sources of financial support to the constituted authorities of Mexico, checking and interfering with their plans to restore peaceful conditions and encouraging the elements who prolong the troubles of the country.

## Public Opinion

In this issue of MEXICO more space is devoted than heretofore to articles and items that might be classified under the general head of "Public Opinion." From all points of view, from all kinds of people who know the conditions in Mexico, have come spontaneous expressions of opinion in the public press and in magazines. With remarkable unanimity they confirm what we have contended all along—that the attitude taken by the Washington Administration was based on a thorough misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Mexican affairs and that its only influence has been toward the continuance and encouragement of disorder in Mexico. We could fill a publication three times as voluminous as MEXICO every week with such statements from Americans in Mexico and from unbiased students of Mexico and Mexican conditions.

In presenting the case of Mexico as it really is, this publication is not advancing any individual opinion that is not the opinion of virtually every American in Mexico and the universal opinion of all well-informed, unbiased persons interested in Mexican affairs.

"Huerta Tottering," "Huerta Hemmed In," "Huerta at the End of His Rope," "The Fall of a Tyrant," "Oh, Mexico!" and so on we read for six months in the Munsey papers. And now they are ominously silent on the subject. What is the matter with the Munsey newspapers? Getting discouraged? Or perhaps the prophetic imagination has run dry?

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1.—NO. 9 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1913 FIVE CENTS

# UNITED STATES COURTING WAR

Viewed in the light of past historical events the present status of relations between the United States and Mexico must be regarded as foreshadowing war.

Ever since the first appearance of MEXICO we have been showing that the situation as created by the policy of our Administration was fraught with great dangers. That non-recognition of the Huerta Government, meddling in the politics of Mexico with the consequent encouragement to the lawless elements of that Republic, were bringing about such conditions as would draw this country into a war which the people do not want and which could not be justified in the eyes of the world.

Before us and with us hundreds of men familiar with Mexican affairs have voiced these views.

We have now arrived at the breaking-point and responsibilities must be fixed. It is with gravest concern that the people of this country are viewing the present situation, because there exists a profound conviction that the danger could have been honorably and justly avoided.

The truth is that the Administration has been courting war while professing a policy of peace.

That this has been done unintentionally and in good faith is generally believed, but it must be admitted that the Administration has refused to take into consideration any evidence which would have proved its course wrong and has rejected the advice of men who knew.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Americans who have lived in Mexico and know its people and conditions have either personally or in writing made representations to the State Department advising recognition of the Huerta Government as the only step that could assist in the re-establishment of peace in Mexico and eventually make possible the elections of new magistrates representing the popular will as much as popular will can be expressed in Mexico.

Not one of those men received a satisfactory hearing. They were considered unscrupulous persons who had no thought for high moral principles, but only for their own selfish interests.

Demands were made upon the Huerta Government which no government in the world, bad or good, could have accepted. They constituted the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of another country and an unwarranted affront to the man who was at the head of the government of that country.

The newspapers supporting the Administration have emptied their vocabulary of insults on the Mexican Government and have encouraged the forces of rebellion and brigandage.

Neither tact nor consideration for the feelings of Mexicans nor again even the most elementary proprieties which are usually observed by civilized peoples in dealing with other nations, have been observed even by high officials of the Administration.

Imagine, for instance, Webster or Buchanan or Hay or Root or any of the statesmen—of whom fortunately for our country there has been no dearth in the past—making the following declarations as reported by the "Evening Sun" of September 24:

### "GET RID OF HUERTA."

**Senator Bacon Says That is the Object of Our Policy.**

Washington, Sept. 24.—The frank announcement that to get rid of President Huerta is the chief object of the policy of the United States in the Mexican situation was made to-day by Senator Bacon of Georgia. The Senator's statement was made following a conference with Secretary of State Bryan.

"Conditions in Mexico seem to be improving," said Senator Bacon. "At any rate it looks as if we would get get rid of Huerta, and that's the chief thing."

Whatever the opinion of the Administration in regard to the legality of the Huerta

(Continued on next page)

If upon the firing on Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, and during eight months thereafter the Southern members of the American Congress had remained in Washington. If they had been the beneficiaries of a special privilege by which they were immune from arrest and could not be tried by ordinary courts of justice. If under the protection of this privilege they conspired against the Lincoln Administration, keeping in constant communication with the Confederates and putting every obstacle in Lincoln's way. If the Southern Congressmen from the seceding States had done all this, what would have been their fate?

Would they have been arrested and tried? Or would they have been allowed to pursue their work of treason?

If it had been found that the American Congress at that time held in its very heart the undermining element which was making for destruction of the Union, would not Lincoln have been justified in adopting such measures as were necessary to destroy the canker?

If he had, would England then have been justified in intervening or meddling and dictating to Lincoln what he should do?

Now, think this over for a moment. Because it will bring home to you the exact situation in Mexico City to-day.

Government this has been acknowledged as the Constitutional Provisional Government of Mexico by the great majority of Mexicans. Therefore the affronts piled on that Government have been resented by those who have supported it. There has been hardly a foreigner in Mexico who has not asserted of late that if the Huerta Government had been recognized peace would now reign in Mexico. There is not one foreigner in Mexico, whether in sympathy or not with the Government, who will not admit that no revolutions would long exist in Mexico if it were not for the moral and material help which they receive from the American side of the Rio Grande.

Moral and material help has been openly given to rebels and bandits and their cause has been espoused even by members of the United States Senate.

The Governor of Arizona has made a special trip to the border to shake hands with Carranza, one of the rebel leaders.

Is it not natural that in view of all this Mexicans are becoming convinced that this country has sinister designs upon their independent life and territory? They—and with them all foreigners who know Mexico—cannot believe that such support is given to rebels and bandits because of a desire on the part of this country to encourage democracy in Mexico. Rebel leaders of to-day were the government officials of yesterday and as such they gave ample proof of their self-seeking ambitions and of their ability to make a travesty of democracy.

General Huerta had set upon his government the task of restoring peace in Mexico. Had hoped to receive at least the moral support of this country in doing so. Had called to elections for October 26. All of his actions have been subjected to suspicion by the Washington Administration. The step taken by Secretary Bryan in sending instructions to the American Charge d'Affaires directing him to inform the Huerta Government that the United States would view with great displeasure the befalling of any injury to the arrested deputies constituted another gratuitous affront to that Government.

A dispatch to the New York "Sun" of October 14 stated that such action had been recommended by Mr. Lind but had been disapproved by John Bassett Moore, Acting Secretary of State, earlier in the day. The dispatch added: "The fact that Mr. Bryan, returning from a week's vacation and necessarily having only meagre reports on what had happened, should have overruled the acting secretary without consulting him caused a good deal of comment here to-day."

The declaration of President Wilson that he cannot consider the coming Mexican elections as legal in view of the Mexican Congress' having been dissolved and that he will not recognize the President then elected has greatly added to the gravity of the situation.

## COURTING WAR---(Continued)

The approaching date in which permission for American warships to remain in Mexican waters will expire may be the date for serious complications if the Administration determines to keep the warships there. Mexico is a signer to the Hague Conference and may appeal to that tribunal to settle the dispute which may then arise, but the temper of the Mexican people must be reckoned with.

Every step that the Administration has taken in regard to Mexico has been one to goad President Huerta into doing what he had not intended to do. A situation has been brought about that has compelled him to take the reins into his own hands or let Mexico perish in the throes of anarchy.

One of our friends, prominent in Washington political circles, has illustrated the Administration attitude with a well-fitting story. He said that the Administration reminded him of a certain woman who valued very highly an artistic pitcher which had been presented to her. One day her husband was descending the stairs in their house carrying the precious pitcher. He slipped and fell. To save the pitcher he held it over his head and was deprived of the use of the hand to save himself from the fall.

He struck his back and was suffering excruciating pains when from the top of the stairs where his wife had hastened upon hearing the noise of the fall came her angry voice: "Did I not tell you to be careful of that pitcher? What have you done? Did you break it?" Not a word about his being hurt.

The husband straightened up as well as he could and sputtered: "No, I didn't break it, damn it—**but now I will!**" Whereupon he dashed the pitcher upon the floor below.

Secretary Bryan in a recent article on peace published in the "Independent" says that history will show us that trivial causes have been responsible for some of our bitterest wars.

How can he be blind to the dangers lurking in the present situation brought about by his own policy?

Ignorance of Mexican conditions and Mexican character is the most charitable interpretation which can be put on the Administration's atitude toward Mexico.

But it was just such ignorance that finally determined the war of 1848. Lockhardt Rives, in his admirable book just published, "The United States and Mexico," interprets the policy of the Polk administration as due to ignorance. Referring to the demands made upon the Mexican Government shortly before the war broke out and just after the Oregon question had been settled with England, he says:

"That this display of force provoked the Mexicans, and induced them to fight rather than to bargain, proves nothing as to the intentions of the American cabinet. It shows, perhaps, nothing more than their ignorance of Mexican nature. John Bull might be looked straight in the eye, and spoken to firmly and boldly to some advantage; but John Bull had a good deal to lose, while Mexico had nothing except her dignity. But she valued dignity above money or land. 'The Mexican,' said Henry Addington, who was Under-Secretary in the British Foreign Office, and knew the Spanish character well, 'the Mexican is like a mule—if you spur him too much he will back off the precipice with you'; and Polk and his advisers had yet a good deal to learn both of mules and men."

These words fit the present situation perfectly.

It must be remarked, however, that President Polk's policy was frankly and avowedly one of expansion to the Pacific Coast. That it was probably his intention of acquiring the Western territory by purchase and not by a war of conquest. That viewed in the light of practical events some justification may perhaps be found for the war of 1848 in the fact that the territory then acquired was occupied by a far larger number of Americans than Mexicans.

But President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have declared themselves in favor of peace, have made it clear that the United States is not seeking acquisition of new territory and have protested their great friendship for the Mexican people.

Secretary Bryan has gone to the extent of saying at the banquet of the Pan-American Society a few months ago that there will not be war during the Wilson Administration. However, we repeat, he has been courting war. Only a man completely blind to the real situation could deny this. And Secretary Bryan at least could not even plead ignorance of the Latin-American characteristics, for he has traveled extensively in all Latin-America and he has come into personal contact with many Latin-Americans.

Friends of the Administration state that it is justified in the course it has taken because it does not consider that the Huerta Government has the support of the people. Here is where the most dangerous mistake is made. As another mistake is made when it is asserted that the majority of Mexicans would welcome American intervention.

It is sufficient to look back only a few years in Mexican history to the time of the French intervention in Mexico to understand the import of these mistakes.

The support enjoyed by Benito Juarez at that time was limited to a few Liberals and the masses were, in fact, against him because he had against him the Catholic Party, then the most numerous.

Before and during the period of intervention the French authorities issued numerous proclamations declaring that their presence in Mexico was solely for the purpose of helping the establishment of a strong government acceptable to the people. Also

(Continued on next page)

COURTING WAR—(Continued)

that they were not seeking territorial aggrandizement and would withdraw as soon as the government was established.

Benito Juarez headed the armed resistance against the French and the people flocked to his ranks.

In this connection, the "Imparcial" of Mexico City said editorially some time ago:

"The truth is that President Wilson has shown himself to be as weak politically as he is psychologically in dealing with national sentiments.

"Facing a foreign demand, any people will rally to the support of their government. This is in the heart of every people of the earth, and explains why a government or party becomes converted into a national cause when menaced by destruction or overthrow from beyond the boundaries of the homeland. The banner of Juarez spread until it covered the whole territory when a European monarch attempted to pull down the hands that sustained it, and from that moment it ceased to be the banner of a party, becoming, instead, that of a nation.

"But the president of the United States is not familiar with these solidarities of peoples; he has no precise knowledge of international relations, and is not aware that he cannot touch the highest personality of a state without touching also each unit of which that state is composed. The distinction which he makes between the Mexican government and Mexicans is humiliating. That is the reason why acceptance was impossible. Before the menace of a violation of our sovereignty, the government of Mexico is Mexico; we are all Mexicans.

"How could this sentiment have escaped the men at Washington? Why is it that they did not understand that the greatest support they could have given this government, which they would not recognize, was to turn to its assistance those who, heretofore, have been its most vehement and active opponents, but who, nevertheless, have not lost the desire to pass for good Mexicans?"

We do not want war with Mexico. But to him with eyes to see it is more than a possibility that we shall be forced into one by a peace-loving Administration.

## Labor Bureau's Work

A general strike in the Dos Estrellas Mine, one of the most productive in the world and largely owned by French capital, was prevented through the efforts of the Labor Bureau which forms part of the Department of Promotion, Industry and Colonization.

The Chief of the Bureau arranged a conference with the representatives of the miners and of the owners and served as intermediary in the negotiations which resulted in a peaceful solution.

Thus the Labor Bureau, the activities of which have greatly increased under the Huerta Government, has once more demonstrated its great usefulness.

# THE DISSOLUTION OF CONGRESS

That Mexico has not been aroused from border to border and from ocean to ocean by the dissolution of its Congress, but has on the contrary remained calm and expressed general approval of the Executive's action has been due to the fact that the dissolution had long been expected. Not only had it been announced as probable in press dispatches of a few weeks ago but in fact it had been advocated for several months both in the Mexican press and by many Mexicans who had a clear insight into the political situation of their country.

As early as last May "El Pais," in independent Mexico City newspaper, published a series of editorials criticizing the Government for its leniency toward a number of Congressmen who, while drawing their pay as members of the Chamber of Deputies, were either actively engaged in fomenting the rebellion in different parts of the country or were conspiring in Mexico City itself.

The Government even then possessed actual proof that not a few of the Congressmen belonging to the group called "Renovationist," composed of Maderists, were in secret communication with different bandit and rebel leaders and were engineering plots against the Government.

The desire of General Huerta to preserve all Constitutional forms and the hope that the patriotism of a majority of Congressmen would induce them to help the Executive in the pacification of the country induced him to disregard the warning of the press.

The privilege which the Mexican Constitution grants to members of Congress, rendering them immune from arrest, was used and abused by many of the Congressmen to follow with impunity their rebellious pursuits.

Encouraged by the evident animus of the Washington Administration against General Huerta, the Maderist Congressmen went so far as openly to accuse General Huerta of being a murderer. The disappearance from Mexico City of one of their members, Bordes Mangel, was made by them the subject of violent recriminations against President Huerta, whom they accused of being responsible for Bordes Mangel's death. General Huerta paid no attention to these accusations and Bordes Mangel appeared again at the opening of Congress.

He had kept in hiding for several days so that the report would go to the United States that he had been assassinated and thus help in influencing public opinion here against the Huerta Government at a time when the representatives of the rebels in Washington were making efforts to further enlist the support of the Administration and especially of certain Senators.

It was part of a prearranged plan which in a measure achieved the desired result, as the Bordes Mangel incident gave the opportunity to the "disinterested" friends of the rebels in Washington to push their campaign to obtain open recognition of the rebels' belligerancy and attract more sympathy to what they call the rebel "cause."

Not even the menace of foreign complications and the fact of interference in the interior politics of Mexico by the United States Government were sufficient to make the Maderist Congressmen desist from their policy of obstruction to all acts of the Executive.

For more than three weeks after the opening of Congress, on September 16th, the Maderist members made impossible the transaction of any business and spent their time in useless discussions, all of the Executive demands for various authorizations necessary to the continuance of the campaign against the rebels being sidetracked.

It became evident to all observers that an agreement between Congress and the Executive was impossible and that if complete political anarchy was to be prevented the dissolution of Congress was an imperative and immediate necessity.

The very life of the nation and the entity of the Government were threatened by conspiracy and rebellion in the heart of the Legislative power.

President Huerta took the only course open to him. He dissolved Congress and arrested the conspirators.

Not 110, as with the usual exaggeration the Associated Press reported, but 78 of them.

In dissolving the existing Congress President Huerta called general elections for October the twenty-sixth.

The fact that the dissolved Congress was composed of men largely appointed by the Madero Administration was sufficient reason to justify the assertion not only of the Government, but also of many Mexicans that those Congressmen did not represent the popular will.

It must be considered here that the dissolving of Congress is neither new in Mexican history nor in that of European powers where the parliamentary system is in vogue. In fact, it is a frequent occurrence in England, France, Italy, Spain and Germany.

It is true that Mexico has a Constitution which, being similar to that of the United States, does not contemplate the dissolving of Congress in the way contemplated in European constitutions, but there has been a strong movement in Mexico to adopt the parliamentary system as more adapted to the traditions, customs, and character of the people.

Men familiar with Mexican affairs and with present Mexican conditions both in and out

(Continued on next page)

## THE DISSOLUTION OF CONGRESS (Continued)

in Mexico have marveled at the fact that President Huerta did not dissolve Congress seven months ago. In fact, the great majority of these men found ground for criticism of General Huerta's policy in his forbearance toward those members of Congress who, protected by the privilege they enjoyed, were using it to undermine the Government of which they were supposed to form part.

# UNITED STATES ATTITUDE

Excitement over the dissolution of the Mexican Congress and the arrest of some Mexican deputies exists wholly and solely in this country.

In Mexico little attention has been paid to an event which in the opinion of many was inevitable. People there are still going about their business as usual. What is the cause of this howl raised in the newspapers which have been ardent advocates and supporters of President Wilson's policy in regard to Mexico? What is the cause of the displeasure and chagrin expressed by the "high officials" of the Administration at President Huerta's action?

The cause is purely psychological and can be readily explained in all its interesting aspects.

**Taxing its "ability" and energies to the utmost, the Washington Administration for many months has bent all its efforts to obtain one result: the removal of General Huerta—the object of its odium and animus—from the Mexican political field.** The aim of the Administration has been more or less cleverly disguised under the cloak of a desire to see peace reestablished in Mexico.

By dexterous press-agenting—in which the Administration excels, and in comparison with which even the Rooseveltian feats pale into ignominous insignificance—the impression was given broadcast through the United States that the Administration policy was directed toward the establishment of order and the protection of American citizens in Mexico.

Later, through the blundering declarations of some officials—especially those of a tactless Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the spokesman of the Administration—it became a matter of general conviction that the sole aim of the Administration was "to get rid of Huerta."

It mattered not if a large portion of the press of this country pointed out that the elimination of Huerta would not mean peace, but anarchy. It mattered not if hundreds of Americans who have lived in Mexico for many years and know Mexican conditions should either in person or by letter endeavor to change the Administration's attitude, presenting evidence that General Huerta is the one strong man cast on top of the situation by the upheaval of the last three years. It mattered not if from all quarters there came assertions supported by evidence and demonstrated by facts that General Huerta possessed the qualities necessary to the pacification of Mexico. It mattered not if requests were made that General Huerta be given a fair chance from this country to accomplish the task which he had set for himself and to which the most responsible elements of the Mexican population had called him.

The Administration had determined that Huerta should disappear from the political map of Mexico.

It sent John Lind to make proposals which no self-respecting Government could either accept or take into consideration. **It would be an insult to the men at the head of the United States Government to suppose for a moment that they ever believed that their proposals would be accepted. Why were they made? No answer can be given to this except that they were made with the intention that they should not be accepted.** In the same way it is impossible at this moment to know the true reason why the Administration has determined upon the elimination of the man who stands out as the only man who, since the fall of Porfirio Diaz, has demonstrated the ability and the honesty of purpose necessary to re-establish peace in Mexico. Perhaps events in the near future will give the clew to explain this antagonism.

Friends of the Administration have debelief that once Huerta was eliminated **the dove of peace would alight on Popocatepetl and, as if by magic, spread its wings over the Republic.**

Also to the conviction that General Huerta was the murderer of Madero and that his personal habits are distasteful to President Wilson and to Secretary Bryan. **Huerta drinks, they say. For shame!** It has been of no avail to remind the abstemious Secretary that General Grant also drank, and that when accused of this before Lincoln the latter declared that he would have given a great deal to know what brand the general used.

No, nothing has availed. The Administration's sympathies, as voiced from day to day by all the Washington correspondents who get their information first-hand, have been with the gentle, honest, law-abiding, blood-abhoring and constitution-fondling rebels. The Administration determined that Huerta should perish.

It brought to bear its bugaboo **moral force,** namely: Exodus of Americans from Mexico and a financial blockade, the "high officials" and the supporters of the Administration crying Hosanna! But Huerta did not weaken. On the contrary, he continued to make remarkable advances toward the reorganization of the country in spite of lack of financial help from outside and all the obstacles thrown in his way by Washington. The campaign against bandits and rebels continued successful with only one temporary setback—the fall of Torreon—largely discounted, however, by the Government occupation of all important cities in the northeastern part of Coahuila, including the rebel "capital," Piedras Negras.

The fall of Torreon was seized upon by some newspapers as occasion to point out with glee that the Administration policy was having the desired effect.

Suddenly the news came that General Huerta had dissolved Congress and jailed some of the deputies who had been conspiring against the Government. A cry of holy horror went up at Washington and it was echoed in every corner of the United States where there happens to be an Administration-loving newspaper.

"The Mexican Constitution has been stabbed," etc., etc.

**Why such a cry of horror? Because General Huerta has given one more proof of being the strong man of Mexico. In other words, because the Administration and its supporters are terribly disappointed** in their fondest hopes that General Huerta would be so weakened by the "moral" force brought to bear as to make inevitable his immediate riddance.

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(Special Despatch to the New York "Herald.")

Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, Monday.—General Carranza received to-day through the American Consul, Mr. Simpich, a lengthy message from Secretary Bryan dealing with several vital questions. The first item was a communication from the American Consul at Mazatlan, which place is still in the hands of the rebels, asking on behalf of American and foreign business men representing $10,000,000 in property that a war vessel be sent there at once to prevent looting should constitutionalists capture the place.

The second was in the matter of allowing foreigners to arm themselves for protection of property.

The third dealt with the question of the alleged forcing of foreigners to accept State currency and the fourth was a request that in all cases where the property of foreigners was taken as an act of war receipts be given therefor.

The fifth item dealt with the seizure by Rafael Bueina, claiming to be a constitutionalist leader operating in Sinaloa, of $1,000 in bullion belonging to the Panuco Mining Company, a Spanish concern; also $8,000 collected by force from the Rosaria Mining Company, an American corporation.

Mr. Bryan's communication closed by saying that from General Carranza's published statements he did not believe such proceedings were authorized or supported by the constitutionalists.

Why, of course not. Mr. Bryan would believe anything the "constitutionalists" would tell him so long as it was couched in the flowery periods so dear to his heart.

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### AMERICANS RETURNING

Mexico City, September 30.—The general manager of the National Railways of Mexico stated to-day that many Americans are returning daily to Mexico by way of Laredo, confident that the situation will soon be greatly improved. Some of these Americans are business men who are coming to make investments.

The number of Americans arriving is much larger than the number of those leaving. All berths of the sleeping-cars arriving at Laredo, bound southward, in the last three days were occupied and the great majority of the passengers were Americans.

## The Game As Played.

To understand the absolute necessity confronting the Mexican Executive of dissolving a Congress in which the Maderist deputies held the balance of power, it is necessary to understand clearly the latter's plan in regard to the elections to be held on October 26.

This plan, cunningly conceived, if carried through would have proven of far graver consequences than the mere conspiring of the Maderist deputies and than their active efforts to keep the rebel leaders constantly informed of the Government's intended movements and plans.

It was the purpose of the Maderist deputies either to prevent the holding of elections or, if not able to do so, to have the elections declared null and void. To the first end they had already presented a bill postponing the elections indefinitely on the ground that a great part of the national territory was under rebel control. Their aim in presenting this bill was twofold. First, their assertion if accepted by Congress as true would strengthen the claim of the rebels' representatives in Washington that the Republic of Mexico was in its greater part in the hands of the so-called constitutionalists. This would have been of invaluable assistance to the rebels in their constant welcome and well-accepted representations to the Washington Administration.

Second, if the elections had been postponed or held and then declared void, General Huerta would have remained in power. This, which on first consideration would seem the last thing the rebels should desire was in fact exactly what they wanted. For the rebel representatives would then have accused General Huerta of having unduly influenced Congress in order to retain the reins of government in his hands. Besides having the assurance of the Washington Administration that General Huerta would not be recognized, the rebels hoped that continued non-recognition would bring about such a state of affairs as to enable one of their leaders to ascend to power, while if elections were held they feared that whoever would be elected would be recognized by the United States, preventing their own group from seizing the reins of government.

The cunning purpose of the Maderist deputies was quickly detected by General Huerta and frustrated in the only manner in which it could be frustrated.

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### FOUR AMERICANS KILLED BY REBELS.

El Paso, Oct. 14.—Among the American refugees arriving in Juarez to-day was F. B. Ellis, a mining engineer of Cripple Creek, Col. Mr. Ellis had his right arm in a sling as a result of being shot by Mexican rebels or bandits. His brother, Joseph, was killed by the bandits and he declares that three other Americans were killed at the same time.—N. Y. "Sun," October 15.

These are the gentle friends to whom certain newspapers look for the proper upholding of the Constitution!

# NEWSPAPER HYPOCRISY

### With Particular Reference to the New York "World."

We have often wondered in our perusal of editorial columns, whether it was absolutely necessary to be the unconcerned possessor of the crassest and most asinine ignorance about Mexican history, Mexican politics, Mexican characteristics and present, actual Mexican conditions to qualify as a writer on Mexican affairs.

Being newspaper men ourselves, we have tried to find an excuse for the ignorance which apparently prevails in reference to Mexico, realizing that the so-called Mexican question is only one of the many on which the editorial writer is called to comment from day to day.

We could not, however, understand the carelessness of certain editors in dealing with a situation fraught with the greatest dangers. In some cases we could only ascribe the apparent carelessness to the very nature of modern newspaper methods and to the loyalty of these editors to the Washington Administration.

However, we have advisedly used the word **apparent** in reference to this ignorance and carelessness.

Because regarding a number of newspapers which have been defending the policy of the Washington Administration we have been forced to conclude that it is not ignorance or carelessness that prevails, but **a malicious intent to pervert the truth** and a **criminal hypocrisy** covering a more or less hidden purpose and second thought.

Here we must specify, but as it would be impossible to consider one by one the newspapers of the group that have defended the Administration's course regardless of the truth and justice, we shall mention their prototype: the New York "World," incidentally the New York "Tribune" and the New York "Evening Post."

While the editorial writers of these newspapers are not expected to be experts on Mexican affairs, their utter ignorance is not admissible, as they are unquestionably men of a certain culture, as evinced in their treatment of other subjects.

Seldom has there been a more patent evidence of malicious intent than in the acrimonious campaign conducted by the "World" against Mexico and everybody connected with Mexican affairs who is not in accord with President Wilson's attitude toward Mexico.

Never has there been more patent evidence of hypocrisy than in the "World's" expressions of policy. While it has repeatedly asserted its opposition to armed intervention and its disinterested friendship for the Mexican people, the "World" has consistently supported every movement of the Administration that has made **war with Mexico a possibility. Moreover, it has encouraged every measure which could possibly prevent the re-establishment of peace in the southern Republic.**

The "World's" odium toward the Huerta Government—and it would have been the same for any other government—purports to reflect its readers' sentiment, but in fact it reflects only that of the Administration.

Since the dissolution of Congress by President Huerta the "World's" odium has been revealed still more clearly in a series of editorials born of an impotent rage at the evident strength shown by the Mexican Executive.

Its venomous, hypocritical expressions of horror at what the "World" terms the "stabbing of the Mexican Constitution" bear a striking resemblance to those of some "high officials" of the Washington Administration.

Why such a sudden holy horror, since the "World" has been proclaiming for well-nigh nine months that Huerta was a military dictator?

The hypocrisy of the "World" is equalled by its cowardice, because **to call a man an assassin without proving the accusation and with the immunity enjoyed because of a safe distance is the work of a coward.**

The libelous and venomous campaign conducted by the "World" against all those **who dared** disagree with the President's policy had its incipiency in the attacks against Ambassador Wilson and culminated in the phillipic against those Americans who committed the crime of lese majeste in criticising the Administration's attitude toward Mexico.

**The "World" is playing the role of bravo to the Administration in a way that will make some of the newspapers of Guatemala and Venezuela—the particular friends of the "World"—green with envy.**

The "World" is driven to white-heat rage because the Constitution of Mexico has been stabbed. Why does not the "World" tremble with righteous indignation at the premeditated murder of Venezuela's Constitution? It is not long since President Gomez after a manufactured rebellion proclaimed himself dictator of Venezuela, assuming all powers. Congress no longer exists in Venezuela and no elections have been called, while in Mexico a new Congress will have been elected within two weeks.

If the "World" is actuated in its stand by **principle only**, why not exude the same holy horror at the stabbing of the Venezuelan Constitution and vent its ire against the Venezuela dictator?

Why not incite President Wilson to withdraw recognition from Gomez, the military dictator of Venezuela?

Is it because the vast financial interests of the "World" are closely connected with those American capitalists—whom the

(Continued on next page)

# CONFESSIONS OF A BORDER TOWN REPORTER

One of the News Factory for Three Years

I was a manufacturer of Mexican news, among others. Why we of all men should so easily have let ourselves be corrupted in telling of the internal troubles in Mexico is a mystery to me.

There was not one among us who had not been trained in the bitter school of the newspaper office. It was at the frequent cost of rides in side-door Pullmans that we had learned that an adjective, except it be in the society or dramatic columns, is abhorred in a newspaper office.

Experience had also taught us that to tell the truth was the best policy and that a reporter's worth was not so much in his ability to make prettily turned phrases as in his legs and the faculty of seeing a story's true value and writing it in proportionate space.

We were a cosmopolitan lot, having come from the very ends of the earth, as were the people of the Southwest to whom our news was served with their cereal and soup. It was the realization that we were writing to a class as intelligent as ourselves, at least, that lifted our papers above the pettiness and provincialism of the ordinary small-town paper.

I suppose the indiscretions and truth-juggling tactics which crept into our work with the coming of the Mexican revolution were due to our adaptability to swiftly changing conditions. Some of us did get sick of the whole affair and sought work elsewhere, but many remained. To say the least, we enjoyed the experience immensely.

Mexico somehow is a mystery to the average reader. He will believe any tale told him about it and because of his ignorance and gullibility, I suppose some of the most improbable things put over stuck. At first we were truthful in telling about Mexico, but newspaper owners, learning the circulation building value of "war news," made it our task to supply the reader generously. When it was finally suggested to us by American interests in Mexico and supporters of the advertising columns that we cease enlarging on molehills, we did so and the revolution which seemed to be nurtured by us, stopped. There is no wonder that border newspapers have often been accused of bringing about the present state of affairs. For a long time certain American newspapers or their representatives would not be allowed in Mexico.

After affairs in Mexico had become of national importance, it was the coming of the big leaguers—the New York newspapermen and the Associated Press correspondents—that helped us in our downward path. Everything was strange and new to them. They exaggerated the importance of any yarn and they could see a story in the commonest brawl. I suppose they occasionally did write news, but when there was none they painted word pictures in such glowing terms that the fate of nations seemed to hang on their very contents. They also taught us that it wasn't necessary to cover a story in the primitive manner of legs and eyes. The telephone was much easier and better.

We had really believed that when the big men came to the border, they would go into the interior and investigate for themselves, but their training showed them that the importance of the affair had been greatly exaggerated. They contented themselves with accepting the stories furnished them by the leaders of the contending forces.

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## NEWSPAPER HYPOCRISY---(Continued)

"World" professes to abhor—who are backing Gomez and own and control practically the whole country?

In regard to Mexico there can be doubt no longer as to the "World's" affiliations. **They have been clearly indicated by its ill-disguised attacks against the enemies of those oil interests that have declared war upon any Mexican Government that refuses to do their bidding.**

The "World" was careless and showed its true colors when it stated on October 14 that "the Constitutionalist forces ought not to be long in reaching the capital. They are the true liberators of Congress and they ought to be the sole avengers of the crimes that have disgraced the age."

The "World" knows too well that the only course opened to the Mexican Executive to save the country from anarchy was to dissolve a rebellious Congress that was fomenting it. But the "World" is bent upon setting up a Mexican Government that will be a willing tool in the hands of the "World's" friends.

If any doubt had been left in our mind as to the "World's" motives it would have been completely dispelled a few days ago when we received the visit of a "World" reporter, who had been commissioned by the editor to investigate "who was back of" MEXICO. In the opinion of the editor, because this publication had defended the Mexican Government it must be backed by that Government.

It became then clear to us that the "World" could understand the defense of a cause only in exchange for money or its equivalent.

**For decency's sake the "World" should at least suppress from its editorial page the words which were written by a great publisher, Joseph Pulitzer, on May 10, 1883.**

This publisher, perhaps the greatest of his time, is no more. No reader is allowed to forget this even for a day. Every page of the "World" is a daily reminder of his irretrievable loss.

As to the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the "Evening Post," it is perhaps even more despicable than that of the "World" because revealed in more mellifluous words. The "Evening Post" is dealing with shadows—and knows it—when it discourses at length upon the coming Mexican elections, the strength of the different parties, the democratic sentiment of what the "Post" calls the large Maderist element. The "Post" calls the dissolution of the Mexican Congress a justification of President Wilson's policy of non-recognition while the "Post" cannot fail to realize that **the responsibility for the latest events in Mexico must be laid at the feet of the Washington Administration.**

For the "Post"—and with the "Post" other newspapers that have expressed the same view—must know that **the encouragement given by the attitude of the Washington Administration to rebels and bandits has made it necessary for the Mexican Government to apply a radical remedy to a radical ill.** The "Post" must know it because there has not been an American familiar with Mexican affairs that has not voiced this truism ever since the fall of Madero. And when we say Americans familiar with Mexican affairs we say thousands of them who have appealed in vain to the Washington Administration, who have presented irrefutable proofs of their contention and offered the benefit of their knowledge born of experience.

Much has been published by the "Post" against Mr. Hearst and his newspapers on account of their jingo attitude on the Mexican question.

But the Hearst newspapers at least are not hypocritical. Mr. Hearst's imperialistic tendencies are well known. But he does not try to hide them under the cloak of sincere friendship, love of democracy in another country, and so on. He favors intervention because he believes in force in every phase of human activity. We do not agree with Mr. Hearst's attitude toward Mexico. **We believe that he has not counted the cost of intervention and we believe that he is wrong when he values force more than right.** But we admire and respect his frankness.

We regret the methods of the Hearst newspapers in exaggerating the news regarding Mexico, but in the Hearst newspapers there is no sanctimonious hypocrisy as in the "Evening Post" or feigned "righteous indignation" as in the "World," and certainly Mr. Hearst cannot be accused of being in league with predatory wealth, however wrong his policy may be in regard to Mexico. Mr. Hearst may be wrong, but he is honest. Not so with the "World" and the "Post."

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**Isn't it about time that we should stop mentioning the "sincere friendship for Mexico"? Let us at least be frank.**

## CONFESSIONS OF A BORDER TOWN REPORTER (Continued)

With liberal feasting and carefully chosen wine and cigars, the Mexican general or captain, as the case might be, could always be depended upon to yield a pretty good yarn. I suppose many an expense account was spent in automobiles and in Mexican roulette and bull fights. By carefully comparing notes in the evening, there would be no great lack of uniformity in their copy when telegraphed to their papers. It was these stories that brought the armed forces of the United States to the border to protect American interests there.

When the big papers withdrew their men from the border because of no immediate promise of armed intervention, it left the border newspapermen in control of the war factory. With the new dignity of "war correspondents," discretion and training were cast aside. If New York newspapermen were artists, we were geniuses. We had begun authoring, at least as far as Mexico was concerned.

In a short time reporters became editors and cubs rose to the full dignity of their profession. I was a reporter when sent to Douglas, Arizona, "to do the war."

I suppose I was a very useful man to my city editor. He demanded every scrap that might come from across the border. The importance of this was very early emphasized to me. The fate of nations was at stake! He was also the official representative of the Associated Press at that place and was handsomely paid for all he "put over." He could "plant" anything because, it was understood, the Associated Press editor had in part to thank my superior for his job.

In my time four battles, such as they were, actually took place on or near enough to the international line for Americans to witness them. We all knew they were coming and treated the occasions as gala affairs. Business was suspended and vantage points sold at a premium. That no one really feared for his life can be testified by thousands of Americans who were so eager to get snap-shots and souvenirs that the negro cavalry guarding the line could scarcely keep them from rushing in among the contestants. There was incessant cannonading and raining of shrapnel for hours, but after the battle some thirty men were killed on both sides at the cost of nearly one thousand bullets each. Although no American near the firing-line was injured, stray bullets and exploding shells killed and injured five Americans far from the scenes of activity.

That night in reporting the battle for the benefit of the reading public at large, our news instincts told us to dwell on the killing and injuring of the five Americans, which we did at $10.00 per column. Los Angeles and San Francisco papers issued "extras" on that battle and some had even brought out "actual scenes" of the affray from their "morgues." To one familiar with the technical side of a newspaper this is not new, for he will readily understand how it is done. Any good battle picture will do. Mutilate the cut so that the lay reader will not recognize whether they are Chinamen or Mexicans fighting, and you have a perfectly good war picture that will do credit to any battle.

Our exchanges for days afterward carried front-page accounts of that battle. Editorially, sanctum editors denounced "the irresponsible guerillas of our neighboring country," and called upon the President and Congress to send the armed forces of the United States across the border to "once and for all stop this shedding of innocent American blood."

At the battle of Naco, of this year, when a stray bullet chanced to strike an American sheriff who was on the wrong side of the line, newspapers demanded "all the facts" and very justly and with a decent degree of editorial bombast, again demanded intervention.

That the importance of the Mexican affair is grossly exaggerated is known by all who are or have been intimately connected with conditions. It must be a mystery to those who have depended on their knowledge from newspaper dispatches, why the United States has not intervened in Mexico; but a sifting of all the written material will reveal at a glance one of the chief reasons.

Though there has been an iota of truth in much that has been printed, there is that much and no more. For reports of most of the conflicts, the newspaper correspondent depends entirely on the information given him by the agents of the contending forces. These are naturally colored to suit a purpose and only too often has a reporter been given entirely different accounts of the same engagement by the agents of the different parties. He had to choose, use it and do some good press-agenting for the side in whose graces he wished to be on the following day, or not to use it and take chances of being "scooped." Often he used neither account but compromised by sending out one of his own. With a little juggling of figures, excellent copy could be made of "reports" and they could even be sold at good prices to the news syndicates and the big newspapers. With the exaggerated importance of anything that happened beyond the border and the demands of avaricious city editors, is it any wonder that the hounded reporter occasionally manufactured a yarn all his own?

After three years our work finally deteriorated into a mere farce.

It was not long before we had to compete with the corner saloon in compelling public attention. The saloonists also had "exclusive bulletins," which were as avidly read as our own, but somehow the fake was evident on their surface. Nothing was too improbable and the mere killing of 1,000 men required only the time in making the figures. I think we fooled ourselves in believing that the public regarded us seriously, but it was a great circulation builder and Western newspapers at five cents a copy help pay salaries.

I remember the time L— perpetrated the first decisive victory for the constitutionalists. It was the battle of Santa Rosalia. Judging by former experiences with Mexican battles, the army could not possibly have carried enough ammunition to kill the 1,200 men and injure some 2,000 more as claimed in the story, yet when it appeared in the evening papers that very day they sold faster than the press could turn them out.

On the following day even the Mexican dailies carried the story. Dispatches from Mexico City promptly came out claiming the victory for the federals. Later the constitutionalists confirmed L's original report. L, on being closely questioned, admitted that it was but a piece of his imagination. An American sometime later claiming to have been in the vicinity of the "battle" on that very day said that not more than fifty were killed, possibly one hundred. He did not know who the victors were. So astounding were the figures, that the Associated Press representative in sending out his messages, toned them down to two hundred killed, three hundred wounded. After tossing a coin he decided to award the victory to the insurgents.

Unfortunate was the day for him, however, when he was "scooped" on the destruction of the battleship Guerra in the harbor of Guaymas, followed by the massacre of Americans. Of course the battleship is still at Guaymas and still whole and not an American was injured, but it resulted in the receipt of the following telegram: "Quit faking or resign. Opposition scoops you two hours. How about it?" I believe the A. P. man was honest with himself that once. He resigned. I suppose he thought he couldn't stop faking. The United Press had exclusive use of that story and even pictured the death struggles of the drowning seamen.

Though we worked on the idea that the public were fools, in so far as the Mexican situation was concerned, we at least benefited the insurgents' cause. I admit that all the border newspapers were partial toward them. They occasionally accredited them with a "victory" which greatly enhanced the cause, won them new recruits and helped to justify their demands for money from the large vested interests of Sonora. Newspapers in general espoused their cause by printing half-page cartoons of a voluptuous maiden gazing sorrowfully on an assortment of arms and legs representing the dismembered parts of her Mexican countrymen. Underneath in heavy-faced letters would be printed "How Long, O Mexico? Oh, How Long?"

Americans in Mexico howled at our antics just as they did two years previously. They declared that we were in league with the rebels, inciting attacks upon the government, driving the workers from the mines and shops and causing their ruination, which we no doubt did.

# "THE FIERCE LOGIC OF EVENTS"

The fierce logic of events says the New York "World" editorially, has justified President Wilson for having withheld recognition of the Huerta Government. The "fierce logic of events" has been as follows:

The government of Porfirio Diaz was the best that Mexico had ever had. Under it the country enjoyed tranquility and prosperity.

There remained and developed certain political and local abuses of power, some of them inherent and ineradicable in the nature of the people, others that could have been remedied by evolution.

American capital was welcomed by Porfirio Diaz for the development of the commerce and industry of Mexico, but just as the people of the United States have revolted against the dominance of the great Trusts, so did Porfirio Diaz seek to save his country from American monopolies, especially of railways and oil.

A wealthy and hair-brained agitator, Francisco Madero, went about the country, arousing the cupidity and passions of the ignorant peons by promising them a millenium if he were elected President.

He received the political, moral and financial support of the United States capitalists who had been thwarted by Porfirio Diaz.

He raised the standard of armed rebellion and called the people from the fields, the mines and the workshops and allied with him the worst bandits and brigands.

Porfirio Diaz, seeing the handwriting on the wall and fearing that a protracted civil strife would result in United States intervention and the end of Mexican nationality patriotically resigned and became an exile.

Madero and his relatives and followers, inheriting a full treasury and a splendid national credit, swilled like pigs at a trough, depleted one and destroyed the other in less than a year—and forgot their promises to the people.

The spirit of rebellion and lawlessness dormant so long under Porfirio Diaz, once aroused, found an outlet in a reign of terror and brigandage throughout Mexico. Madero did not guage and could not check the forces of anarchy he had brought into life. Meanwhile his relatives and camp followers looted the treasury.

Weak, incompetent, demented, Madero was urged by those who were profiting under him to hold onto power at all costs, though it was plain to every one else that the country was doomed to destruction unless something were done at once to save it.

Under Felix Diaz and General Reyes part of the Army revolted and the streets of the capital were turned into streams of blood. General Huerta as head of the loyal soldiers defended the President who had on many occasions flouted and humiliated the Army and its leaders.

The Senate, the diplomatic corps of foreign nations, all who were not crazed and hysterical hangers-on of a crazed and hysterical weakling, appealed to General Huerta to put an end to the carnage, to save the country and forestall American intervention.

General Huerta at their behest arrested Madero, procured his resignation and himself was declared Provisional President by Congress, according to Constitutional provisions.

Madero and his Vice-President, Pino Suarez, were subsequently killed on their way from the National Palace to the Penitentiary. Provisional President Huerta was not the beneficiary of this crime, because he was already President and Madero and Suarez were private citizens. Neither has there been a shred of evidence to support the suspicion that President Huerta was directly or indirectly responsible for the killing.

The Provisional President announced his plan and purpose to restore peace to the country and turn over the government to a duly elected successor.

All the great Powers of the world recognized the Provisional Government.

The Madero family and adherents flocked to the United States and immediately started in Washington and in the American newspapers a campaign to prevent United States recognition.

The Ambassador of the United States to Mexico believed that the only solution of the Mexican chaos was the support of the Provisional Government in its efforts to bring about peace and restore normal conditions. Lacking that, rebellion would follow rebellion, brigandage would be unchecked, anarchy would ensue.

General Huerta's government found an empty treasury. The country's resources would justify the loan that was necessary to prosecute the campaign against the state of disorder that had its inception with and its growth under the Madero regime, but United States recognition was considered necessary by bankers to insure the stability of the new government against any new rebellion that might be started from the United States.

With little or no understanding of Mexican conditions and the problems with which the Mexican Government was confronted, the Washington Administration obviously influenced by the campaign of misrepresentations carried on by the Madero family and its American financial connections, withheld its recognition of the Provisional Government.

As soon as this attitude of the Administration was well understood the leaders of the rebels and bandits in Mexico concluded that the United States Government was in sympathy with them or at least that the Huerta Government would be unable further to check them.

In an exchange of diplomatic notes the Mexican Government showed how thoroughly its position and purposes were misunderstood by the Washington Administration, but the only result was that Washington, instead of lending its moral support, decided to stand by and watch every movement with suspicion and judge every act with prejudice aforethought.

The embarrassment to the efforts of the Provisional Government caused by the attude of the Washington authorities was so inimical that it was seized upon, not only as encouragement to their further depredations by the rebel and bandit leaders, but as an opportunity for conspiracy against the government by the Maderist deputies in Congress, working hand in glove with the Maderists in the United States.

General Huerta, facing treason in Congress, took the only step that the President of Mexico—or the President of the United States, for that matter—could have taken under such circumstances. He arrested the conspiring deputies as traitors.

Reports from Washington, following this proceeding, are that the Administration's policy of non-recognition has been justified, when that very policy was even more responsible for the conditions in Mexico today than all the American filibustering, fomenting of rebellion and all the financial support from the United States that have helped to reduce Mexico from its standing as a country of peace and prosperity to a distracted, unhappy land.

Now the "World's" "fierce logic of events" comes to this: President Wilson's refusal to recognize the Provisional Government of Mexico was justified, forsooth, because as a result of that refusal President Huerta has been given the most monumental task that any President has had to face to bring peace to his country. There may be some logic in the events but there isn't an iota of it in the policy of President Wilson or the perfervid efforts of the "World" to defend his rebel-inspiring course.

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By some members of the Administration the hope and belief have been expressed that foreign Governments will even go so far as to withdraw their recognition of the Huerta Government, accorded in most instances many months ago. At the State Department, however, it was held that this hardly is likely to happen, as recognition universally is regarded in international law as "absolute and irrevocable," according to the words used by Counsellor John Bassett Moore in his work on international law. The only exception, it is said, is when recognition is accompanied by a set of prescribed conditions. The recognition given to Mexico by other Governments was unqualified and unconditional.—New York "Sun."

# Lobbygrams

Washington, D. C., October 14.—The truth is out concerning that $500,000 of American capital dumped into the yawning coffers of the rebel junta in Sonora last week. And the truth is out in Washington, too. The junta here got the money from a representative of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company. That is the story going around. It is significant that when the receipt of the $500,000 was duly chronicled in the American newspapers friendly to the enemies of the established Government in Mexico, it was Captain Hopkins who confirmed the contribution of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, adding: "And there will be plenty more to prosecute the war in Mexico."

As we told last week, Francisco Escudero carried the Waters-Pierce contribution to Hermosillo, where Carranza, the rebel leader, has set up his "capital." Escudero's reward was his appointment as Minister of Finance, with instructions to guard that $500,000 until it was used up in "buying a navy" for the rebel government.

The ambitious navy program contemplated the purchase of "an armed vessel" to prey upon the custom houses and commandeer—not steal—the receipts from custom levies. Whether Captain Hopkins is to be Admiral of the Carranza fleet Washington has not yet heard. As the big man in the Washington junta of the rebels, Don Sherby Hopkins is held high in the esteem of the Mexican rebel leaders and no honor is considered really commensurate with his distinguished services.

"Highballito" Romero may be one of the Admiral's staff. He has been slated for recognition and his faithfulness to the Washington junta is to be rewarded. He is too good a Maderista and Carrancista to refuse to obey the call to serve the rebel fleet and drink "Vivas" to everything rebellious, but confusion to the peacemakers and the upbuilders of Mexico.

How much longer will American financial interests be permitted to contribute funds to keep the turmoil going in Mexico in the hope of bringing about intervention by the United States?

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That the United States will not intervene by force of arms in Mexico is a settled proposition. In Congress the sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of a settlement of the distressing situation brought about by the Administration's attitude. Prominent Senators and Members of the House are frank in their discussion of Mexico and her troubles. They know more of the facts in the case than they did several months ago. In the light of the facts borne in on the Senators and Representatives the feeling that the established government should be recognized grows stronger from week to week.

This is especially true as to the members of the House, the majority of whom wish to see peace restored in Mexico without delay, the first step toward that end being recognition of the established government by the Washington Administration. The question of affronting the Administration is the serious obstacle to their taking an open stand as to the policy toward Mexico.

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### The Plot.

Mexico City, October 14.—One of the liberated deputies said to-day that he had been approached several times and asked to take part in the plot, but that he and twenty-nine others had refused to join. He said he knew that deputies had been in constant communication with revolutionists and had their plans all made to overthrow the Huerta government when arrested.—N. Y. "American."

# NAILING THEM!

### Explanations.

President Wilson is not permitting himself to be misled concerning the actualities of the Mexican situation. He recognizes that there is no hope of a compromise that would meet the approval of all factions; he is not dealing in iridescent dreams.—New York "Herald."

President Wilson has at all times made plain that the Administration policy is not one of personality, save only in its firm determination not to recognize General Huerta. His objection to General Huerta, however, can hardly be regarded as one of personality, since it has been based not on the man but on the method by which he seized control of the Mexican Government.—New York "Herald."

While no change in orders has been sent to Consuls about Americans leaving Mexico, the disposition of President Wilson always has been to leave the question entirely to the discretion of the Americans in Mexico, while urging those in the troubled zones to depart and offering them pecuniary assistance.—New York "World."

The foregoing show how easy it is to receive the wrong impression by a careless reading of newspapers and the failure to read between the lines of the Administration's instructions and statements of policy.

The general impression was that President Wilson had believed in a compromise that would meet with the approval of all factions (Vide Instruction B. to Lind).

That his objection to General Huerta was one of personality.

That Americans in Mexico were ordered to leave at once—

Now the "Herald" and the "World" point out the general mistake.

Loyal apologists!

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### Inconsistent.

The establishment of a virtual dictatorship by Huerta through the use of military force is interpreted as likely to have the most far reaching consequences to the Huerta regime. It also was held as a vindication of the attitude of the Washington administration that military assumption of power should not be recognized.—Chicago "Tribune"

So military assumption of power should never be recognized. How about our recognition of China, admittedly a military dictatorship disguised as a republic. The President of China was recently elected by the Congressional deputies gently prodded by the presence of the Provisional President's armed detectives.

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### Still Popular.

Mexico City.—The stand taken by the United States was the subject of another protest by students and Huerta sympathizers in the capital tonight. A fiery meeting in the Alameda was dispersed by mounted gendarmes, but the students later reassembled in the unfinished National Theatre, where the troops dispersed them a second time.—New York "Sun."

Yet we read that President Huerta's actions are destroying his popularity.

### An Artistic Touch.

According to the revolutionary agents here, Huerta's army is on the verge of rebellion. Not one of his Generals except his brother-in-law, Gen. Maas, it is asserted, is loyal to the Huerta cause.—Washington "Herald."

There are 182 generals in the Mexican Federal Army and 91,000 men. All of these generals, except General Maas, according to the junta, are disloyal. What a terrible situation! To think that a reputable newspaper would publish such truck and circulate so obvious a lie. It may be noted in passing that General Maas is in no way related to General Huerta. The artistic junta added that "brother-in-law" touch to suggest a reason for the lone general's loyalty. How charitable!

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### Where Did He Get It?

Where Huerta has procured his money so far is a matter of wonder in Washington.—New York "Tribune."

In the first place, it's none of Washington's business. In the second place there's something ghoulish in Washington's disappointment that Huerta has made the headway he has against all the obstacles the Washington Administration has put in his way.

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### Going!

Another important feature of the situation is the extent to which President Wilson intends to go in his insistence that Huerta shall refrain from barbarous tactics. His warning that no harm should come to the Deputies is by far the longest step toward actual interference in Mexico's affairs that the President has taken. Plenty of warnings have been sent to the American Embassy that American citizens must be protected, but this is the first time anything has been said about treatment to be accorded to Mexicans.—New York "Tribune."

The extent to which President Wilson will go in meddling in Mexico's affairs is only exceeded by his colossal inability to comprehend them.

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### Distress Signals.

Washington, Oct. 13.—Germany's decision to dispatch a warship to Mexican waters attracted wide attention here to-night. President Wilson had received no intimation of Germany's intention.

Other European Governments have had vessels cruising off the Mexican coasts during critical periods.

**Official Washington regards Germany's action as indicating a repudiation of her recognition of Huerta.**

Latest advices are that Great Britain is prepared to repudiate her recognition of Huerta if he fails to hold a constitutional election on October 26.

Washington authorities believe the sending of a German vessel immediately after the arrest of the members of the Chamber of Deputies may have a sobering effect on Huerta and prevent his going to further extremes.—New York "American."

The distress signals wigwagged from Washington in the hope of enlisting the support of foreign nations in its bungling Mexican policy are really pathetic. No wonder in our conduct of foreign affairs we are the laughing-stock of European Chancelleries.

# PUBLIC OPINION

## Mexican Methods and Ours.

There is no new revelation of character in Victoriano Huerta's arbitrary action in sending troops into the Mexican House for the arrest and imprisonment of the majority of its members. This is no new revelation either of personal character or national character. Such an act is not unprecedented in Mexican history nor can it be said to be uncontemplated in Mexican organic law. A misunderstanding of the vital temperamental differences between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin-American is responsible for the impatience with which many Americans regard phases of Mexican politics which are indispensable to and inseparable from it. Differences between the pure Teuton and the pure Latin are not fundamental. Civilization has been progressive in each stock, carrying both beyond archaic and anarchic methods in government, while maintaining some sharp distinctions in customs. The vital difference between Latin America and Gothic America can not be traced to the root stocks. It springs out of widely differing conditions in life. Gothic races transplanted to North America have not amalgamated with the native stock of the continent. Latin races transplanted to the central and south portions of the continent amalgamated from the first, with the result that the primitive passions of the aborigines who have at all times been in a vast majority, have maintained themselves, and have stubbornly resisted the genius in government of the Aryan race. In some of the countries of South America that genius has at last prevailed, very largely through the traditional policy of the United States in leaving them free to work out their own destinies and in protecting them against loss of their liberties to stronger powers. The Monroe doctrine is already justified by results in a number of South American republics. There is reason to hope that it will yet be so justified in Mexico.

The high-handedness of Huerta is certain to be followed by renewal of the outcry that the president is vindicated in his refusal to recognize the Huerta Government. But that is beside the question. Recognition of Huerta ceased to be a part of the Mexican question for us after our persistence in refusal had continued until the concurrent action of the ambassadorial representatives in the City of Mexico. After that, as we insisted at the time, it would be much more difficult for the United States than it had been before then, to reverse its policy of nonrecognition. The administration has made no mistake in failing to recognize a provisional government in Mexico after being diplomatically advised by European powers that recognition might come to be the only alternative of intervention. The mistake was not made in refusing to abandon, under foreign pressure a policy previously determined on by the United States in discharging the obligations of its continental primacy, to the Mexican people, under the Monroe doctrine. However mistaken the original refusal may have been, a sudden change, responsive to European suggestion, would have been a graver error in continental policy. The mistake was made in our dabbling in purely Mexican politics, done to placate European opinion through the extraordinary ambassadorship of Mr. John Lind, whose foreordained failure has made our diplomacy ridiculous and has impaired the prestige of the Monroe doctrine, always hitherto maintained with dignity and impressiveness.

Mr. Lind is said to have reported to the president that the Mexican election set for October 26 can be nothing but a farce. When was a Mexican election anything else? The election of Madero was as farcical as any of the others, in its failure to elicit a degree of support at the polls to stamp the majority candidate as the popular choice. The danger in Mexico is again so threatening that we should at once cease dabbling in the politics of that country and direct our efforts toward the protection of Americans resident there. Cannon and barricades again appearing in the streets of the capital remind us poignantly that, when they last appeared, the United States was represented there by an ambassador of skill and influence whose patriotic work has been rewarded with contumely. We are now without ambassadorial representation at that capital and must await events with an anxiety which it would be but bluster to conceal.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

## The Lesson of Torreon.

Late dispatches confirm the report of the massacres in Torreon, that ill-fated city in the rich laguna district of Mexico, where the Maderistas shot to death, three years ago, a large number of defenseless Chinese; where the followers of Orozco, in his rebellion against Madero, killed and maimed many more, and where one of the supposed patriot leaders arrayed against Gen. Huerta has now murdered the Federal commander and his staff and 175 residents of pure Spanish blood. The Mexicans of unmixed Spanish blood have not all supported the Provisional Government very actively, but they favor law and order and are opposed to the methods of the banditti who constitute the only formidable factor in the present rebellion. Torreon is a modern city and the seat of many industries. It has suffered in the recent civil wars more than any other Mexican city of large population. Lately it has been cut off from communication with the civilized world.

The obvious lesson of Torreon is that the opponents of the Government in the Mexican capital are not the kind of men in whose support any foreign Government should intercede. The charge against Gen. Huerta is that his Government is founded on assassination. While there has never been a word to say in extenuation of the foul murder of Madero and Pino-Suarez, unprejudiced observers of the course of events have felt from the first that the charges against Huerta have lacked proof. The Government of Madero had fallen before the Provisional Government was set up. The dispatches from Torreon, however, show that the rebels of the north of Mexico are as murderous as their precious compatriots in the south and indicate that the republic cannot have peace until all are disarmed and punished.—New York "Times."

**Read "MEXICO" Once a week and Learn What's What Below the Rio Grande**

## Mexico As It Is.

The truth is that Mexico's greatest misfortune is that she has adopted a constitution unsuited to her needs and to the genius and character of her people. The instrument in question dates from the year 1857, when feeling ran high between Clericals and Liberals. The latter, having for the time the upper hand, and admiring the greatness of the United States, but lacking a philosophical insight into the causes of that greatness patterned the new Mexican Constitution very largely on the Constitution of the United States, overlooking the fact that the Mexican people, of whom eighty per cent. are still illiterate, could not be expected to make an intelligent use of a political system devised for the most advanced and enlightened of modern democracies.

General Porfirio Diaz undoubtedly realized the inadaptibility to Mexico's needs of the Constitution of 1857. But not even he, with all the immense authority which he at one time wielded, ever ventured to propose a radical reform of that Constitution, so as to do away with the Federal system and establish in its stead a strong centralized government, with a restricted suffrage. And he did not venture on this step, because he knew that to the Liberals of Mexico the Constitution of 1857 has ever been a fetish, and that to attempt to modify it radically, even though avowedly it remained largely a dead letter, would be to precipitate a civil war.

De facto, General Diaz did establish a strong centralized government, and, as for popular suffrage, he practically nullified it. But where the facts and theories of government are in chronic conflict, there can be no enduring political peace. A clamor will be raised from time to time for the strict enforcement of the Constitution, and reproaches will be launched against the government for its non-observance. Such, in effect, was the outcry that gave force to the movement headed by Señor Madero.

The history of Señor Madero's brief administration is a signal confutation of the illusion that the character of a people and the broad facts which make the governments of the earth what they are can be changed by a sudden upheaval such as an armed revolution. If Señor Madero was candid, he must, soon after his inauguration, have formed a juster appreciation of the difficulties against which Porfirio Diaz had to contend and have been disposed to view with greater tolerance the shortcomings of the Diaz administration.

The elevation to power of a legally elected President, far from putting an end to the revolution, seemed to throw the country into worse disorder.

In his eagerness to overthrow the Diaz regime, Señor Madero had accepted the co-operation of very promiscuous elements. And the results were what might have been expected.

Some of the revolutionary leaders, little better than freebooters, were not willing, once their atavic appetitie for a life of adventure had been whetted, to return to peaceful avocations, simply because Señor Madero, having attained his object, wanted them to.

But seldom has a sorrier travesty of democracy been witnessed.

General Felix Diaz, though the nephew of President Porfirio Diaz, was not in sympathy with the latter's administration. He was always, during the Diaz administration, regarded as an opposition factor; in various ways he encouraged the "anti-porfirista" sentiment; and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that he contributed indirectly to the downfall of his distinguished uncle.

The financial problem, indeed, is one of the most delicate features of the situation.

That one of the chief merits of the Diaz regime was the excellence of its financial administration, not even its enemies venture to deny. The finances of the country were handled with consummate skill by Diaz's Finance Minister, Señor José Yves Limantour, and even when Diaz resigned, after six

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

months of revolution, the credit of Mexico was almost unimpaired on the Eureopean bourses and there was still a surplus in the treasury of over 62,000,000 pesos.

But the edifice reared by the genius and probity of Limantour is now in ruins.

Additional taxation can be resorted to only within comparatively narrow limits, unless new and dangerous discontents are to be provoked. Obviously, then, Mexico's only expedient for the time being is to borrow.

She has, in effect, adjusted with Paris bankers a loan of £16,000,000. But of this sum only £6,000,000 was underwritten outright, the balance being subject to options, and it seems there is some doubt whether the syndicate will take up these options. Their hesitancy is due in part to the continuance of disturbed conditions in Mexico, in part to American non-recognition, in part to the stringency of the European money-markets, but chiefly, it seems, to the desire of the French government that no foreign issue shall stand in the way of the war-loan which France herself is about to launch.

Furthermore, only a small part of the £6,000,000 which Mexico received was available for the government's current needs. Liabilities of £4,000,000 to New York bankers had to be met and other floating indebtedness to be discharged.

Thus, the government of General Huerta, in its efforts to restore peace, is greatly hampered by absolute shortness of funds.

Such, in brief, is the lamentable situation to which this country, so prosperous and respected under the Diaz administration, has been reduced by three years of revolution.

The relations of the United States to this situation may be summed up under the heads of intervention and recognition.

Peaceful intervention or mediation is unacceptable, it seems, to both sides. And armed intervention is too huge an enterprise to be entered on lightly or indeed except in the last resort when every other means shall have been exhausted and no other honorable course is left open It is not a question how soon an American army of invasion, as in 1847, could reach the capital. If the United States intervene in Mexico, they will become responsible for her to the civilized world for an indefinite period. And Americans in Mexico, who know how heavy that responsibility would be, and how thankless the task, are the first to deprecate a policy of armed intervention on the part of their government, so long as, consistently with safety and honor, it can be avoided.

There is nothing for it, then, if the idea of intervention be discarded, but to give Mexico time to work out her vexed internal problems and fight out her internal quarrels. This, of course, entails inconvenience on the United States, and losses to American citizens having interests in Mexico. But for a large proportion of the latter ultimate compensation can be obtained, and the former must be borne as the less of two evils. I speak, of course, on the assumption that disorder in Mexico will not become chronic, and that she will not be so unwise as deliberately to give to the United States provocation such as no self respecting nation could tolerate.

But, at the same time, it is manifestly unreasonable to apply Anglo-Saxon standards to conditions in Mexico. As well might one judge by the standards of modern England the deposition and murder of Richard II by Henry of Bolinbroke or the assassination of Prince Edward by the Yorkist chiefs on the field of Tewkesbury. The United States, which, on becoming independent, inherited all the political conquests achieved by the English race through centuries of bloodshed and turmoil, is perhaps prone to judge rather unsympathetically these Latin American republics, which, when they became independent, had had no experience in self government and which inherited vicious and corrupt ideas of administration, as well as political, politico-religious, economic, ethical and social problems of the most perplexing and intricate character.

In considering the question of recognition it is fair to remember that constitutional forms were at least observed in the transfer of power to the present executive. And the administration of General Huerta is all that at present stands between Mexico and anarchy. If it were overthrown, the condition of his country would become simply hopeless.

Presidential elections have been set for October 26 next, but it may well happen that the country will not have been sufficiently pacified, by that time, for valid elections to be held, and then the provisional term of General Huerta will have to be prolonged. Foreign residents, including Americans, know that elections held in the present disturbed conditions of the country would not only be an empty form, but also, far from allaying disorder, would fan it into a fiercer blaze of hatred and contention.

General Huerta's task in any case will be of the most arduous kind, and inasmuch as on its successful accomplishment the well-being of a neighboring nation, still in the formative period and laboring under many difficulties, is at stake, it would seem to many unprejudiced observers in Mexico, a friendly act on the part of the United States to the Mexican people to give to the Huerta government, in the form of recognition, the moral support which it needs in the work before it.

Huerta is winning more and more every day the confidence of the business community and the masses of the people. With the latter, in particular, he is steadily growing in favor. He is a man of the people, accessible to the people; he understands the people and the people understand him. Moreover, he is demonstrating many of the qualities needed in the man who is to rule Mexico. The ease with which he has temporarily eliminated, one by one, the members of the "felicista" faction recalls the methods of Porfirio Diaz in his most masterful days. Feliz Diaz has been sent on a special diplomatic mission to Japan. General Mondragon, the real leader of the "felicista" uprising, who for a time was Huerta's War Minister, was compelled to resign and was sent on a government commission to Europe. And so on, with some of the minor lights of the group. Thus, what would in the opinion of many, in the present circumstances, be a disturbing factor, has been removed.

It is almost a truism to say that it is more important that the President of Mexico should have the qualifications necessary to enable him to govern the Mexicans than that, in other respects, he should measure up to Anglo Saxon standards.

I am not defending either the military uprising of February last or the coup d'etat by which it was brought to an end. On the contrary, in principle, I thing that both are severely to be condemned. But I look at things as they are at present and from the standpoint of Mexican conditions, and it seems to me the situation is simply this: Huerta or anarchy.

Such being the case, it seems to follow that the United States should recognize the Huerta régime, not for the sake of Huerta but for the sake of Mexico and the Mexican people, who, as everyone knowing them must concede, are worthy of better destinies than have hitherto been theirs.—Louis C. Simonds in "Atlantic Monthly."

## The 1848 Situation.

The situations at the start are not just alike, however. The revolutionary movement in Northern Mexico is almost entirely an affair of the Mexicans. The Texas revolution was altogether an affair of people from the United States who had settled in Texas. But the hand of manifest destiny will shape conclusions finally in the present Mexican turmoil, just as in the turmoil which terminated in 1848. The present situation that of a military despotism, surrounded by enemies and with a revolution beating almost at the capital gates—cannot last long. But the problem of bringing about peace, order and prosperity will not be solved simply by eliminating Huerta.—Baltimore "American."


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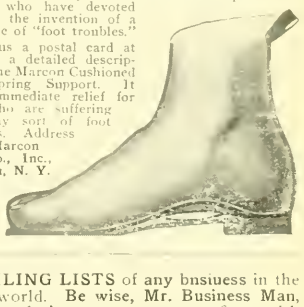

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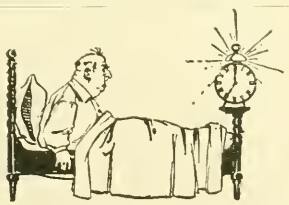

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## Lest we Forget

Where's Huerta getting his money? Thought Washington decreed he shouldn't have any.

* * *

If Huerta were overthrown by revolution or a coup d'etat, would President Wilson recognize the beneficiary?

* * *

If not, are we going to keep on refusing to recognize every Mexican government until the Mexican electorate is educated up to American standards?

* * *

We've been educating the Filipinos fifteen years but they are not citizens yet.

* * *

Also the Porto Ricans.

* * *

Henry Lane Wilson's muzzle has been removed automatically. He could tell a few interesting things if he would. Maybe he will.

* * *

Foreign merriment has partly given way to concern—as to the lengths to which Washington's blunder may be carried.

* * *

Those men who profess to be shocked by Huerta's "high-handed" methods swallow the Sulzer impeachment whole.

* * *

Also the secret caucus.

* * *

Not to mention the "Big Stick" of Patronage.

* * *

The Administration is just dying to say "I told you so!"

* * *

A childish satisfaction.

* * *

Oughtn't to be so much of a satisfaction considering that hundreds of human lives must contribute to make it possible.

* * *

To speak of "moral force" and use financial weapons is not hypocritical.

## Who's Dictator Now?

Who is the real dictator—the man of action whose strong hand stands between his country and anarchy or the man of theories who seeks to impose his personal will on an alien people?

Who is the real dictator—the man whose passion for results, for the pacification of his country, demands drastic measures or the alien man whose passion for theories leads him to equally drastic measures that interfere with the work of pacification.

Who is the real dictator—the man who, knowing his country, its sickness, and how it can be cured, cuts with a surgeon's knife at the root of the disease or the foreign medicine man who insists that his incantation of words is the only cure.

Who is the real dictator—the man who upholds the dignity and nationality of his native land or the man of another nation who would trail them in the dust that his "policy" may be justified.

Who is the real dictator—the ruler of a nation who understands its history, traditions, Constitution and laws, and their application to the situation he faces, who acts accordingly, or the ruler of a neighboring nation who does not understand but presumes to dictate how the past of the other country shall be interpreted and its future shaped.

Who is the real dictator—the man in Mexico or the man in Washington?

Think it over.

---

With such evidences of desperation on the part of the usurper, the Constitutionalist forces ought not to be long in reaching the capital. They are the true liberators of Congress and they ought to be the sole avengers of the crimes that have disgraced the age.—New York "World" Editorial.

The "World" is shrieking for vengeance. Somehow it seems to us that there is more restraint shown by President Huerta in his actions than by some of his American newspaper critics in their yowlings.

---

## Painfully Shocked

If the Southern Congressmen before the Civil War had remained or been permitted to remain in Congress after the Secession, and had taken advantage of their position to conspire actively and openly against the Federal Government while drawing their pay from that Government, would they not have been arrested and held for treason? Considering the temper of those times and the aroused passions of North and South, it would not have been very surprising if they had even been summarily executed.

And yet we profess to be painfully shocked because President Huerta has jailed the Maderist members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies conspiring against the central government and the peace of the country. He wouldn't be much of a man if he had not taken the action he did. In fact, if he has made any mistakes at all it has been in the direction of too much leniency toward the antagonistic political intrigues of these men.

It is to be noted that in explaining his action, President Huerta made the point that if he knew of one other man on whom all these political intriguants could unite for the benefit of the country he would gladly resign and turn the reins of power over to him. The fact is, as he said, that there would be as many contenders for his position as there are parties and groups in the Chamber. And that would mean anarchy.

When the average American or the average American newspaper discusses American affairs it is usually in terms of our own conditions and institutions. This is not just, any more so than it would be for Europeans to judge our political progress merely on the fact that we do not permit the Filipinos any share in our government, and conclude we are not a democratic people. Our attitude toward the Huerta government is one of suspicion and goading. And yet there are only three possibilities in Mexico at the present time: Huerta, anarchy, intervention—and intervention means war.

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### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: Am enclosing you check for one year's subscription to "Mexico." It is the only paper which I have found that thoroughly understands Mexico and the Mexicans After eight years' residence in that country, being associated with all sorts of Mexicans, from top to bottom, I have never been badly treated, nor molested by any Mexican; have, of course, never disputed with them or taken sides in their political parties, and I do not think any foreigner in any country should butt in.

I came on just three weeks ago and you can gamble not at President Wilson's wish either, but because of his uninformed and biased policy, which has been the cause of all this trouble since he came into office.

In my opinion General Huerta is the only man at present who can settle this trouble, and I sincerely hope he will not have to step down.

This city had us hung, starved and all kinds of things done to us at Dolores, about forty-five miles southwest of Madera, in the State of Chihuahua. We had a great laugh over it on arriving here.

It seems that these border papers cannot tell the truth.

Hoping that you will be able to convince the people of the north that Huerta is the "strong man of Mexico," I am,

Yours truly,

El Paso, Texas. J H.

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: I have just read your weekly "Mexico," and find some very interesting articles in it. I think you struck the keynote with the following articles: "The Right to Loot" and "The Work of the Clique." I hope you will continue with the good work of throwing light on the affairs in Mexico so they can be intelligently discussed by the American people. Judging from what has taken place in the towns of Mier, Camargo, Reynosa and Matamoras, it is an evident fact that the main principle moving General Lucio Blanco and his bands of robbers and cutthroats now in the State of Tamaulipas is that of looting. His men never pretend to be doing anything else. It is a shame the way they have pillaged the above mentioned places. After stealing everything they can carry away, they destroy what they can't carry away.

Wishing you success, I beg to remain,

Rio Grande City, Texas. V. S. A.

Editor of "Mexico."

Dear Sir: I enclose herewith one dollar to foster your selfish interests in the publishing of the paper "Mexico," also as a congratulatory proof of the great work you have done so far.

Very truly yours,

Montreal, Canada. J P. R.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## REFORMS and REVOLUTIONS

A social and economical struggle—**not a political one**—is taking place in Mexico.

The masses are seeking redress of grievances of long standing. Some of these grievances are real and justified. The masses are seeking to attain a higher economical status. The struggle is unconscious and because of this has been seized upon by self-seeking politicians to incite rebellion and further their personal ambitions. If the revolutionary movement may be said to have been, in a measure, beneficial in so far as it convinced thinking men of the necessity of improving the lot of the common people, it has now degenerated into brigandage. It has also assumed the aspect of a socialistic movement. The people have been told that they own **in common** the country: lands, industries, chattels. And they believe it, and seek to take possession irrespective of the rights of others. The country is on the path of self-destruction.

Justified as the demands for reform may be, **no Government, irrespective of origin or components,** can bring about these reforms **unless peace is restored first.** It must have the opportunity of putting into practice the feasible and just reforms. This opportunity can come only with peace and time.

If rebellions and brigandage are allowed to continue, Mexico will soon be plunged into utter ruination.

Political freedom will exist only after an improvement in economical conditions will have made possible the education and advancement of the masses.

There is ample evidence that the Huerta Government has the necessary strength to re-establish peace and that at the same time it realizes the needs of the people. In spite of enormous difficulties it has initiated reforms to alleviate the ills under which the people have been suffering.

In this respect it has done more in eight months than the previous administration ever dreamt of doing in a much longer time.

There is also unmistakable evidence and irrefutable proof that the present rebel leaders will not and cannot bring about the reforms demanded by the people.

They have availed themselves of the social unrest to make an attempt to seize again the reins of power. Their past performances as principal factors in the Madero administration are lasting proofs of their bad faith and personal greed.

Madero himself was confronted during all his administration by revolutionary movements far more formidable than the one he headed against Diaz.

This is conclusive proof that should the Maderists regain power peace could not be restored by them.

The Huerta Government has shown it has the honest purpose to carry out the reforms which will insure the maintenance of peace, once established.

# ELECTIONS

Those who discourse on popular elections in Mexico are dealing with shadows. Popular elections—in the sense which these are understood by Americans—will not take place in Mexico until the general apathy will be removed by education. Education of the masses—which does not mean the mere knowledge of reading and writing, but also a general training to the understanding of the uses of the ballot—will not be swifter in Mexico than it has been elsewhere. It will come after economical betterment.

Meanwhile Mexico is cursed with a Constitution framed by an enlightened minority granting to the majority rights which they can neither understand nor enjoy. The necessity of the men in power—it has been the same under Juarez as under Diaz and under Madero—to adapt the enforcing of the laws to existing conditions has compelled every Mexican government to disregard in some way the Constitution.

This fact has been seized upon by rogues and demagogues to accuse the government of breaking the laws of the country and incite the people to rebellion.

An examination of all the "plans" (platforms) of revolutionary leaders—**there have been hundreds**—from Guerrero down to Madero, Vasquez Gomez and Carranza reveal a **striking sameness.** The latter-day patriots have not even the merit of originality. **All** the revolutionary leaders—including Porfirio Diaz when he was one—have promised to uphold the Constitution, to hold free elections, and restore to the people the freedom which they had lost.

They have appealed to the people for armed support in order to overthrow the tyrants who had usurped the powers of the sovereign people.

All of them—**absolutely all**—have promised the same things and regularly failed to keep their promises. What a pity that our newspaper writers do not know Mexican history!

The greatest merit of General Huerta—who has never been, however, a revolutionary leader—is that upon his assumption of power he made no promises except one: to restore peace or perish in the attempt.

### The Foreign Attitude

MEXICO has endeavored to reflect the opinion of those numerous Americans who believe in fair play for Mexico and are opposed therefore to the Administration policy toward that country.

We have reproduced current European opinion but little, because we are mainly concerned with Latin-America and the relations between the United States and Latin-America.

However, inspired press reports make efforts to convey the impression that Europe and European representatives in Mexico either support the policy of the United States or advocate American intervention. This is absolutely misleading and false and

### THE FOREIGN ATTITUDE--continued

We must necessarily refer to European opinion, even though we consider the relations between the United States and Mexico an all-American affair.

As a matter of fact, European diplomats in Mexico have not expressed any censure for the steps taken by the Mexican executive for fear of increased rebel activity because of those steps. They have expressed the greatest alarm at the attitude of the United States Government as foreshadowing, in their opinion, war. They have expressed the greatest alarm at the evident moral support given by this attitude to all the elements of disorder and lawlessness in Mexico. With other foreigners and all Americans in Mexico they have expressed the opinion that the attitude of the Washington Administration is responsible for the prolonged strife in Mexico and that the policy of non-recognition of the Huerta Government has prevented an early restoration of peace.

The following dispatch to the New York "Herald," a newspaper devoted to the defense of bandits and rebels in Mexico, supports our contention:

(By Mexican Cable to the N. Y. "Herald.")

Mexico City, Mexico, via Galveston, Tex., Monday.—The continued intimation from Washington that the Wilson administration is disposed to give moral support to the constitutionalists and that recognition of their belligerency is being considered if the rebels will organize a government is causing considerable anxiety here.

Some foreign observers go so far as to say that recognition of belligerency of the rebels would force Huerta into a declaration of war against the United States, as recognition and moral support of the rebels probably would be interpreted as a hostile act against a friendly nation.

Foreign diplomatists here are getting seriously troubled over the fact that the rebels at Torreon have refused to permit their nationals to leave that place, extending that privilege to Americans only. I have it authoritatively that the German government has appealed to the United States to use its influence in seeing that her nationals, now virtual prisoners in Torreon, are released by the rebels and promised safe conduct out of the district under rebel control.

The French and German colonies total about 100, practically equally divided, while Italians and Spanish are numerous and there are about a dozen English.

The French Minister, Paul Lefaivre, who has been greatly wrought up over the recent developments, has talked freely to his colleagues of the diplomatic corps, even going to the extent of blaming the Washington policy in the handling of the Mexican situation as responsible for the revolution against Huerta gaining such headway.

## Mellifluous Words to the Chinese Dictator

(Pittsburgh Gazette-Times.)

Yuan Shi Kai's ability to maintain himself as provisional president of China since Sun Yat Sen yielded to him, the ease with which he subdued the attempted rebellion of the southern provinces and with which he had himself elected to the presidency for a five year term is a considerable guarantee that he will be able to maintain satisfactory conditions in the huge republic during his tenure of office. But that there will be great progress in democracy in that time is to be doubted. Yuan is no leader of democracy. Conditions have not much changed in China by transition from an imperial to a republican form of government. **China at the moment is little more than nominally a republic. He has ruled China as a dictator since the abdication of the imperial family and no doubt will continue to do so.** As to whether the Chinese are capable of self-government in the liberal Western sense there is no affirmative evidence. There is more reason to doubt than to believe it. It is clear that Yuan does not believe it, or at least **he does not believe that it is the best thing for them, and he will act in accordance with this belief.** If all Chinese, or a considerable majority of them, were imbued with the spirit of Dr. Sun there would be a different story to tell, but the evidence of the course of history in China is that the vast mass of the people will be very well satisfied with small improvement over old conditions.

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Washington, Oct. 9.—President Wilson sent to-day the following congratulatory message to Yuan Shi Kai, the newly elected president of China, whose inauguration takes place to-morrow:

"On this auspicious occasion of your excellency's inauguration as chief magistrate of the Chinese republic, I offer your excellency congratulations on the trust and confidence reposed in you by the national assembly and felicitate the assembly and the Chinese people on the selection for that high and honorable office of a gentleman so eminently qualified as yourself. It is my hope and expectation that guided by the principles of right and justice and the high ideals of republican government, your excellency's administration will be so conducted as to assure the advancement of China and conduce to the peace, happiness and prosperity of her people. **It will be my pleasure to co-operate with you in preserving and still more firmly cementing the friendly and cordial relations between the two countries.**"—A. P. Dispatch.

### SOME OF MEXICO'S ENEMIES.

A Willard Simpson has acquired a few hours' notoriety by attempting to prevent the passage of General Joaquin Maas through the United States en route from Eagle Pass to Laredo. He has also been writing letters to newspapers in different parts of the country telling them what a patriot his old friend Carranza is.

Willard Simpson belongs to the clique in which the publisher of the San Antonio "Light" and Senator Morris Sheppard are prominent. He was formerly a reporter on the San Antonio "Express" and, having done some press work for Gustavo Madero during the Madero uprising, obtained afterwards some contracts from the Madero Government.

Since the Madero downfall he has been active in the rebel junta in San Antonio. Simpson, Sam Belden, styled as attorney, and Felix Sommerfield, the erstwhile chief of Madero's secret service, have formed a close corporation to promote the liberty of the Mexican people.

The Commissioner who ordered the arrest of General Maas despite the permission granted by the Washington Government, occupies the same offices as Sam Belden, the distinguished and widely known Texas jurist.

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Apropos of press work. When Gustavo Madero immediately upon the fall of Diaz asked the Mexican Government—his brother—for the payment of $700,000.00, he stated that the sum was to reimburse him for expenses incurred to promote the revolution which had liberated the Mexican people. He thought that the people should be glad to give him the money, which was a very small sum to pay for their freedom and the privilege of being governed by the Madero family.

Requested to give some idea of the manner in which he had spent the money, he produced a rather mystifying statement. One item, however, was quite clear. He had spent $12,500.00 on the "American press." Questioned further, he said that the money had remained mostly in San Antonio.

It was clearly proven afterward that the San Antonio "Express" had never accepted a cent from the Maderists. The only other newspaper in San Antonio is the San Antonio "Light," backed, it is said, by Charles Taft and published by R. M. Beach a raving supporter of the Mexican Constitution.

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The Washington "Mirror" thinks that young Sherby Hopkins is descrying the end of his rope or more particularly that of his father—our old friend Captain Sherby Hopkins—and that soon his affair de coeur with a Washington enchantress will be a thing of the past.

We believe that the Washington "Mirror" is not familiar with the Captain's resources. Don Sherby is not worried by his son's extravagance and generosity. Oil companies and Mexican patriots are fruitful. Besides, there seems to be an almost inexhaustible supply of sinews from Guatemala. This supply does not only help the chip of the old block to get something out of life—it is said in Washington—but constituted a material assistance to the Mexican rebels to conduct their campaign of liberation of the Mexican people. The Guatemalan ruler, through his friend Don Sherby, gives evidence of his great love for freedom—in Mexico.

**An "Understanding" with the bandits of Northern Mexico would be a disgrace to civilization**

# How Much the More Handsomely

To the multitude of Americans who, from both an ethical and a practical standpoint, believe in Pan-Americanism, the expressions of mingled ignorance and ill-will toward Latin-Americans in the press of late must have come as a decided shock.

True Pan-Americanism, as conceived and advocated first by James G. Blaine, and upheld by Root, Barrett and many Latin-American statesmen, can subsist only through mutual understanding and goodwill, reciprocal respect, fair dealing and forbearance.

The progress of Pan-Americanism has been temporarily checked. Latin-Americans who had looked forward with hope and satisfaction to the election of President Wilson and welcomed the appointment of Secretary Bryan are evincing keen disappointment.

Of Woodrow Wilson while he was still a candidate they knew little or nothing. As a President, they believed he would uphold the supposed Democratic policy of anti-imperialism and brotherly relations with all South American Republics.

Bryan they knew well. They had received him with open arms from the Rio Grande to the Plata. They had showered upon him tokens of sincere admiration. He had been the recipient of their most courteous and generous hospitality.

With avidity they had drunk from his lips words of sincere friendship, brotherhood and fair play.

In the first days of the new Administration came a declaration of policy from Washington fraught with the greatest danger to Latin-Americans, because of the purely theoretical and often inapplicable principles expressed therein. And then followed the proposal of a protectorate over Nicaragua, the forcible and unwarranted attempt to establish a virtual protectorate over Mexico, and the profoundly ignorant, tactless and foolish declarations of men prominent in the Democratic Administration.

The smouldering feeling of mistrust and antagonism has been rekindled and the press of most Latin-American countries has reflected it.

A fair example of the ignorance and, to say the least, carelessness of some of our statesmen in dealing with Latin-American affairs was contained in a "corrected interview" in the New York "Times" with Pitchfork Benjamin Tillman, Senator of the United States.

His pitchfork remarks, as well as those of other present-day statesmen of about the same calibre, are certain to increase the feeling of mistrust and indignation in Latin-Americans.

Odious as they may be, comparisons are indispensable sometimes to inject even a small dose of knowledge and decency under the corneous epidermis of rhinocerial individuals who have an utter disregard for the sentiments and rights of other peoples.

It is for this reason that we recall here a state of affairs in South America existing only a few months ago.

The parallel is not flattering to the present Washington Administration. It will serve, however, to arouse furthermore the feeling of those Americans—and, as we have said in other numbers, there are hosts of them—who entertain a sincere friendship for the other Americans and value fair play above brutal force, if for no other reason than because they know that in the end a policy of fair play will give higher moral and material results than a rough-shod and all-rights-overriding policy.

The relative position of Argentina toward Paraguay bears a striking resemblance to that of the United States toward Mexico. It is interesting, therefore, to recall the attitude and actions of Argentina in reference to Paraguay about eighteen months ago when the latter country was torn by internicine strife.

As in Mexico, the Indian stock is preponderant in the population of Paraguay. Paraguay borders on Argentina for more than one thousand miles. Argentina, in joint action with Brazil, conducted a war of invasion against Paraguay in 1865.

Argentina to-day takes more than one-half of the total exports from Paraguay. Argentine enterprise is the most important factor in the development of Paraguay. Argentine capital, or European capital represented and managed by Argentines, has established and developed Paraguayan industries, including all the railways, and most of the banks.

Argentines own enormous extensions of land in Paraguay and the Argentine colony there is one of the most numerous.

In short, Argentine interests in Paraguay are proportionately larger than American interests in Mexico.

The prolonged revolution in Paraguay, with the consequent rapidly succeeding changes of governments, had caused great damage to Argentine interests and the gravest concern to the Argentine Government.

The situation had reached a crisis about eighteen months ago and the Argentine newspapers printed long stories concerning the events in the neighboring republic, with emphasis on the terrible suffering of nationals and foreigners alike. The Argentine government was called upon by European interests to remedy, as far as possible, the ills of the situation.

Did the Argentine Government attempt to establish a protectorate over Paraguay? Did it send an emisarry to propose an armistice with bandits and rebels? Did it attempt to dictate who should be and should not be the President of Paraguay? Did the newspapers of Argentine either advocate armed intervention or heap from day to day insults upon the people and government of Paraguay?

Did the Argentines disregard the sovereign rights of their neighbors or expect them to become peaceful, vote-understanding, vote-loving and vote-abiding citizens overnight?

Argentine could easily have intervened, for in the twenty-five years of absolute peace which she has enjoyed she has built up a splendid regular army.

But those Argentines, those South Americans, as they are vaguely and dispargingly designated by some of our latter-day statesmen, were anxious to respect the inalienable rights of their neighbors, and were anxious to alleviate their sufferings.

While the Argentine Government enforced a real neutrality, it discouraged any assistance and moral support of the lawless elements.

It encouraged, instead, the organization of a relief committee composed mainly of society women of Buenos Aires. This committee worked indefatigably to obtain subscriptions for a relief fund, which in a short time amounted to more than a million pesos.

The Government added a substantial sum and helped in the organization of a relief expedition, appointing special commissioners for the purpose. Many of the Argentine ladies composing the committee joined the expedition, which went to Paraguay in a Government boat carrying clothing, supplies and medicines.

Some of the commissioners appointed by the Government were physicians. Others were commissioned to offer in the most delicate and secret manner their offices to bring about the reestablishment of peace.

It has not been the purpose here to draw a comparison between Mexico and Paraguay, because the former country is infinitely more advanced in almost every way. But rather between the attitude of Argentina and that of the United States toward a neighbor afflicted with domestic trouble.

The Paraguayans, like the Mexicans, were too proud to beg, even though in the direst straits and experiencing extreme suffering. But the fact that they had not been villified by their neighbors and that true friendship had been shown by the Argentines made it possible for them to accept the proferred assistance.

Argentines understood and fulfilled their obligations as friends and neighbors, and could truly affirm that as Paraguay's friends they had triumphed sooner than they would as her enemy and "how much more handsomely, with how much higher and finer satisfaction of conscience and of honor."

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Charles Taft's ranch in Mexico adjoins that of a great friend of the Administration.

The Pierce Oil Company chuckles and Standard Oil gets the blame.

We love democracy.

Oh——

# THE COST OF MEDDLING

There are times when comparisons are anything but odious, and this is one of them. An invasion of Mexico by the United States would repeat the experience Great Britain had with the Boers in 1899-1902. Why this should be so can be summed up briefly and with effect. Firstly, the terrain in which the United States Army would operate is even more difficult than that which tried the wits of the best British officers; secondly, the Mexicans are as much attached to their soil as were the Boers; thirdly, the United States military establishment is in no position at present to cope easily with the resistance a united Mexico would offer. A fourth consideration does not better the picture, and this is that the natural resources of Mexico are decidedly greater than those of the erstwhile Boer republics. Lastly, the South African Dutch were able to put only 35,000 men in the field, while Mexico would have no difficulty placing 200,000 men under arms. Conceding that the Mexicans could not approach the fighting qualities of the Boers, we may, nevertheless, grant that this force would be the equal of at least 75,000 burghers. The statement that Great Britain had in the field during the war with the Boers no less than 325,000 men, and employed at one time as many as 275,000 in concerted efforts to overcome the burghers, should prove enlightening here, as should also the fact that the cost of the campaign to Great Britain was over a billion dollars.

### In Boer War and Knows Mexico.

The writer begs forbearance with the remark that he participated in the late Boer War, is fairly familiar with the topography along the line of operation that would be followed in Mexico, knows the principal features of the plan of action decided upon some time ago by the United States General Staff, and has had opportunity to study at least one essential of military operations on the part of Mexico.

Three years ago everybody would have laughed at the statement that it would take 250,000 men to invade Mexico effectively. It was the habit then to assume that a company of Texas rangers could cross the Rio Grande and subdue the entire republic just as fast as their mounts could cover it. The Mexican army was then known as a most unsoldierly aggregate of "hombres" who had discarded the rags of the penitentiary for the cheap cotton trousers, gaudy tunics, and headpieces of the army. In a way this impression is yet held, though the continuous insurrections and revolutions of the last two years have modified it in at least one important respect. It is admitted today that the Mexican can fight when he has a mind to do this. But something is likely to be overlooked here. The incessant turmoil has made soldiers out of Mexicans who formerly were not soldiers. In the states of Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, and elsewhere, there has come into an existence fighting material that is highly respected by all who know it—"los fuergos auxiliares," a sort of mounted police, under state supervision, that would be heard from most disagreeably in case of intervention.

The men forming this contingent are probably superior to anything the republic has in its military establishment. The first demonstration of this was given when though recruited from the rural population in the insurrection districts, they refused to adhere to any but the de facto Government. Like the regular army, this institution recognizes nothing but "el gobierno." What individual happens to be President does not matter. The "auxiliaries" of Nuevo Leon hunted Gen. Reyes until he thought it well to surrender, in spite of the fact that this old rebel had hoped to win them over to his side, as, according to all precedents south of the Rio Grande, he had good reason to hope.

### Every Native Loves Country.

A word must be said here for the remaining human elements that would take up arms. Even the most prejudiced must admit that the Mexican, no matter what his station in life, is warmly attached to his aggregate—his "republica." So great is this love of country that only the supply of arms could limit the number that would go into the field in case of an invasion. Since this is estimated at over a million stands of rifles, there would be no dearth in that direction. In a united Mexico, moreover, there would be no lack of ammunition for a long time. The republic not alone has acquired large stores of artillery and small-arms ammunition, but it has also the mechanical equipment to manufacture these in case an inevitable blockade should make the importation of them impossible.

The Mexican army would confine its efforts to the most trying sort of warfare—guerilla, a sort of military operation to which their kinsmen in Spain gave the name and with which the Mexicans themselves are fully acquainted. To an army organized like that of the United States this is very disastrous until such time as the necessary modifications are made. Great Britain, to meet similar conditions in South Africa, had to convert her infantry into mounted infantry, the desideratum being greater mobility. But the change involved was a slow and trying one, and led to the great protraction of the campaign. The United States would have to meet the same problem before it could hope for success. But the British infantryman at least knew how to handle his rifle. The American militiaman and volunteer would have to be taught even that.—From an article by George Albert Shreiner in N. Y. "Evening Post."

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### DREAMING.

President Wilson's theory that Mexico is to be brought out of her congenital barbarism and under the rule of the true and the beautiful in the sphere of politics by a process of moral suasion is even more than might have been expected from his temperament and habits of looking at things. But thorns do not yield grapes nor thistles figs—not yet awhile. In the so-called republic of Mexico there are somewhere between eighteen and twenty millions of people, every man among them under the terms of the constitution possessed of full political rights. Of this host some five millions are Indians—mere savages—who do not even speak the Spanish language. All the rest, with the exception of perhaps two millions, are peons. And of the approximately two million who represent Spanish or mixed blood only about one-half can read and write. Now these being the conditions it is idle, even childish, to look for anything approaching constitutional government. The expectation on the part of the President is utopian. He is merely dreaming, and the dreams he dreams are bound to pass through the ivory gate. There is but one way to pacify Mexico, and that is the way of the strong hand. To look for this consummation through any process of suasion is about as practicable as to seek for wealth at the end of the rainbow. All this has been said over and over many times. It is the common knowledge of all who have any acquaintance with conditions in Mexico. Yet there are forever those—including our well-meaning President—who seem never able to understand it.—San Francisco "Argonaut."

### OIL IN WASHINGTON.

Read this carefully. It is from the New York "World" of October 21:

The Administration here has information which leads to the belief that Lord Cowdray, better known as Sir Weetman Pearson, is responsible for the latest attitude of Britain and the action of Sir Lionel Carden. Lord Cowdray is regarded as one of the foremost financiers in the world, and has vast holdings individually and through corporations in Mexico. Much of the stock of his corporations is held by British subjects. He is interested in the Mexican National Railways, the Tehuantepec Railroad, and oil and mineral concessions. He was about to lose some of the latter concessions, when Francisco Madero, late President of Mexico, was assassinated.

Sir Lionel Carden has long been known, according to the information held by American Government officials, as "Cowdray's man." Lord Cowdray, since the American Government threw its moral support to Madero in the revolution against Porfirio Diaz, has done everything possible to stimulate an anti-American feeling in Mexico. He was charged with contributing to the Oroczo-Salazar revolution in 1911. This revolution was directed against Madero.

Lord Cowdray's campaign contributions to the Liberal party in England are notorious, according to advices here, and he is in high favor with the present British Government, especially with the British Foreign Office. Sir Lionel Carden was appointed Minister to Mexico at the solicitation of Lord Cowdray, it is openly asserted.

Sir Lionel was the only member of the foreign delegation which met in conference who did not agree that the situation was acute, and that it would be wise to suggest to their home governments that the United States be informed of the conditions in Mexico as they were viewed by these representatives.

All the members of the conference except Sir Lionel were of the opinion that the United States should intervene in Mexico. Mr. O'Shaughnessy informed the State Department that the manner in which Sir Lionel Carden presented his credentials while not strictly anti-American was most displeasing, and not conducive to pleasant relations between the American Charge and Gen. Huerta.

Now, wouldn't you say that this was inspired? Would it surprise you, gentle reader, to learn that it was carefully prepared by a notorious Washington attorney representing one of the large American oil companies, say, for instance, the Pierce Oil Corporation? It would not? Of course not. Neither would it surprise us. It sounds like him. And, by the way, don't you envy the "World" for having a pipe line tapping the centre of the oil question?

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### THE RIGHTS OF A NEIGHBOR.

(Mexico City Despatch to N. Y. "Herald.")

* * * So far as can be learned, however, no such optimism is entertained in the inner Government circles here.

High Government officials, according to persons claiming to have inside connections, no longer expect even moral assistance from Washington, holding that such moral support really is going to the rebels, and merely hope that Mexico will be permitted to work out her own salvation.

That is all that Mexico has asked of the Government of the United States: That she be allowed to work out her own salvation, that the Washington Administration should not lend its moral support to rebels and bandits.

That Federal authorities on the border enforce the neutrality laws.

That in dealing with the Mexican situation, the Washington Administration respect the sovereignty of a friendly nation, and the rights of a neighbor. Not much to ask—but—

# Nailing Them

PIQUED BY ENGLAND'S ATTITUDE.

Great Britain's attitude of regarding the recent happenings in Mexico as matters of domestic concern that do not call for any new policy on the part of foreign Governments has not been received with favor here, although officials have been extremely careful to avoid any comment that would seem like a reflection upon the British Government. In the opinion of some, and perhaps most, of the officials in Washington, foreign Governments should do nothing that would in any manner embarass the United States; and it is said that the virtual support given to President Huerta by Great Britain's attitude is a manifestation of a disposition not entirely considerate.—New York "Times."

"Not entirely considerate." Oh, dear, have we reached a point where in our handling of foreign affairs we must be patted on the back by other nations to be reassured in our own attitude? The reason the Administration is so anxious to get foreign approval of its course in Mexico is because it knows deep down in its Democratic heart that it is wrong. But admit it? Never!

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There is some reason to believe that the sympathies and also the hopes of the Administration now lie with the constitutionalists or revolutionists controlling several of the northern and middle States. Statements made to-day in official quarters indicated that the Administration would welcome some action by the revolutionists, which would give a new turn to the present unsatisfactory situation.

This is construed as meaning that the overthrow of the Huerta Government by violence and the triumph of the rebel leaders would be regarded as a solution which the United States might be able to accept until its original plan of satisfactory elections may be carried out. It has already demonstrated that it will not accept elections held under existing circumstances in Mexico City through the domination of Huerta and the subjection of the Congress.—New York "Sun."

So Washington would welcome the violent overthrow of the Huerta Government, though its professed abhorrence for that Government is based on its revolutionary inception. Strange to what extremes of inconsistency and hypocrisy personal prejudice and a meddling disposition will carry men of friendly words and unfriendly hearts.

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As far as this Government is concerned the voluntary elimination of Huerta will not be regarded as improving the situation, unless American participation in the adjustment is permitted in a satisfactory way.

There is only a faint hope that if Huerta actually quits office the new Administration, although composed of Huerta partisans, may decide that it can get along without his direction and proceed to take measures which will mark his downfall from power.

However, this is the merest surmise and a case of the wish being father to the thought.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

The wish has been father to the thought in Washington all along. Some very idealistic gentlemen of the Administration are reported—of course unjustly—as retiring every night with the kindly wish that the Mexican despatches in the morning will tell of the assassination of President Huerta.

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Discussing the Madero regime, Mr. Wilson said that eighty-four Americans had been killed in Mexico, and not one murderer had been punished, and that six months prior to the overthrow of Madero the entire country wanted it, yet "the death of the two Maderos seems to have agitated the United States Government more than the murder of the Americans."—New York Evening "Post."

There is increasing evidence, however, that outside the White House and Secretary Bryan's private office the maudlin sentiment over the death of the Maderos is nil. The day of the sob stuff has passed.

# DOWN WITH EVERYBODY!

THAT'S CARRANZA'S IDEA.

CARRANZA'S STATEMENT.

(Special Despatch to the N. Y. "Herald.")

Hermosillo, Mexico, Monday.—General Carranza to-day made this statement: "I have several times made a declaration to the press of my resolution to continue the fight against the so-called government of Huerta, because I am fully convinced that we cannot establish peace if we should try to solve the actual situation by any other means than force, and until we eliminate Huerta and have control over any other party of intriguing civilians who try to put themselves forward.

"If such a party should appear the constitutionalists would treat it with equal or greater rigor than the Huerta party."

CARRANZA'S "PLATFORM" OR PLAN DE GUADALUPE.

First—We repudiate General Victoriano Huerta as President of the Republic.

Second—We repudiate also the legislative and judicial powers of the federation.

Third—We repudiate the governments of the States, which thirty days hence shall recognize the federal authorities, which form the present administration.

Fourth—For the organization of the military forces necessary to make compliance with our purposes we name as first chief of the forces, which shall be called "constitutionalists," Don Venustiano Carranza, Governor of the State of Coahuila.

Fifth—On the occupation by the constitutionalist forces of the City of Mexico the executive power shall be taken charge of by Don Venustiano Carranza, first chief of the forces, or whoever may be substituted in command.

Sixth—The President ad interim of the republic shall convoke general elections as soon as peace shall have been established, delivering the power to the person who shall be elected.

Seventh—The person acting as first chief of the constitutionalist forces will assume charge as provisional Governor of such States as have recognized Huerta and shall convoke local elections, after which the persons elected shall assume their duties.

In view of the frequently iterated press reports of the last two weeks that the Administration is seriously considering the expediency of establishing cordial relations with the "constitutionalists," it is worth while to analyze the foregoing statement and platform. These have been made and proclaimed by Venustiano Carranza, who affirms he is the chief of the "constitutionalists," one of the many rebel groups existing at present in Mexico.

It is sufficient to point out that from Carranza's statement it is clear that the "constitutionalists" will not recognize the right of any one individual or party to strive even peacefully for power, that the "constitutionalists" are struggling to attain power by force of arms to the exclusion of any other group or party, whether civilian or military.

The Carranza platform states that he repudiates the legislative and judicial powers of the federation as well as all the State governments and that he will assume the executive as well as the other powers upon the occupation of the City of Mexico.

Thus Mr. Carranza and followers in their attempt to gain power go much further than President Huerta has gone, for they repudiate the judicial power as well as the legislative power, which means that they would not only dissolve Congress but also dismiss all the judges of the Republic and assume their functions.

Now, the supporters of the Administration in Washington have often asserted that the objection to President Huerta is **not** a personal one. That if there is any objection to him personally it is due to the belief that he was at least morally responsible for the murder of two men. That it is based on the manner in which he is said by the Administration to have gone into power by force. That the latest reason for objection to him is his assumption of dictatorial powers.

Yet we understand from reports which the correspondents assert reflect the intentions of the Administration that it intends to throw its influence to the "constitutionalist" faction and recognize it as a belligerent. Therefore to their leader who has given orders to shoot on sight all Government supporters, who has revived the inhumane law of 1862 which sanctions the wholesale murdering of all prisoners without trial. Who has sanctioned the horrors of Durango and Torreon. Whose "plan of Gaudalupe" contemplates his assuming dictatorial powers far more drastic than those of President Huerta.

Will the Administration recognize and lend its moral support to a government based on **proven** murder and rapine when it has refused recognition to a constitutional government merely on the supposition of responsibility in a murder? Will it lend its moral support to and recognize a successor to General Huerta who would go in by force only?

This leader is the chief of a faction that has adopted the name of "constitutionalist" and claims to be fighting for the rights and freedom of the people, for democracy!

And this faction finds supporters even in the United States Senate!

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**Oh, that somebody would "take a fall" out of Senator Fall before snow-fall, this fall; 'twould be the greatest wind-fall that could befall the country, and would save it from at least one pit-fall. Poor Senator Fall! That's all.**

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**The Mexican question looks too large to be handled successfully between Chautauqua lectures.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."**

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**Pointed messages may harass Senor Huerta, but they don't solve a complex problem.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."**

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MEXICAN RAILWAYS FIRMER.

**London—Home rails, although inactive, were inclined to higher values. Mining shares advanced with copper stocks especially strong. Mexican Railway Company, Ltd., issues were firmer, but foreigners were generally weak.—New York "Evening Sun," October 20.**

# FIRST-HAND INFORMATION

The Opinion of All Americans Who Know Mexico.

That any attempt to hold a "full and free" election in Mexico such as demanded by President Wilson would be a farce, while to succeed in holding one would be a "crime against humanity," is the contention of leading American residents of Mexico set forth in a memorial addressed to President Wilson and Congress.

A "full and free" election would result in peon domination. Peon domination, these memorialists insist, would fasten upon Mexico all the horrors of negro rule in the Southern States during the "carpet bag" reconstruction regime multiplied a thousandfold.

American intervention can have but one meaning, they say, and this is American invasion. Any man elected by the peon vote would have to be kept in office by American arms—he would be chosen by force and supported by force just as completely as was Porfirio Diaz or Victoriano Huerta. And the results, so far as Mexico is concerned, would be to make bad matters infinitely worse.

Copies of this memorial, signed by Major Cassius E. Gillette, formerly an officer of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army and now a consulting engineer, with headquarters in Mexico City, and twenty other Americans, most of them men of long residence in Mexico, have been received in Washington. It was erroneously asserted in some despatches from Mexico City that the memorial was addressed to Provisional President Huerta. It is addressed to President Wilson and the members of Congress of the United States.

"We believe the administration is entirely sincere. It is simply misinformed, and trying to apply a sound principle which, unfortunately is wholly inapplicable, to Mexico now. The remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease," these Americans assert. "If there could be literally a 'full and free' election in Mexico to-morrow there is not a shadow of doubt that Gaona, the leading bull-fighter, would be overwhelmingly elected President, just as 'Jack' Johnson, the negro prizefighter, would be overwhelmingly elected Governor of Mississippi under similar conditions.

"Nothing is so easy to start as a rebellion in Mexico. The peon comes from a warlike ancestry, to whom the shedding of human blood was a routine part of his religious life, and in a 'rebellion' he has nothing to lose and everything to gain. He can loot to his heart's content from lone haciendas or small villages, live a free life on horseback and drink and eat without working, carry off women and steal clothing, horses and equipment without difficulty. If pressed by the government forces his "troops" scatter to the mountains in practical safety. **There are plenty of leaders for such bands of 'bandit-rebels,' men of intelligence and nerve, of the Quantrell or Jesse James, Chris Evans, 'bad-man' type. Under a strong government able and ready to throw heavy forces at once around a solitary outbreak banditism does not thrive, but under a weak government, like that of Madero, it spreads like wildfire."**

This is the element that would be placed in power in any "full and free" election. "Why should the United States try to force upon Mexico a 'full and free' election, with all the horrors of peon government?" these Americans ask. And continuing, they say:

"The Southern negro was duly enfranchised by the national government. The Southern people have deliberately disfranchised him, and President Wilson does not raise a hand for a 'full and free' election there. He knows he would ruin the South. We can only assume that he does not want to ruin Mexico, and that his appearing to do so is because he does not understand that peon domination would be far worse than one time slave domination in the South. The latter would mean only State control; here it would be both State and nation.

"After fifty years of blood chaos in an attempt to make a stable republican government out of a population three-fourths peon the intelligent people of Mexico under the Diaz regime tacitly consented to disfranchisement to save themselves from peon domination, essentially the same as the citizens of the District of Columbia consented to disfranchisement to save our capital city from negro domination, the difference being that the people of Mexico kept up a form of voting while Washington people don't vote at all, even in their own civic affairs.

"President Wilson takes the self-disfranchisement of Washington as a matter of course. Why should he object to it in Mexico?

**"Under conditions existing in Mexico a man who would start a rebellion among the peons is a thousand times more a knave or a fool than one who smokes cigarettes in a powder factory. Yet this is exactly what Madero did, offering the peons a vote and free distribution of land.**

"Suppose some wealthy white man in Alabama had started in arming the negroes a few years after the war, offering each a pure democracy and 'forty acres and a mule' if they would make him Governor, how long would the intelligent whites delay in stringing him up to the nearest telegraph pole, especially if the negroes there outnumbered the whites three to one?

"And if, supposing conditions were such that he succeeded, he sat supine in his gubernatorial chair, while the black cohorts kept on robbing farm houses, wrecking trains and paralyzing business, and when people went to him with demands for some action, he blithely chattered: 'Well, if you have not got peace you have liberty, haven't you?'—how long would the Vigilance Committee of Southern gentlemen postpone his lynching?

"This is an exact parallel to conditions here, due to the Madero misguided or criminal performance.

"And would the President of the United States decline to recognize the situation and help stop the rapine and robbery because the succeeding Governor of Alabama was suspected of having belonged to the lynching committee, and in any event, had obtained his office 'by force?' Would he demand an armistice and a "full and free' election?"

That the present revolution is a continuation of that started by Madero is one of the proudest assertions of those who are supporting it. These Americans agree that it is.

"Madero," they say, "unlocked the cage and released the tigers that he was helpless to tame or to recapture. They are in the field now. Practically every one that Madero started against Diaz stayed right on in rebellion through his two years in office, with only a slight change in their 'patriotic' shibboleths, and dozens of new bands have taken to the warpath during and since his administration.

**"Madero laid the torch that has rekindled the conflagration it took fifty years to extinguish, and the present policy of our government seems to be to withdraw all friendly assistance to help put out the flames because they do not approve of the way General Huerta became fire marshal nor his alleged treatment of the incendiary. The Huerta troops are welcomed everywhere as representing law and order; the constitutionalists, the self-styled 'patriots,' are abhorred and feared by decent people all over Mexico. The people are everywhere arming against them."**

What will European Powers do to look after the interests of their people in Mexico? This is the view taken by the Americans who have submitted their views to President Wilson:

"The previous fifty year period of war and waste was tolerated by the United States and Europe because their interests here were trifling; now they are measured by hundreds of millions of capital and hundreds of thousands of lives. European countries surely will not stand by indefinitely and see their people's properties destroyed and their lives jeopardized, and they will seize the opportunity of encroachment upon the country. Then the United States must either abandon its boldly and justly proclaimed right to try the experiment of popular government on this continent unhampered and uncontaminated by aggression of European monarchial systems or else commit the crime of an armed invasion of Mexico.

"It seems to us that should such invasion occur and the administration later were accused, no matter how unjustly, of having taken this action in the interest of corporate or financial influence, and of having so manoeuvred as to make it appear that intervention had been forced upon it, we cannot conceive of any defence that could be made. We cannot conceive of any action that has been taken, or any action that has been avoided, that would not have been so taken or so avoided had the intention been to be forced into an invasion.

"We use the word 'invasion' advisedly, because there can be no such thing as 'intervention' between an established government and dozens of bands of bandits masquerading as rebels and pretending allegiance to a fake patriot operating a thousand miles away and of whose personality and principles they know nothing and care less.

**"If any American undertook to 'intervene' or 'mediate' with any one of the dozens of bands of rebels the chances are that he would be entirely unable to find them at all, unless he went unguarded, and then if he did find one of the bands he would be lucky if he could 'mediate' with enough success to come out with his shirt or his shoes.**

**"The struggle really is between civilization and savagery, with the United States, unfortunately, now ranged on the side of savagery."**

The attitude of some officials in regarding as of no value the views of Americans having interests in Mexico and knowing most about the country is criticized.

"We understand," say the memorialists, "that the Secretary of State discredits all information and advice from persons interested in Mexico, like ourselves, saying all we think of is 'what we have lost and expect to lose.' Is that the right point of view for the Foreign Affairs Department to take? Is it not one of the functions to take the proper cognizance of American losses in foreign countries?

"We believe that control of the country by the United States would alone vastly increase our material welfare; but Mexico owns this country, and to take it just because we are big enough would not only leave our country with a problem not its own, but would be utterly repugnant to the principles that have given us our standing among nations."

# Lest We Forget

Our own Indians are not granted the rights of citizenship. We have been educating them for thirty-five years.

* * *

Do we want to take under our governmental wing the millions of Mexican Indians and train them for citizenship?

* * *

Strange how Huerta hangs onto the Presidency, when the big interests and their newspapers have told him to resign.

* * *

The cat is out! Huerta's exit from Mexico by the "underground route," that is the grave, is wished by the big interests.

* * *

And what does Washington wish for him?

* * *

And for Mexico and her people?

* * *

Huerta has resigned.

* * *

Huerta has not resigned.

* * *

Huerta is preparing to flee.

* * *

Huerta will not flee.

* * *

How long will Washington continue to inspire this sort of thing?

* * *

Who can tell who is not on the "inside"?

* * *

Good Heavens! Three years, four months and ten days more!!

Poor Mexico!

Poor US!

* * *

Because of the horror which is professed to be felt at the death of one guilty man, the killing of thousands of innocent ones—some of them Americans—is encouraged.

* * *

Gomez is still absolute ruler of Venezuela. No message has been sent to him stating that the results of the next elections will not be accepted by the Washington Administration.

* * *

Perhaps there will be no elections.

* * *

What? And we still keep a Minister there?

And our indignation at any one who stabs the Constitution in Latin America?

And our love of freedom in other countries?

* * *

Also the Asphalt Trust is very largely interested in Venezuela.

Trusts? Why, we hate them in Washington.

* * *

And our marines are still in Nicaragua propping a government opposed by two-thirds of the people.

* * *

"God made us neighbors. Let justice make us friends."

Fine! Say that again.

# LOBBYGRAMS

Both President Wilson and Secretary Bryan "are turning over in their minds," says a Washington despatch in the Denver "Times." The phrase looks queer but there must have been some accident befall the type which resulted in the loss of the explanatory part of the sentence. Certain newspaper correspondents in Washington, however, have been doing that wonderful stunt attributed by a typographical inadvertence to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. These correspondents are, for lack of real information, seeking to make it appear that the Administration is thinking out a plan for "more aggressive" treatment of the Mexican situation. Spirit of Senator Fall! What can they mean? Fall himself could ask for nothing more than invasion of Mexico and the dreadful cost in lives and money it would entail to protect his interests and those of his friends.

But why newspapers in New York, Washington and elsewhere, not allied with the border States newspapers should persistently "turn over in their minds" at the behest of Senator Fall and others who seek to force a war can only be surmised. Senators and members of the House of Representatives who might throw real light on the local view of the Mexican situation are not quoted in these newspapers. Neither is there printed any news from these sources which would tend to show the feeling of a majority of Senators and Representatives is turning against the Mexican policy (?) of the Administration. Are the newspapers riding for a Fall?

Reading the statements in the news and editorial columns, the National legislators are puzzled to know where the information comes from. They themselves have tried in vain to get reliable information and are now sitting back watching the course of events. The fact has been told in this column that the important Senators and Representatives, outside of the few who want intervention, are chafing under the secret methods of the Administration in dealing with the situation south of the Rio Grande. It is suggested they might welcome the presence of a lobby which would give them the real information. But the Administration abhors lobbies of all kinds, good or bad—and maintains its policy of silence toward the lawmakers. Not that the lawmakers wish to have the scene of action moved from the White House to Capitol Hill, but that if the situation "grows more tense" and "more serious" and "relations with Mexico are broken off," as certain newspapers keep saying, the legislators want to be officially informed.

Senator Hamilton Lewis—perhaps his admirers may be puzzled that the James has been dropped, but he himself has done it—is bristling for intervention. But "Jim Ham" does not want any fighting. He has no desire for war. He wants United States troops massed in Mexico so as to frighten the combatants into making peace.

"I think we ought to stop the trouble down in Mexico," said Senator Lewis, fondling his pink whiskers. "It has gone on too long and we are big enough to go down there and, by show of force, put an end to the disturbances. I do not say we should make war, but we should by moral suasion induce all the contending elements to unite in the interest of the peace and prosperity of this country as well as Mexico. I think there will be a peaceable settlement of the trouble very shortly and that there is not the least danger of war with the neighboring republic."

That move would make the Administration policy look truly rural.

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WHAT THE PAPERS PREDICTED.

That Huerta would resign.

* * *

That he would be assassinated.

* * *

That the Mexican Army would revolt against Huerta.

* * *

That another ten days' fight would take place in the City of Mexico.

* * *

That Huerta did not have money to pay the Army and the Government employees.

* * *

That Huerta was at the end of his rope.

* * *

That the whole of Mexico would rise against the Huerta Government because of the dissolving of Congress.

* * *

That the arrested deputies would be killed.

* * *

That Felix Diaz would be assassinated.

* * *

That the Judges of the Supreme Court had resigned.

* * *

That England would approve and follow the policy of the United States.

* * *

That the European diplomats in Mexico had met for the purpose of asking American intervention.

* * *

That they had asked for warships to be sent to Mexican ports.

* * *

That they had asked for marines to guard their legations.

* * *

WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

THINK IT OVER.

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**Subscribe to "MEXICO"**

# VICE VERSA

A Dream.

The Potomac flowed muddily past the shadow of the White House. President Wilson was gazing out over the lawn and his eyes rested musingly on the green hills of Virginia beyond the river. He was thinking how much more pleasant it was to view those green hills and let fancy run riot than to hear the strident voices of the horde of office-seekers and kickers against his policies gathered without the Executive Chamber.

It was unusually tranquil within the Chamber. For the moment there was no bothering news on the Mexican situation and the Senators and Representatives were behaving well under suasion of the birchen rod.

Suddenly a troubled look came into the face of the Executive. He recalled that there had come to him that day, disquieting rumors of an uprising against his rule somewhere in Wisconsin. He recalled, too, that Senator La Follette had been talking of setting up his own government. Would he have the hardihood to pain and shock the President so? Tut, tut! Likewise Fie!

Just as he was settling down to the enjoyment of the green hills of Virginia 'cross the sward—Pop! His muse was scattered as Secretary Tumulty burst in with a report that General La Follettte (they all become generals when they turn rebels) had taken the field with Generals Ollie James, Farr and Vardaman. The report ran to the effect that the rebels had set up a government in Wisconsin; had captured all the important cities and were on a triumphal march to Washington. The Mexican correspondents were already shooting to their newspapers alarming stories about Mexican intervention and there was great indignation throughout the land. Several Mexican papers took up the cudgels for the insurrectos.

The news was startling, to be sure. Secretary Tumulty was dreadfully excited. Naturally. So was the President. Also naturally. He was angry, too. His lips trembled and his hand shook as he read the message. Recovering himself readily, he gave his orders rapidly. In calm tones he commanded the Secretary:

"Call the Secretary of State at once—if he is not out on the circuit," he added as an afterthought.

The hotfooted summons sped across to the State, War and Navy Building. No, the Secretary of State was not on the circuit. He was on the jump, though, in a jiffy. The rear end of his coat stood out straight and the usual armful of documents looked like a white streak on a sombre background as the Secretary of State sped like a cyclone to obey the summons. He bumped into the President's Secretary and the Secret Service men as he whirled into the Secretary's office. Bang! went the door. Everybody looked startled. How could the insurgents have reached Washington so soon? Foolish!

The President and Secretary of State went into conference which was interrupted in a few minutes by another despatch in code telling of the wrecking of railroads by the rebels. Rumors of sympathy with the rebels and financial aid from Mexico were contained in the dispatch. The President was thoughtful and very obviously agitated.

"What shall we do, Chief?" trembled the Secretary of State.

The President frowned long and directed that the Secretary of War and his chief aides be sent for. They arrived. Then a council of war. Plans were laid to crush the rebellion at once. Information came that there were secret sympathizers with the rebels hatching conspiracy at the other end of Pennsylvania avenue, on Capitol Hill. They refused to vote for the President's currency reform bill and a committee was holding up the tariff measure.

Funds were low and secret influences—Mexico being under suspicion—were working to prevent the negotiation of a large loan. Things did look squally. In a few days the Mexican Minister gave notice his government had summoned him home for a conference. He departed for Mexico City amid great excitement. The Mexican President sent a message through the Charge d'Affaires that order must be restored and the intimation that the Executive of Mexico, while having a very kindly feeling for Americans, could not tolerate their President.

There was a long conference over this message and the decision was that its tone was positively insolent and could not be tolerated. A reply was sent to the American Charge in Mexico City couched in friendly terms but putting it pretty plainly that if Mexico would attend to her own business Washington would take care of affairs in the United States.

Messages were interchanged for several days and in one of them the Secretary of State told the Mexican President that the demand for new elections and the retirement of the American President were questions which would be decided by the authorities in Washington and the people of the United States. That terminated the negotiations and the newspapers along the Mexican border published wild stories concocted for profit by the correspondents. These papers and reports found their way into Washington and were the subject of grave consideration in the councils.

"It is these unfriendly reports in the Mexican newspapers that are keeping us back in meeting this situation," said the Secretary of the Navy.

"Yes, and some of our own papers print them," said the Secretary of War.

"Suppress them," thundered the President, "and imprison the owners and editors."

Soldiers were sent forthwith to carry out the order.

There was little activity on the part of the rebels, but the Mexican newspapers were exaggerating drunken brawls into massacres of Mexicans, and raids by hoboes following the rebel army into desperate battles. Washington, being fully aware of the actual conditions, was beset and harried. The false reports were sifting over to Europe, where the secret influences had, to an extent, availed to block negotiations with the bankers of London, Paris and Berlin. The Mexican bankers already had refused to participate in the loan.

All this time the rumors of plot and treason right in the Capital had been heard. The President, worried by the aggression from the outside, forebore inviting added hostility from abroad, and deferred action. So flagrant were the conspirators that action at last became a necessity. In a Cabinet conference, at which the list of conspirators was considered, orders were issued for the arrest of 84 members of Congress. They were surrounded and the papers and documents in their desks seized, proving their treason. But the rebels were making no progress. The Federal arms were victorious everywhere.

Yet the untruthful reports were circulated more furiously than ever in Mexico and other countries. The arrest of the Members of Congress was denounced by Mexican newspaper editorial writers who, knowing nothing of the conditions, accepted the untruthful reports and made them the basis of inflammatory comments. The American President decided to ignore the Mexican Charge and also a confidential agent who had been sent to Washington with a special invitation to the President to step aside for his successor. Americans generally shared the indignation of the President and his Cabinet. His refusal to abdicate started the Mexican newspapers shrieking again. They howled and demanded the President be done away with. Justifiable indignation rent the soul of the President. The people held their feelings in check. Never had the country needed sympathy and friendly aid more. Things were surely somhre.

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The President started suddenly as his Secretary bustled into the room with some documents. Without noticing the Secretary, his eyes wandered to the green hills of Virginia, now darkening, but whose summits were still tipped by the sun.

Mechanically the President asked his Secretary:

"Any news on Mexico?"

"No, Mr. President, It is still drifting," was the answer.

"Very well. I think I must have dozed."

The boot was not on the other leg, as he had dreamed.

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## FAKE AND FACT.

Not since the palmy days of the Cuban "liberation" has such a harvest been reaped by the story faker as in the last two weeks.

He has called down his fervent blessings on Mexico and on Washington alike. The newspapers fairly "devonred" everything that he put on the wire.

His fiery brains exploded. His imagination soared. He ran the gamut up and down and back again to his heart's content. Assassinations, treasons, escapes, mutinies, arrests, plots and counterplots, climaxes, denouements, tragedy, drama, comedy—all—he manipulated feverishly, unhindered, unchecked.

He plunged into an orgy of faking and now lies panting, dazzled, somewhat exhausted, but ready to absorb new strength and start all over again.

The correspondent that sent over that story that General Herta was auctioneering the candidates for the Presidency carried the day.

Too bad he missed the real story! And yet because it contains more truth, it might seem to him less interesting.

A Carranza follower has let the cat out of the bag in San Antonio. Some of the "constitutionalist" leaders are bargaining with Charles P. Taft and John Hays Hammond—this Carranzista affirms—for the sale of a large part of Northern Mexico. He affirms that the support given the Carranzistas by the San Antonio "Light," by its publisher, Mr. Beach, and by his friend, Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, is due to the fact that Charles Taft is the "backer" of the San Antonio "Light."

If this is true a ready explanation may be found for many past events which until now have remained somewhat in the dark.

This particular Carranzista, upon learning that his leaders were bargaining for the sale of part of his country, became disgusted and abandoned them. He is ready to support his assertions with evidence.

We wonder why the New York "World" has not carried this story!

# PUBLIC OPINION

## WHERE WILL IT COME OUT?

There must be a good deal of curiosity as to where President Wilson's method of handling Mexico is coming out. General Huerta's assumption of dictatorial powers has changed the Mexican situation. This change has been gladly seized upon by President Wilson's friends as evidence that he has been well informed and has taken the right course from the beginning. It may be, however, that our refusal to recognize Huerta strengthened the opposition to him in the Mexican national assembly, and so raised the direct question which he has now undertaken to solve by declaring himself dictator. If our government had promptly recognized the provisional Mexican government, as all the other important governments of the world did, no one can be sure that the provisional government would not have pulled through within constitutional lines, as such lines are understood in Mexico. But, whether our attitude helped to bring about this change or not, there is no doubt that General Huerta as dictator is different from General Huerta as the Provisional President.

President Wilson has met this change by sending his personal opinion of it to General Huerta. **The first lesson that a capable diplomat learns is that he must have no personal opinions, but our new Washington diplomacy is pretty much all personal.** President Wilson has instructed Mr. O'Shaughnessy, who is acting as our Ambassador at Mexico City, to say to General Huerta that he (Wilson) "is shocked at the lawlessness of the methods employed by General Huerta, and as a sincere friend of Mexico is deeply distressed at the situation which has arisen." This may or may not please Huerta; but at any rate he will learn from it what Dr. Wilson thinks of him. He will not learn from it, however, the worst that Dr. Wilson thinks of him; for these instructions to Mr. O'Shaughnessy explain further, that he (Wilson) finds it impossible to regard otherwise than as an act of bad faith towards the United States Huerta's course in dissolving the Congress and arresting the deputies." For the head of one independent state to charge the head of another independent state, even if the latter is only the acting head, with "lawlessness" and "bad faith," is an entirely new kind of diplomacy. Indeed, many will fail to find this kind of language diplomatic at all. **It appears to proceed from the necessarily autocratic schoolroom rather than from the responsible offices of state. "Johnny," says the lord of the ferule, "you have been a very bad boy; you are always bad. Now go and stand in the corner with your face to the wall until I say that you may go home." This is the spirit which is directing and shaping our relations to Mexico.**

If this country had assumed a definite responsibility for the conduct of political affairs in Mexico, and if this country were prepared and intended to enforce that responsibility, such an autocratic tone, however unusual and unpleasant, could be understood. In the current phase, it would mean business. It would be the iron hand of power without the velvet glove of a friendly manner. It would not be diplomacy even in that case, for all diplomats keep the velvet glove on, no matter how strong their position may be, under the rule that states are fairly permanent fixtures on the map, that when they are neighboring states they cannot get away from each other, and that to plant seeds of continuous ill feeling between them by coarse language is to thwart the real purpose for which international relations are maintained. But President Wilson apparently has no idea of placing this country in a position of definite responsibility for Mexican behavior. On the contrary, his words indicate that he means to place us in a position of definite irresponsibility. For his instructions to Mr. O'Shaughnessy proceed in this wise:—

"It (this act of bad faith in dissolving the Congress and arresting the deputies) is not only a violation of constitutional guarantees but destroys all possibility of a free and fair election.

"The President believes that an election held at this time and under the conditions as now existing would have none of the sanctity with which law surrounds the ballot, and that the result therefore could not be regarded as representing the will of the people.

"The President would not feel justified in accepting the results of such an election or in recognizing the President so chosen."

The meaning of this official declaration—assuming that President Wilson is able to carry out in cold blood what he says in passion—is that Mexico cannot be received by this country under the normal relations of a friendly state until the Huerta government and the government that comes after it are both out of the way. Really, you know, **this does not appear to be getting on a little bit. It not only shuts the door to-day, as to which most people are agreed as a fact that cannot be changed, but it shuts the door for an uncertain and prolonged to-morrow.**

The United States will remain on the map, and Mexico will remain on the map, and they will continue to be close neighbors. As close neighbors, each with its own characteristics in temperature and soil and lines of production, the order of nature has made them in a sense supplementary to each other. We can produce things that the Mexicans need—including trained men and capital—and Mexico can produce things that we are glad to buy. These commercial exchanges amounted in the fiscal year of 1912—not a peaceful year in Mexico—to $118,000,000. That is not a tremendous sum, but, reduced to the day's work, it does represent a considerable amount of profitable labor on both sides. But the Mexicans have their own peculiar way of ruling themselves or being ruled, just as we have; and, fortunately for us, we are much better satisfied with our way than with their way. One method of improving their way would be to let our friendly association with them in the natural lines of friendly dealings teach them by example. Another method is to say that we will have nothing to do with them until their government and other public methods suit us. We can understand how the method of trade and friendly relations would work out; but how is the other method to work out, and when? **President Wilson's new rule in the management of our relations with Mexico may be as just and holy and beautiful as you please; but we should like to know when Mexico is likely to be capable of applying it, and whether standing her in the corner is likely to shorten the time.**—Hartford "Courant."

## WATTERSON SAYS:

In the course of a statement to the New York "Herald" last week, Colonel Henry Watterson said:

"Easy is sometimes wiser than hard," said the Colonel. "Perhaps we had better have joined the other Powers in promptly recognizing Huerta's Presidency. How he got there was no concern of ours. The Portuguese murders were as heinous as the Mexican murders, yet we recognized the new regime in Lisbon without delay.

"Since we have interposed moral considerations wholly foreign to international relations we are at the mercy of events.

"There's nothing here committing the United States to police territory or collect debts of Latin-Americans, yet if we should go it alone in a policy of Mexican intervention we should not only embark upon an endless and costly war, with nothing at the close of it to reimburse us, but we should put fuel to the flame of anti-Yankee prejudice already seething in Central and South America.

"Yet for thirty odd years we have been trying to lay the ghost of the Monroe Doctrine in the minds of our southerly neighbors. We established the Pan-American Union, we set up a Bureau at Washington and built a palace to house it. Mr. Root travelled all the way to Buenos Ayres, Chili and Brazil to disabuse the minds of those countries touching our intentions and assure them of our disinterested friendship.

"'We consider,' said Mr. Root, with the approval of his countrymen, 'that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of great empires. We pretend to no right, privilege or power that we do not freely concede to each one of the American republics.'

"This was to meet and if possible to dispel the ever-growing suspicion of the United States, which was discrediting our relations and destroying our commerce.

"Yet by one sweeping act of intervention in Mexico, having already dismembered Colombia of Panama, we should do away with all that has been done to reach a better understanding and again raise before the eyes of the Latins the old, odious, black flag bearing the hated words 'Monroe Doctrine,' that would simply confirm their fears and enrage them further, to our loss and the gain of our trade rivals."

## MEXICO AND A GENERAL BALLOT.

The sympathetic person who is inclined to unthinking approval of the demand in American government circles for a "popular" election in Mexico which shall express "the will of the whole people," will do well to sit alone awhile and cogitate on the actualities as they exist below the Rio Grande before he joins in any mad outcry of censure which may follow announcement of the result of the balloting on October 26.

He may be assisted to a reasonable view of the situation by recollecting that the peon who makes up 75 to 80 per cent. of the population of Mexico knows nothing and cares nothing about governmental problems. In such matters he is no more than a savage individualist asking only to be let alone to till his ground, and grateful if the local magistrate refrains from extortion.

(Continued on Page 10.)

It would be as reasonable for the United States to confer the vote on the savage outlaw Moros as it is to demand that these peons be given their untrammeled will on election day. It would be quite as reasonable to demand that boys and girls of eight and ten years be suddenly given suffrage in the United States as it is to expect that the great mass of the Mexican Indians and crossbreeds be driven to the polls to select a president for their country.

The Mexican peon wouldn't know what to do when he got there and, unlike the American child, he probably couldn't be taught.

For many years there can be no such thing as a national election by the people of Mexico, and it is the veriest flubdub to demand or expect it.

England and her people passed through a good many centuries of development before the degree of freedom guaranteed by the great charter blossomed into genuine representative government, and we have no right to expect anything different in Mexico.—Detroit "Free Press."

## HUERTA A DICTATOR.

According to advices from the city of Mexico, President Huerta has practically declared himself dictator, as in dissolving Congress he announced the suspension of the immunities granted congressmen, as well as the fact that he would by proclamation, from time to time, put into effect such laws as the situation demanded. It is also announced that the note of the United States Government warning Huerta that it would look with displeasure on any maltreatment of the imprisoned deputies is regarded as impertinent by the powers that be in Mexico and that a rather tart reply may be expected at Washington.

President Huerta has evidently copied the methods of former President Diaz closely. When that able statesman found himself embarrassed and impeded by either Congress or individual politicians he promptly eliminated the opposition and ruled Mexico with a hand of iron for a quarter of a century. The coup d'etat resorted to by Huerta was evidently for the purpose of controlling the approaching elections, but whether he will throw his support to one of the avowed candidates or brush them all aside and elect himself remains to be seen. If the candidate of the Clericals is elected Huerta will be the power behind the throne, with a reversionary right to the office as soon as he judges the time ripe.

As distasteful as Huerta's methods may appear to Americans, past history shows that they are about the only methods likely to succeed in Mexico. The great mass of the people have little or no comprehension of representative government and are perfectly willing to accept the rule of any one strong enough to maintain himself in power. The only real trouble-makers are the revolutionists, many of whom find it profitable to live by virtual brigandage. If Huerta is forced from power, either by the efforts of the United States or any other influence, some other dictator of practically the same stripe will eventually arise and seize the reins of power, as Mexico can only be governed by the strong hand.—New Orleans "Picayune."

Insurgents have been greatly encouraged by reports that President Wilson will probably recognize the Constitutionalists. In that event all the freebooters will become nominal Constitutionalists for the purpose of obtaining arms.—New York "Evening Sun."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## GOOD MEDICINE FOR REVOLUTIONISTS.

Twenty-five years in the Texas penitentiary for young Serrano, the first of the gun-runners and Industrial Worker revolutionists planning to start another revolution in unhappy Mexico, was the result of the trial of the first case of the group at Pearsall. Twenty-five years at hard labor will be some punishment for this man's participation in the killing of the Texas officer, Ortiz, and it will afford him ample time to get the revolutionary microbe out of his system. He ought to be able to sober down and come forth as a reasonably staid citizen at the end of his career in the Texas penal institution. And the probabilities are that his associates in crime will bear him company—he will not be lonesome during the period of his long incarceration.

The revolutionary microbe has been most active in Texas. It has been perniciously active from one end of the border to the other, and thousands of men have suffered from its presence. In this case it invaded the Texas cotton fields and got in its work among cotton pickers, who became imbued with the idea that it was their duty to contribute to the state of anarchy already existing in poor old Mexico by starting another revolution. Having made up their minds to revolute, these men cared nothing for the laws that were supposed to exist on both sides of the border. They regarded human life as something very cheap on both sides of the border, but fortunately they were brought to before they had progressed very far on their chosen career.

If penitentiary doors could be closed on the entire group of revolution promoters on this side of the Rio Grande it would do much to discourage such activity, for there is no quicker and surer method of administering a quietus to revolutionists than by the mixing of that medicine which puts them where they can not defy the laws for a good long season.—El Paso "Times."

## KNOX ON LATIN AMERICA.

It is well in the heat of feeling over the condition of affairs below the border for the American people to have called to their minds by that master diplomatist, Philander C. Knox, former secretary of state, the basic nature of this country's good will, sympathy and practical helpfulness toward the Latin-American states. * * *

Mr. Knox pointed out that in contrast to the Northern territories of the hemisphere, the Southern territories were not colonized, but conquered. This fact gave a prenatal impress to the republics that grew up in the Latin-American area. Together with the incidents of their subordination and lack of national expression or ability to frame true national ideals, their conditions constituted a burden of adverse heritage that they carried into their constitutional era. The habits of centuries are not lightly thrown aside and the feeling of getting what one can out of the country—the strongly ingrained spirit of exploitation for personal gain—is hard to get rid of.

It would be shameful, Mr. Knox avers, for this country to repeat the phrase-making and non-action policy of Spain when grievous complaints were brought to it from her colonies. The United States must not trifle with serious appeals for substantial moral and material aid from weaker nations. It must not treat flippantly with smug indifference cases of evident distress or halt or enfeeble performance by a repetition of vain words concerning theories of international duty and least of all to adjust its policies to the exigencies of domestic politics. * * *

Mr. Knox very properly indicates the line of action of the United States to be, first and last, practical assistance, forbearance without harshness, consideration of all the factors that enter into a given case and an undeviable effort to make every contact of this country with Latin America promote the best interests of the lesser republics. Encroachment upon the sovereignty of any of these peoples he regards as deplorable and respect for their amour propre most important. Only by so acting can the United States round out the glory of its past in relation to the lesser republics and make its unselfishness clear and yet bring greater glory upon it in the future. * * *—Baltimore "American."

## AMERICANS IN MEXICO.

"Americans in Mexico want recognition of the Huerta Government. The solution of the problem is such recognition, which has been accorded by the powerful European nations. Why should the United States go into Mexico to clear up the situation at the cost of many lives and more dollars, when Huerta is able to do it himself with the slight aid of official recognition?" This question was asked by Harold Sturges, mine engineer and mine owner, who has lived in the troubled Republic for sixteen years and who is spending a few days in Galveston before proceeding to his former home in Chicago. Mr. Sturges, accompanied by his wife, left the interior of Mexico more than a week ago, coming by rail to San Antonio and thence to Treasure Island.

Mr. Sturges has been in all parts of Mexico during his stay there. His mining work has necessitated frequent trips from one part of the country to the other and he feels as familiar with it as the resident natives. Mrs. Sturges has been with him for the past six years, moving about from place to place in the interior of the country.

"Of course the country is in a bad state," he replied to a question, "but it is now much better than what it was sixty or ninety days ago. Huerta has 60,000 men in the field in various parts of Mexico, this including the volunteers who are playing an important part in the fighting with the regulars.

"Ninety-eight per cent. of the Americans living in Mexico—the people with interests there that need protection—agree with Ambassador Wilson.

"Huerta is the strongest man in the entire country. He can clean it up and is doing so to a large extent. With the help of foreign loans which he could easily secure provided the United States Government would recognize him, he could proceed steadily with the work and would have conditions bettered in a short time.

"I don't think there is any danger of a general uprising against the Americans or anybody else. I have not heard of a single case where the Federals have harmed a foreigner, but, of course, there have been instances where the rebels have done so. In Durango and other isolated points they are damaging property, but around Mexico City, Tampico, Laredo and other big towns are rather quiet.—Galveston "News."

Rox Underwood, a mining man of Mexico, now on a business trip to New York, harshly criticized the attitude of this country toward the stricken republic in a statement given to "The Tribune." Mr. Underwood, who was seen at the Harvard Club, is in close touch with Mexican affairs, having married a Mexican woman and spent more than twenty years in that country.

"Mexico," Mr. Underwood said, "is one of the proudest nations on earth, and will accept no help from a country which, like the United States, views it with openly expressed contempt. Our administration refused recognition to the de facto government; it sent patronizing notes to the Mexican Foreign Minister, saying that this country will view 'with extreme disfavor' certain possible courses of the Mexican Executive. It acts, in short, as if we had already established a Mexican protectorate. Our press is even worse, and refers to the Mexican President as a murderer, usurper and tyrant, and is ever harping on the 'necessity' of intervention. Press and government have combined to wound bitterly Mexican pride.

"What is the result? Though the misery of the country absolutely beggars description, the people will ask us for no help."—New York "Tribune."

President Huerta locks refractory Deputies in prison. President Wilson locks in the Capitol building the Congressmen who decline to do his bidding. There is a difference in the place of imprisonment, but is there any difference in principle?—"Town Topics."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of "Mexico":

Dear Sir:

The press hints that President Wilson will recognize the belligerency of the revolutionists and permit them to receive every kind of war material across the frontier: rifles, cannon, machine guns, cartridges, and even men. By doing this Mr. Wilson would expect to give the advantage to so-called "constitutionalists," and entrust them with the tremendous task of restoring order in Mexico.

Knowing the possibility that President Wilson might decide to do this, the revolutionary agents in the United States are circulating news to the effect that they have eighty thousand men and that they are in possession of two-thirds of the country, and that as soon as they get the necessary supplies that within ninety days they would put an end to General Huerta and establish on the ruins of his government the rule of perfect peace and harmony, an ideal democracy of purest splendor.

If President Wilson thinks that the great conflict could be terminated in this way, he is most lamentably mistaken. The remedy would be worse than the disease. Supplying arms and ammunition to the rebels would only have the result of prolonging the present combat and increasing the slaughter, adding new fuel to the flames and making the catastrophe more serious.

As a general rule, any interference in the internal affairs of Mexico would produce bad results. American intervention is not desired in any form whatsoever by Mexico, and Mexico is not composed entirely—as Mr. Wilson thinks—of the fifteen or twenty thousand men who are fighting the present government.

Mr. Wilson has manifested a desire that General Huerta resign, and this in itself has been sufficient to make him appear to the people of Mexico as a true symbol of our autonomy. If Mr. Wilson should recognize the revolutionists as belligerents the Mexican people would look upon them as despised beggars seeking the favor of Washington, as vile traitors and outcasts, and would attack them just as they would attack an invading force from this side of the Rio Grande.

To recognize the rebels as belligerents is to admit that they have the right to rebel, that they are regularly organized and that they are capable of settling grave national problems, and this would be the most fatal error that the White House could make.

Intervention in this form would arouse in every Mexican a feeling of profound hatred of the United States; the great majority of the people capable of bearing arms would hasten to the standard of the government, which would stand simply for the national honor and the pride of autonomous Mexico.

Recognition of the rebels from a moral standpoint would represent greatest possible injustice and show lack of every idea of probity or respect for the rights of individuals. It would seem impossible that Mr. Woodrow Wilson, the scrupulous, could grant recognition to such as the Zapatistas, who for three years have been an insult to civilization in the new world. How could the serious and honorable Mr. Woodrow Wilson defend his action in recognizing those who assaulted Durango, robbing its banks, sacking its stores and burning its factories? Could the upright Mr. Woodrow Wilson logically give his approval to the disorganized bands of robbers and anarchists now roaming over Northern Mexico?

But, even if moral reasons are not sufficient to deter him from granting recognition to the bandits of Morelos, the thieves of Durango and the ambitious rebels of Sonora, he should not forget that such action would only serve to make President Huerta more popular and cause more and more Mexicans to flock to his support to show the unconquerable spirit of a people determined to brook no foreign interference in their domestic affairs.

Baltimore, Md. T. MUECAS.

The Editor of "Mexico":

Dear Sir: The truth on the Mexican question as expressed weekly in your paper is so at variance with the general news reports of the dailies that we wonder how soon pressure will be brought to coax you to give up telling the truth—and your paper.

I am wishing you success to hold out.

New York City. T. LEDYARD SMITH.

The Editor of Mexico:

Dear Sir: I am very much in favor of your publication, because I think you are doing a good work for my country.

Los Angeles, Cal. A. H.

### MEXICAN CADETS TO RAID REBELS IN AIR.

Eighteen little Mexican cadets who will form the aerial corps of the Federal army when they return to their native land arrived yesterday in the first cabin of the American liner "New York" from Cherbourg. They are graduates of the National Military School at Chapultepec and are of varying shades of complexion from olive to dark brown.

All were dressed in the latest mode of young Parisians and all were cheerful, but suspicious of strangers.

They have been studying and diligently practising flying in the school of the French army at Versailles and Lieut. J. F. Jiminez, who has charge of them, says they have developed a wonderful efficiency after four months' steady training.

The aeroplane corps, or, as it is otherwise called, the "flying artillery," will go into service immediately after reporting to the Federal Government at Mexico City.

The airmen and boys will sail for Vera Cruz on Thursday by the Ward liner Morro Castle. While here they will stop at the Chelsea.

Lieut. Jiminez hopes the corps will have much to do in breaking up bands of revolutionists and putting Mexico in a more tranquil condition.

The young airmen have a mighty faith in the efficacy of the light French monoplane as a destructive agent. They have seen experiments by French army fliers with bombs filled with a powerful French explosive and they will utilize this or something like it in their aerial raids on the rebel camps.

The aeroplanes that the young men will use will be sent from France by a French line freighter directly from Havre or Marseilles to Vera Cruz.

It would not be so safe to bring them to New York and transship them and besides it might be regarded in an unfavorable light by the United States.—New York "Sun," October 6.

### MEXICO AS MRS. TALBOT SEES IT.

Of the many who have written or spoken of Mexico, in American journals and magazines or on the platform, a very small proportion have presented the country to the American public in its true light, impartially, accurately and with intelligent appreciation of its wonderful natural resources and equally wonderful achievements in the arts and sciences and material development.

Ignorance regarding real conditions; prejudice against a people of whom they know little or nothing; a desire to be sensational; utter disregard of the truth; the greed for gain—one or all of these must be held responsible for this most regrettable circumstance, which it is to be sincerely hoped time will remedy. But we are glad to say that no part of this charge can be laid at the door of Mrs. Ada Brown Talbot, whose course of lectures "Mexico, Yesterday and To-day"—which she is giving under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education, was inaugurated recently in one of the lecture "centers" of Greater New York.

Mrs. Talbot's sources of information have been authentic, and her impressions are the result of long periods of residence and extensive travel in the republic, and of actual contact with all classes and conditions. She portrays the real Mexico, leaving to others the unenviable privilege of undeserved criticism and unexcusable misrepresentation.

In this lecture, which is fully illustrated by beautifully colored stereoptican views representing every phase of the real commercial and intellectual life in Mexico, the country's wonderful substantial resources, its public institutions, its home life, its natural beauties and the tragedy and romance of its remarkable history, Mrs. Talbot shows an intimate and correct knowledge of her subject, which unfortunately is not possessed by the majority of lecturers and writers on Mexico, here in the United States. Too often these purveyors of the sensational at the expense of justice and truth have only seen the country from a car window and judged its real home life from a surface investigation of its slums, which are no more repugnant there than here.

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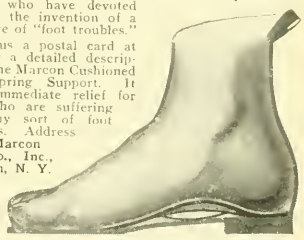

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## WAR THAT IS NOT WAR.

Why deceive ourselves? We have not sent a soldier across the border, we have not landed a man at Vera Cruz or Tampico, but we have a force of mercenaries and bandits in Mexico who with the moral support of the United States Government and blinded by ignorance and greed are seeking to destroy Mexican nationality.

Never before could it be said that when the American fights he will not go to the front himself but avails himself of the lawless, ignorant masses of another country to fight his battles for him. Secretary Bryan has said that there will be no war fought by the United States during the Wilson Administration. But encouraged by that Administration the rebel and bandit chiefs of Mexico are waging a warfare with American support and American money.

What is this war? Is it a war for the rights of American citizens? No. The Administration has in effect said that American citizens have no rights in Mexico and has told them to flee the country. Is it a war against the encroachments or animosity of another nation? No, there has been nothing of the kind. Mexico has only asked to be let alone and has no quarrel with the American people. Is it a war for territory? The Administration denies with righteous indignation that it has any imperialistic tendencies or ambitions. Is it a war for American honor? No, American honor has not been touched or threatened.

It is a battle of personality. It is a battle of personal intolerance and personal vindictiveness. It is a battle born of blunder and prejudice, fomented by special interests, cloaked in hypocrisy. Is it any wonder that in this war against Mexico the American regular soldier, the American volunteer, the American people are not taking part? That it must be conducted on the sly? That its generals campaign underground? That it is financed in secret and veiled in verbiage? That it has aroused in all Latin-America and foreign nations a profound distrust of our motives and methods?

It will not do us any good to give to the world the impression that to accomplish our ends we will not fight but will hire a gang of thugs to do our fighting for us.

It is un-American.

If we want to overthrow the government of Mexico, destroy Mexican nationality and control Mexico, let us come out in the open and say so and fight for what we want.

That's American.

## HELPING HUERTA.

If General Huerta had no other ambition save that of personal power he would be greatly indebted to the Washington Administration for having forced him into a dictatorship.

If General Huerta did not concern himself as to the future of his country and the consequences which the attitude of the Washington Administration may entail, he would be grateful to the latter for having forced him to remain in power.

If the Huerta Government had been recognized by this country the various rebellions in Mexico would have been practically destroyed by this time. Only widely scattered bands of brigands would now remain to be exterminated.

The Maderist deputies would not have been encouraged to conspire against the Government. There would not have arisen the necessity for dissolving Congress nor for resorting to extreme remedies to destroy an extreme evil. There would be no question as to the possibility of holding general elections and obtaining an expression of popular will as far as that can be obtained at present in Mexico under even the most favorable circumstances.

Who is responsible for the continuance of his government more than President Wilson? It may be the best for Mexico after all.

General Huerta would not have been even thought of in the elections. He would shortly have relinquished the reins of government and passed them into the hands of an elected President.

The most practical way to have "eliminated" him was to have helped him to stay in for the time being.

---

Can you tell us what Grant would have said if England had proposed to him that he should have entered solemnly into an armistice and observed it scrupulously with Mosby, Quantrell and Jesse James?

* * *

Can you tell us who President Wilson will recognize? Carranza? Villa? Zapata? Urbina? Natera? Caraveo? Maytorena? Pesquiera? Flores Magon? Gertrudis Sanchez? Genovivo de la O.? Lucio Blanco? etc.? etc.? etc.? etc.? etc.?


**Read "MEXICO" Once a week and Learn What's What Below the Rio Grande**


## POOR ADVERTISING.

One of the axioms of modern advertising is that no matter how alluringly you may offer your wares to the public you must have the real goods to sell or in the end you will be found out and the supposedly gullible public will have nothing to do with you or your product.

The Administration has played to the patriotism and ideals of the public by inspiring the feeling that its course in handling the Mexican situation has been with the object of bringing about a peaceful settlement of Mexico's difficulties. Whereas the real fact is every attitude, every thought, every move or policy of the Administration from day to day has been based on a simple negation: "I won't recognize Huerta. I don't like Huerta or his methods. He's not a nice man."

All the fine words and phrases, all the diplomatic fudge, all the protestations of mighty principles have been only the necessities of the moments when something had to be said or done to justify the inevitable consequences of this first unalterable prejudice.

There are many fair-minded, thinking Americans who have not been deceived for a moment by the Administration's manoeuverings, who can see beyond words, and even inspired press reports, into the world of facts as they are. These people are going to find out eventually that they were right in assuming that the truth cannot be hidden under a bushel of stock phrases. Also that the goods advertised do not come up to the beautifully illustrated promises of the ad.

---

Washington wants to know Carranza's plans. "Kill Huerta and everybody who recognizes him," says Carranza. A Saturnalia.

* * *

Latest toast, drunk in grape juice: "Here's hopin' something'll happen to Huerta."

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If the Administration allies itself any more than it has already with the rebels and bandits it will deserve and get the censure of the civilized world.

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One great lesson has been learned that may save us from other and even graver blunders: "It's bad business and almost criminal statesmanship to make up your mind before you know the facts."

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Also the danger of trusting to one or two favored advisers. No man living, even with the best intentions, can possibly know everything about a complex country and nationality.

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Some folks seem to think that an open mind is a sign of weakness. So they follow the single track—to destruction.

* * *

We understand that Hale is still sending in confidential reports. He isn't in Mexico, but that doesn't make any difference to Hale. He knows it all.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## A CONTRAST

WHAT THE PAPERS ANNOUNCED OR STATED.

That Mexican guns had stopped an American ship.

That Mexico had seized an American ship.

That the capital of Mexico on the eve of elections was resting on a volcano.

That a Felicista uprising would take place in Mexico City and there would be a recurrence on election day of the scenes of last February.

That Monterrey had been captured by the rebels, who had shown great "strategy."

That anti-American riots would take place on the day of elections.

That these would be marked by bloodshed and disorder.

That General Huerta would elect himself.

WHAT HAPPENED.

Clearance papers to the "Morro Castle" were issued with a few hours' delay, because the Mexican authorities at the last moment had learned that fugitives from justice were hiding on the ship.

Mexico did not seize an American ship. It merely exercised a right granted by international law and custom.

The volcano only existed in the mind of the correspondent who flashed the portentous news.

No Felicista uprising or any other rising took place on election day. As usual, the people flocked to the bull fight and had a good time.

Likewise there were no anti-American riots or any other anti-riots.

The troops that had been held in readiness to guarantee the safety of foreigners and Mexicans alike were idle all day.

The strategy of the rebels was newspaper strategy and Monterrey remains in the hands of the federals, on whom the grateful people of the city showered flowers.

General Huerta did not elect himself, and the Minister of the Interior announces officially that all votes cast for General Huerta are null and void.

## BEAUTIFUL BEAUTIFUL BEAUTIFUL WORDS

"The future, ladies and gentlemen, is going to be very different for this hemisphere from the past. The States lying to the south of us, which have always been our neighbors, will now be drawn closer to us by innumerable ties, and, I hope, chief of all by the tie of a common understanding of each other.

"Interest does not tie nations together. It sometimes separates them, but sympathy and understanding do unite them.

"There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin-American States which I am sure they are keenly aware of. You hear of concessions to foreign capitalists in Latin America. You do not hear of concessions to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. They are invited to make investments. The work is ours, though they are welcome to invest in it. We do not ask them to supply the capital and do the work. It is an invitation, not a privilege, and States that are obliged, because their territory does not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and action, to grant concessions, are in this condition, that foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable.

"What these States are going to seek, therefore, is an emancipation from the subordination which has been inevitable to foreign enterprise and an assertion of the splendid character which, in spite of these dificulties, they have again and again been able to demonstrate. The dignity, the courage, the self-possession, the respect of the Latin-American States, their achievements in the face of all these adverse circumstances, deserve nothing but the admiration and applause of the world. They have had harder bargains driven with them in the matter of loans than any other peoples in the world. Interest has been exacted of them that was not exacted of anybody else, because the risk was said to be greater, and then securities were taken that destroyed the risks. An admirable arrangement for those who were forcing the terms!

"I rejoice in nothing so much as in the prospect that they will now be emancipated from these conditions, and we ought to be the first to take part in assisting that emancipation. I think some of these gentlemen have already had occasion to bear witness that the Department of State in recent months has tried to serve them in that wise. In the future they will draw closer and closer to us because of circumstances of which I wish to speak with moderation and, I hope, without indiscretion.

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. You cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. You cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading on the part of your own actions.

"Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship, because there is a reason and a compulsion lying behind all this which are dearer than anything else to the thoughtful men of America; I mean the development of constitutional liberty in the world. Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity, as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face.

"I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honorable and fruitful use of the territory she has. And she must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity. I say this, not with a single thought that any one will gainsay it, but merely to fix in our consciousness what our real relationship with the rest of America is. It is the relationship of a family of mankind devoted to the development of true constitutional liberty. We know that that is the soil out of which the best enterprise springs. We know that this is a cause which we are making in common with them because we have had to make it for ourselves.

"Reference has been made here to-day to some of the national problems which confront us as a nation. What is the heart of all our national problems? It is that we have seen the hand of material interests sometimes about to close upon our dearest interests and possessions. We have seen material interests threaten constitutional freedom in America. Therefore, we will now

### BEAUTIFUL WORDS—Continued.

know how to sympathize with those in America who have to contend with that, not only within their borders, but from outside their borders also. I know what the response of the thought and heart of America will be to a programme like that, because America was created to realize a programme like that.

"This is not America because it is rich. This is not America because it has set up for a great population great opportunities of a material prosperity. America is a name which sounds in the ears of man everywhere as a synonym of individual opportunity, as a synonym of individual liberty. I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. But we shall not be poor if we love liberty, because the nation that loves liberty truly sets every man free to do his best and be his best; and that means the release of all the splendid energies of a great people who think for themselves. A nation of employees cannot be free any more than a nation of employers can be.

"So, in emphasizing the points which must unite us in sympathy and in spiritual interest with the Latin-American people we are only emphasizing the points of our own life, and we should prove ourselves untrue to our own traditions if we proved ourselves untrue friends to-day. Do not think, therefore, gentlemen, that questions of the day are mere questions of policy and diplomacy. They are shot through with the principles of life. We dare not turn from the principle that morality and not expediency is the thing that must guide us, and that we will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so.

Seldom, if ever, has a President of the United States expressed more beautifully lofty sentiments of equity or enunciated greater truths concerning the people of other nations than President Wilson in his speech before the Southern Commercial Congress at Mobile.

Shorn of its beauty of expression, the policy toward the Latin-American republics announced by President Wilson can be reduced to this: The United States will assist those sister republics to emancipate themselves from any pernicious and degrading influence of foreign financial interests.

Unfortunately a most important point has been left obscure. That is whether President Wilson meant to include American interests or referred only to European interests. Most important, we say, because it leaves the way open for Latin-Americans to put two diametrically opposed interpretations on the announced policy.

If President Wilson referred to European interests only, then his policy—although worded very differently—is merely a repetition of the Monroe Doctrine—the opposition to European force of arms in Latin America having been supplemented by the opposition to force of money.

President Monroe in his message to Congress announced a policy opposing any attempt by European powers to colonize, invade or conquer Latin-American territory, or to change, by force of arms, the republican form of government adopted by Latin-American countries.

President Wilson in his speech at Mobile announces a policy which in substance means opposition by this country to conquest or domination by European financial interests in Latin-American countries. This, at least, seems to be the interpretation put on the President's words by most newspapers.

Should this be the correct interpretation, the new policy will undoubtedly arouse more than ever the suspicions and antagonism of the Latin-American republics.

The Monroe Doctrine, as interpreted in late years by this country, has been the greatest obstacle to a better understanding and close friendship between this country and the other republics on the American Continent. Latin-Americans have resented the tutelage implied in the Monroe Doctrine and the belief has prevailed among them that the Monroe Doctrine simply meant an enforcement of American predominance.

They have believed and believe that the Monroe Doctrine, while affirming that America must be for Americans, has meant in effect that America must be for the North Americans.

The Wilson doctrine, if it does not exclude American financial domination as well as European, will be interpreted by Latin-Americans as meaning that this country intends to exercise a financial tutelage over them to the exclusion of Europeans.

Any one at all familiar with Latin America knows that while Latin-Americans object to the Monroe Doctrine as humiliating and threatening a North American aegis over the whole continent, they would object still more to a policy which would mean the same protectorate under a different cover.

For years Central Americans, Mexicans, Cubans and Venezuelans have declared that they would rather be conquered by force of arms than by a peaceful invasion of predaceous American capital. President Wilson's assertion that he would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty expresses exactly the feeling of the people of those countries. It does not matter to them whether their bondage is disguised under the cloak of autonomy; they feel that financial conquest and the consequent subjugation of their domestic rights is more degrading to them than armed conquest. If conquered by arms they could at least preserve their self-respect with the knowledge that only superior force had conquered them. If under bondage through financial conquest they cannot keep even their self-respect.

We predict that President Wilson's declaration of policy, unless cleared of the uncertainty as to American financial supremacy—undue supremacy, of course—will arouse the antagonism of Latin America more than the attitude of any United States Government has ever done.

Financial domination by Europeans is not so objectionable to the Latin-Americans as that of American interests because the Europeans have never claimed the right of political influence over Latin America. In effect Latin-Americans have welcomed the European influence as a means of defense against the domineering policy of this country.

It was to ward off the danger of Mexico's becoming an adjunct and subsidiary of certain American interests that the Diaz Government granted concessions to British interests for the exploitation of the oil industry and effected the nationalization of the Mexican Railways.

If, however, President Wilson should see fit to declare explicitly that he will not favor the domination of Latin-American domestic affairs by American interests any more than he will the domination by other interests, his declaration will serve to alleviate in a great measure the feeling which is sure to be caused by the new policy.

Such feeling will not entirely disappear, however, until actions shall have proven the words.

That there may be a vast contrast between words as interpreted and real facts makes some statement as to American financial conquest necessary to convince Latin-Americans that our purposes are really friendly. That American interests are not included in those "material interests" considered by President Wilson is the assertion made by the New York "Times," one of President Wilson's most influential supporters, in the following item:

### NICARAGUA'S "EMANCIPATION."

#### State Department's Loan Plan a Part of the Wilson Policy.

(Special to The New York "Times.")

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—President Wilson's reference at Mobile to-day to recent efforts of the State Department to free a Latin-American country from its foreign concessionaires is understood here to refer to the arrangement by which Brown Brothers Co. and J. & W. Seligman will advance certain funds to aid that republic in untangling its foreign obligations. This loan, which was brought about with the moral support of the State Department, is thought to be intended as a stop-gap until the Nicaraguan treaty, which was held up in the Senate some months ago, can be ratified.

By the new arrangement the American bankers take over and discount $1,000,000 of 6 per cent. Nicaraguan Treasury bills maturing next October. They also purchased 51 per cent. of the capital stocks of the National Bank of Nicaragua, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Connecticut, and 51 per cent. of the Pacific Railways of Nicaragua, a corporation organized in Maine. Both these corporations are Government concerns and the Government retains possession of 49 per cent. of the stock.

To secure the funds advanced by the American bankers they have taken a lien on the Nicaraguan customs, subject to a small prior claim of British concessionaires, and have placed an American collector-general in charge. The arrangement goes far toward obviating the need of the treaty, though should the treaty be ratified the United States would at once pay Nicaragua $3,000,000 for a canal right-of-way and for a site for a naval station on Fonseca Bay.

The treaty with Nicaragua establishing over that country in practice an American protectorate, proposed by Secretary Bryan with the supposed approval of the President, has not only greatly aroused all Central America, but also the other countries to the south, as we have shown in a past number in which we reproduced an editorial of "La Prensa," of Buenos Aires.

This has been accentuated by the knowledge that this country while advocating elections and deprecating temporary dictatorship in Mexico continues to maintain the most friendly relations with President Gomez of Venezuela, who has declared himself Dictator, suppressing Congress and suspending the constitutional elections which were to be held last month. And President Gomez has repeatedly been accused of maintaining himself in power by the support of the Asphalt Trust, which is said to have obtained blanket concessions covering almost every natural resource of Venezuela.

The same in regard to Santo Domingo, where the government is said to be subservient to American interests which have leased the national railroad and control the whole trade of that republic.

As to Mexico, it will be necessary for the Washington Administration to demonstrate that its policy is not intended to support American interests in that country that are endeavoring to set up a government absolutely subservient to their wishes. It is now a well-known fact that, although unintentionally, the attitude of the Washington Administration is serving admirably the purposes of these interests.

BEAUTIFUL WORDS—Continued.

While the newspapers in this country have tried to make it appear that the policy of European powers toward Mexico is dictated by consideration of material interests only, in Europe it is openly stated that the policy of Washington toward the Mexican Government is influenced by American interests who are seeking a restoration of a regime that will give them absolute control over Mexico.

This refers especially to the fight which has taken place between the various oil interests, in which the protagonists have been the British Cowdray, or Pearson, interests and the American Pierce Oil interests.

President Wilson put his finger on the sore spot when he said that the Latin-American countries had been obliged to grant concessions because they did not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and actions.

But that necessity will continue to exist for a long time in some of the Latin-American countries where industries of all kinds and the development of natural resources must yet be encouraged.

For the enforcement of the high moral principles enunciated by President Wilson, for the benefit of base material considerations, as those referring to the increase of our trade with all of Latin America, we hope that the Wilson Administration will make its policy more clear and that with actions and deeds it will demonstrate its opposition to predaceous interests, whether American or European.

Then and then only will Latin America being to breathe freely.

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## CONSENT IN PORTO RICO.

It is all very well for President Wilson to have said, in his speech delivered at Swarthmore, Pa., that "no government can endure without the consent of the governed," but what about Porto Rico, for which he has recently appointed a Governor and several other public functionaries unknown to the people there and without consulting their wishes? If that is so, and we Porto Ricans believe it is, the government of the "carpet-baggers" is certainly doomed in our island, as we have been unanimously protesting against it, and to no avail, under the very same theorist who utters such elevating thoughts!

The trouble with American public men like Messrs. Wilson and Bryan is that they preach in their orations very beautiful doctrines which may impress the people here, but which to us Porto Ricans are inconsistent with the treatment accorded to our island.—Letter from Manes de Betances in N. Y. "Evening Post."

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## NAILING THEM.

Tuxpam will be used as an oil station for the British Navy, and oil vessels are now carrying oil from that point to England.—New York "Tribune."

Another lie which the Mexican Government has officially denied, but which, nevertheless, has been circulated freely in the American press.

England will not have an oil station in Mexico as it is stated here with the intent of arousing American public sentiment against Mexico.

England will use Mexican fuel oil for its warships, as other nations will use Mexican oil for that and other purposes.

# AT THE BAR OF CIVILIZATION

This country stands at the bar of civilization. The eyes of the world are focused upon this part of the American Continent and events, facts—not words—are being accepted as evidence.

Our neighbor—a weaker neighbor—the only close neighbor with customs and language different from ours—is in trouble. Internal dissensions, armed strife, brigandage, lawlessness are threatening its very life.

What is our attitude? Are we doing anything to help our neighbor? Or are we doing much to increase the troubles of our neighbor?

We—rather than Mexico—are standing trial because everywhere it is an accepted belief that we have the power to help or to destroy, to make or to unmake.

The charges against us can be expressed comprehensively thus: The United States is pursuing a policy tending to the undermining of Mexico so as to render conquest possible and easy, or if not conquest, the establishment by the United States of a protectorate which will give free field to domination in Mexico by American "big business."

In defense of our purposes exist the utterances of President Wilson whose expressions of friendship and lofty ideals are regarded everywhere as sincere. There the defense seems to end.

The accusation is on many counts and presents an array of facts and circumstantial evidence for which there seems to be no rebuttal.

What are these facts?

The American Government has refused "on moral grounds" recognition and support to the Mexican Government which, good or bad, stained or not stained, represents law and order as opposed to anarchy and lawlessness in Mexico.

It has, moreover, shown a marked favoritism for the forces opposed to the Government. It is admitted that the central government stands for order and the protection of nationals and foreigners. It is admitted that its opponents comprise all shades of bandits and looters. In proof of this stands the fact that everywhere the Federal forces in Mexico are hailed as saviours by a grateful population. That the rebels and bandits perform daily savage acts of depredation. We quote from the newspapers:

Mexico City, Oct. 23.—Revolutionists yesterday murdered the entire population, numbering about fifty, of the village of Cheran Atzicurin, in the State of Michoacan, while they were defending the village church against looters.

The villagers fought until their ammunition was exhausted and then used machetes, stones and clubs to beat off their assailants, but they were eventually overcome and killed and the village was burned to the ground.—New York "Sun."

Rebels tortured Lieut. Jose Bracamontes and two soldiers belonging to a small Federal garrison stationed near Camaron, to the south of Nueva Laredo, after killing the remainder of the Federal troops. The rebels skinned the soles off the feet of their three prisoners, walked them several miles, and then beheaded them with machetes because they refused to shout for Carranza.—New York "Evening Post."

It has been asserted by high officials in Washington that the policy of the United States tends to discourage rebellions and is opposed to any government established by force and based on military rule. Yet support is advocated and given to rebels whose chiefs order the wholesale murder of Federal prisoners, commit the most despicable outrages against women of all ages.

Here is what the "Herald" says of one of them:

Carranza has abandoned his idea of establishing a provisional government as did Madero. Instead, he intends to declare for a military government after the Huerta party has been overthrown. This military regime will select a committee of safety composed of ten military men whose first duty will be to try General Huerta and his Cabinet on charges of high treason. Death will be the penalty, and there will be no civil courts to delay the execution of the sentence, General Carranza has declared to his followers.

In spite of the embargo on arms and ammunition large quantities are still smuggled across the border with the connivance in many cases of local authorities. The American army forces—honest in the discharge of their duties—are insufficient to enforce the neutrality laws.

But far more significant is the fact that the lifting of the embargo on arms and ammunition is advocated even by members of the United States Senate and House. This would be an open crime against humanity and civilization, for it would provide more amply and openly to our neighbor the means of destroying itself!

It has been accepted as a fact beyond dispute that no rebellion can be long conducted in Mexico unless it receives material and moral support from this side of the border. And we see the members of juntas accompanied by Senator Morris Sheppard from Texas, received by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. And part of the press of the United States lends its support to these rebels and bandits.

We quote from the New York "World," an out-and-out Administration newspaper:

According to an Administration official, the President has under consideration a plan which provides for a recognition of the Revolutionists as a de facto power, putting them on equal footing with the government in Mexico City. Also the plan provides for the lifting of the embargo against the Revolutionists obtaining arms and ammunition in the United States.

Persons in the United States and Europe who cannot understand President Wilson's policy south of the Rio Grande may find enlightenment in the study of conditions in the Mexican States that are controlled by the Constitutionalists. In that section Huerta does not rule outside of his camps. When they shall have expelled him altogether it is possible the purposes of the Administration at Washington will be clearer than they are to-day.

The President may wage war against the dominant money interests that have threatened even the constitutional life of this country but our policy fits in exactly with the aims of these interests in Mexico. The Water-Pierce Oil Company has long been linked in the mind of Mexicans and Americans alike with the rebellion that overthrew Porfirio Diaz and with the present Maderist rebellion of the north. The Phelps-Dodge Company, owning enormous interests in northern Mexico, was indicted a few days ago, in Phoenix, Arizona, according to the N. Y. "World," on a charge of conspiracy to send arms and ammunition of war to the Mexican revolutionists.

(Continued on Next Page)

# NO COERCION

## ELECTIONS IN MEXICO.

All newspapers supporting the Administration's policy (?) toward Mexico have made great efforts to impress upon their readers the belief that the elections held last Sunday in Mexico were "a farce" because of coercion on the part of the Mexican Government.

This they have done by means of headlines, editorials, or reports from Washington. They have undoubtedly succeeded, at least in a measure, for the average reader is ignorant of Mexican conditions past and present.

Reports from Mexico appeared to be fairly accurate and stated that the elections had been free and devoid of coercion.

From all reliable sources it has been shown that election day in Mexico passed off without disturbance of any kind despite predictions to the contrary made by the newspapers here.

As a matter of fact, Mexican elections have always been "a farce" from the American standpoint, which, however, is not the right one from which to judge Mexican affairs.

The "farce" was especially true in the Madero elections, which were supposed to be the only free elections ever held in Mexico.

Apathy was general then, it has always been and will continue to be for some time.

In the case of the last elections we should be greatly surprised if it should be true that as many as 10,000 votes were cast in Mexico City out of a possible total of 80,000. This would show a much larger vote that has ever been cast in that city.

It is difficult for an American who does not know Mexico to understand how the voting takes place there. The writer was in Mexico City at the time of the Madero elections and visited perhaps a hundred booths. In most cases he witnessed the following scene:

A voter would arrive at one of the booths. One of the officials would inquire: "Do you know how to read?" "No, senor." "Whom do you vote for?" "Pues, I don't know." A representative of the Madero party would speak up: "Don't you vote for Madero?" "Bueno, senor, yes." A ballot with Madero's name would be handed to him and he in his turn would hand it to the official, then with a sheepish look he would scamper away.

In a few of the booths there were friends of de la Barra urging the voters to cast their ballot for that candidate. But in most of them only Madero's friends were in attendance. Sometimes more than an hour would elapse without a voter appearing at the booth.

Certainly the total vote cast on that occasion was much lighter than the one reported for last Sunday.

In regard to these elections here are some of the reports sent to different newspapers:

There are 80,000 voters in Mexico City, but more of them turned out this afternoon to attend the usual Sunday bull fight than chose to exercise their right of franchise at the Presidential election.

The election passed off without excitement. Troops patrolled the city to quell threatened disorder, but there was not the slightest apparent interest taken by the average Mexican in what was going on at the polls.

Observations made at thirty polling places by the "World" correspondent showed no effort by the authorities to influence the vote. The election, so far as the capital was concerned, was uneventful. To a person who has been through two Presidential elections in Mexico, no additional evidence is needed to show that a greater part of Mexican citizens do not care enough about exercising the right of franchise to go to the polls.—New York "World."

The Tribune correspondent visited numerous polling booths and watched the proceedings at each of them for some time. Each booth was superintended by representatives of the different parties, who checked one another in turn.

At some of the booths in the West End, inhabited by the well-to-do classes, there was a pretty steady stream of voters between 10 o'clock and noon.

There was no coercion, and neither military nor police were near any of the booths, though small cavalry detachments patrolled the city and gendarmes were held in readiness at the police stations to respond to any call that might be made: Their services were not needed.

The West End polling booths were the only ones in which some slight interest was noted. In the centre of the city, and to a large extent in the East End, the polling officers sat smoking cigarettes and cracking jokes, waiting for voters who did not come.—New York "Tribune."

Reports from the embassy at Mexico City stated that no violence occurred during the election on Sunday and that "the vote cast was light, due to general apathy on the part of the public."—New York "Tribune."

Only the middle class is showing any special interest in the elections, for the very rich and very poor are indifferent to politics and take things as they come, unless their particular class interests are affected.—New York "Herald."

From three to five officials, one of whom was designated "president," were in attendance at each polling place. These officials represented the various parties and assisted in the preparation of the ballot when necessary, but offered no coercion or suggestion as to how the applicant should vote.

The election officials appeared to be a representative class of citizens—clerks, small business men, railroad employees and shopkeepers of average intelligence. So far as could be ascertained no Government employees served in this capacity. —Philadelphia "Ledger."

The widely published statement that the elections will be declared void because less than one-half of the total vote was cast is false and misleading. The Mexican law does not take into account the number of votes received by a nominee for the Presidency, but merely that returns be received from a majority of electoral districts of the country.

Likewise the ballots are not furnished by the Government, but by the representatives of the various candidates.

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## ATTACKS WILSON PLAN.

(Special Cable to New York "American.")

Paris, Oct. 27.—Another attack upon Wilson's policy in Mexico appears in the French press to-day. Writing to Gaulois from Mexico City, "an impartial spectator" says:

"The United States does not understand conditions in Mexico. Washington cannot see what is happening in the different Mexican provinces.

"The Constitutionalists are bandit pillagers confined to one corner of the country. Three parts of Mexico accept the present regime. Huerta is just the strong man required in the present situation.

"The American Government, which is probably being pushed to action by the gold, silver and oil interests, does not realize Huerta's difficulties, and the ideas of a university professor are inapplicable to people consisting of many races and speaking forty different dialects and all born fighters. A military government is necessary, each province to have a strong man at the head of an army. When anarchy is quelled the time will be ripe to try gentler methods, but the moment has not come to test Wilson's idealistic system."

Gaulois supports these views and says Europe would not look with a favorable eye on American intervention.

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Dr. Vasquez Gomez, Provisional Vice-President of Mexico under Madero and one of the most noted publicists of the republic, gave his version of the episode back of the attempt to hold Captain Huff this afternoon.—New York "Herald."

This is a fair example of the "accuracy" and knowledge of the "Herald" concerning Mexican affairs. Vasquez Gomez was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency with Madero and his nomination was defeated by the Madero adherents themselves. He was never Provisional Vice President. Neither was Madero Provisional President. That Gomez was a noted publicist is news to us and to all Americans. Vasquez Gomez was known as a physician, but no one has ever read any of the doctor's literary or journalistic productions. Perhaps the "Herald" has their copyright.

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## AT THE BAR OF CIVILIZATION—

### Continued.

The same newspaper on October 19 published the following:

Senator Fall, representing the Phelps-Dodge interests, is backing the Constitutionalists in their move to establish a Northern Mexican republic.

We are accused of unduly interfering in the domestic affairs and politics of a sovereign neighboring republic. In fact, the Washington Administration has tried to dictate to Mexico how the elections should be conducted, who should not be elected, what the Government should do and so on.

Our neighbors are in distress, undergoing countless and untold sufferings.

We claim to be a humane nation. But we stand by indifferently.

What interest have the advocates of peace taken in their suffering neighbors? What interest ministers of the various churches? What has been done by organizations and associations at least to offer assistance?

Here and there a few voices have been heard from the pulpits, but very few. Yet Mexico is at our very doors. It may be that at this late date, after the Mexicans have been covered with insults by a part of the American press, assistance would be refused if offered, but how can we clear ourselves of this charge of criminal and inhumane indifference?

Beautiful words will not be sufficient to defend our attitude, our actions. The world is passing its judgment upon us and it will need more than words to assure a verdict of not guilty.

# Stop the Goading

If there is to be a war between Mexico and the United States there are many, very many, Americans who without losing a jot of their patriotism will denounce the war as unjust, unnecessary and criminal. I am one of them.

These Americans are of the number who through social and business relations or residence in Mexico have some knowledge of the country, its people and its problems. Who have watched President Wilson's unprecedented and wholly futile meddling in Mexican affairs as one would watch a man handling dynamite—as carelessly as a ping-pong ball.

The newspapers are beginning to run scareheads, suggesting war just as they did before the Spanish-American conflict. Crowds surround the news-stands and bulletin boards where the latest reports are displayed. There is tension in every move among the nations. There is the old uniformity in the relation between the feeling in Wall Street and the pounding of the press. There is no popular feeling against Mexico, but every effort is being made to focus feeling in that direction.

Why this atmosphere of war when the people of the country are not in a warlike mood, when nothing has occurred to wound American honor or incite American animosity? When the avowed purpose of the Administration has been to avoid the very situation that exists.

I assert, with thousands of others who know the Mexican situation at first hand, and history will support this statement, that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, with perhaps the best intentions in their theoretical minds have been blind, absolutely blind to the true status of affairs in Mexico and by a perverse and vindictive personal policy of anger, contempt and goading have interfered unjustly and arbitrarily in the affairs of Mexico, to an extent that makes a defense of nationality and sovereignty the only patriotic course for the President of Mexico to pursue.

History will record, if war really comes, that the Administration in its handling of relations with Mexico was amateurish and ill-advised, and may record that its amateurishness and ignorance were played upon by certain interests to bring about results contrary to the intention of the Administration.

But this blot on our history can be avoided if at this crucial moment the people of the United States will only realize that Mexico is a distinct and sovereign nation, that it can not and should not be ruled from Washington, that we must be fair and just toward other countries if we expect justice ourselves, and that Mexico wants and should get a fair chance to work out its own problems. That instead of helping we have thwarted the Mexican government in restoring peaceful conditions. That the responsibility for this and for war if it comes will rest not with the American people but with President Wilson, Secretary Bryan, apostle of peace, and those who have so perniciously advised them.—Letter in New York "Tribune."

### THE GROWTH OF INACCURACY.

There has not been a political campaign of recent years in which there has been so much misrepresentation as in the one now pending.—New York "Herald."

Poor Mexico has been making the same complaint in regard to the publication of false or twisted news of her affairs and the "Herald" has been one of the chief offenders in this respect.

# THE PLEA OF AMERICANS IN MEXICO

We, the undersigned American citizens, residing permanent or temporarily in Mexico, respectfully represent to the President and the Congress of the United States that, in our judgment, the following fairly represents the actual conditions in Mexico, and the distressing plight in which recent acts of our Government, based, we believe, on misunderstanding, have placed us. The subject, we think, is of great importance, so we will elaborate it at some length.

A little preliminary history is necessary to make the matter clear.

When the Spaniards came to Mexico four centuries ago they found a race far in advance of anything native to America, culminating in a highly organized civilization in Mexico City and a few other points, but grading off into various less highly organized communities, down to tribes on a par with our Apaches, Mokis, etc.

The Spaniards intermarried with the best native families and practically made slaves of most of the rest of the people. Four centuries of this has produced a people consisting, at the top, of a high grade, essentially Latin race, cultured, high-spirited and ambitious, but grading off into a small intermediate class into the peon or laboring class whose lot, owing principally to an unfortunate and unwise land system fastened upon the country by the Spaniards, is still one of poverty, ignorance and improvidence, and whose political capacity is not one whit better than that of our unfranchised reservation Indians, and is really below that of our disfranchised Southern plantation negroes.

There is no strong body of property holding people of moderate means, without which no Republic ever has endured, or ever can endure. There is a small class of people who are neither peons nor property holders, whose lot is an unfortunate one, but who have education enough to be discontented with it. From those come mostly the "cabecillas," the leaders of the rebel-bandit bands, which will be explained further on.

When the Mexican people threw off the Spanish yoke in 1821, they tried to establish a Republic but found it impossible. For fifty years after that the country was continuously torn by "revolutions," revolts, banditism, war and strife generally. It was twice an empire several times a military dictatorship, sometimes for a short period it was under the form of a constitutional government, but never an actual Republic for a moment. One President, General Comonfort, rebelled and actually took the field against his own administration on the ground that government under the then constitution was impossible. During this period the government was never changed except by force. At that time the lynching of a Madero would not have caused a ripple on the political sea. Every man's house had to be literally his castle, closed with heavy doors and bars of iron. This is still largely so, for no man knows when the mob may "break loose." The National Palace is a bastioned fort with heavy walls pierced with port holes. It has never been without a garrison.

In our country an outbreak of our ex-slaves would be a "race war," foredoomed in advance. Here it is different. Despite the vast gap between the top and the bottom, they are all Mexicans and there is a sentiment to treat themselves as one race. Such an outbreak, whatever its object, is therefore always political, hence more difficult to quell. For these reasons the turmoil continued for fifty years in the attempt to make a Republic of impossible materials.

Finally a genius appeared in the person of Porfirio Diaz, who, by sheer force of arms, coupled with skillful diplomacy, and by a continuous and prompt use of rope and rifle on bandits and other leaders, pacified the country and worked the miracle of a benevolent military dictatorship under the forms of a pure democracy. This brought peace and the prosperity that befits a country of its marvelous mineral and agricultural resources. * * *

Madero obtained his temporarily enthusiastic popularity not by the prospects of the right to vote but by the prospects of what was essentially the "forty acres and a mule," that our freedmen so insistently expected after the war. This is demonstrated by the fact that when given a "full and free" chance to vote at the Madero election only 23,000 out of a total population of fourteen millions took advantage of the opportunity.

In spite of the widespread "rebel-bandit" outbreaks, and the attendant expense of government, in spite of the handicap of non-recognition and the resulting difficulties of getting funds, in spite of the low state of the Treasury left by Madero, we see more work being done now in this city for the benefit of the public health and other benefits, especially those affecting the poor, than we have seen for many years, and the recent celebration of Independence Day, September 16, was the most orderly we have ever seen.

For these reasons we are utterly unable to account for the personal prejudice against General Huerta that seems to exist in Washington, except on the score of misapprehension of the facts.

## THE PLEA OF AMERICANS IN MEXICO---Continued

As to the army, its action was, of course, controlled by its officers, and it is doubtful if any body of honorable men ever had a more difficult role. To be loyal to the people of Mexico, to their country, or to the unbalanced dreamer, under whom the treasury was being ruthlessly looted and the country going to anarchy from unquelled rebel-banditism, which had been put in action by Madero, and whose bullets had made him de facto President, was a hard problem. As a matter of fact too, Madero's "election" had never been constitutionally legal, in that the Constitution provided that a legal election cannot occur unless the electoral law is complied with, and in Madero's "election" important provisions of the law were deliberately violated over the preceding protest of the supporters of General Reyes, who therefore declined to be a candidate. At least one Congressman was driven to exile by Madero for maintaining this sound principle. It seems to us then that the loyalty of the officers who helped Felix Diaz was essentially sound. * * *

Apparently the net results of the withdrawal of the United States under the wholly erroneous idea that it is letting "two factions" fight it out, will be simply to do all it can to increase the present several dozen revolutionary bands of bandits and to help start the fifty year fire all over again.

We are all ordered to get out of the country and abandon our property to the flames. Yet many of us prefer, nay, MUST remain to try and save our all even though the rules of the fire department forbid us helping to man the pumps. Meanwhile, our Government, by non-recognition is trying to put out of business the only concern interested in or capable of insuring our property or our lives.

Yet, when we cast our lot or invested our money in Mexico we thought the Monroe Doctrine would be upheld to protect us against the results of European aggression from abroad, or from anarchy in Mexico. * * *

So the net results, if the elections were declared valid, would be an increase in the conflagration and a change in fire marshals. No matter who were declared elected, this would be nothing short of a national calamity.

Anyone who could listen to the tales told by the seventy-five American refugees, including women and children just in from Durango after a six day overland trip, reciting the horrors of the avowed Maderista "government" there without wanting to do something desperate at once to help the real government of Mexico to quell the tragic force, would have to be a dullard or an inhuman brute. If the American people could listen to these tales and get the real situation here fixed in their minds, they would be horrified in the ghastly error in our government's attitude and its misguided efforts tending to put Mexico under the control of the stupid fiends who have sacked and wantonly wrecked the beautiful City of Durango, accompanied by horrors too awful to relate. * * *

It is not a job for a squeamish man. It requires a true patriot with an iron nerve and an iron fist. One with red blood in his veins. We are not partisans in any sense of the word, but we know the kind of a man absolutely needed, and we know of none more efficient than General Huerta, and he has the added prestige arising from the actual holding of office and the settled confidence of the people who are looking for peace. He is certainly cordially supported by the best people of Mexico and he has had half a year of experience with the problem, in addition to a lifelong knowledge of the army, by which most of the work must be done, as well as having done the necessary sifting process to get both the military and civil organizations in effective shape.

It would be a crime to force a change now piled on top of the infinite damage to the cause of law and order that has resulted from the unfortunate failure to recognize him promptly. Had this been done, we firmly believe the country would now be far on the road to pacification. It is not yet too late. The Huerta government is far stronger than all the so-called "governments," rebel bands and bandits put together, and this in spite of the shortage of money, due largely to non-recognition and the unfortunate encouragement it has given to the "patriotic" bandits.

Representations to the country so liberally furnished Washington are simply not true. The work is slow because of the rough topography and difficulties of transportation. It took our government many years to catch Geronimo in the same kind of country, and Jesse James plied his similar trade for a long time.

We understand that one of the underlying factors in Washington's view of the situation is that the peons are exploited by American, Mexican and foreign predatory rich.

An ignorant man and an ignorant class are always exploited by smarter people. While there is doubtless such exploitation here, there is positively no more than there is of the Southern negro in the United States. All the exploitation here is really in low wages. The remedy both here and there is to gradually increase the knowledge and the material requirements of the exploited.

In the above we have said little of business, assuming that as a matter too sordid for consideration in a discussion of the political rights of the peon, but some points seem worthy of mention. Thousands of our working people in the United States are to-day hungry and ill paid. The vast Latin-American trade is capable of doubling all our manufactures if we controlled it as we naturally should. The future requirements of Mexico alone are incalculable. The recent acts of our Government have already hurt our Mexican and other Latin-American trade beyond conception. The people resent our President's refusal to help their government in the country's dire distress by according it recognition as Europe has done, and as a consequence Mexican trade is rapidly going to Europe.

Unless this is remedied the trade will go to Europe for years. This may be gross materialism, but many American factory hands will go hungry because of it.

Our people have to pay enormous beef trust prices for beef and the poor get none of it. Mexico can produce beef for all North America. It is the only great pasture land left on the continent. Establish peace here and the United States can again have cheap beef.

Finally, while it is admitted that Mexico needs reforms, it is a fact that nothing can be done until peace is established, and the only just and feasible way to establish peace is to recognize the Huerta government at once, and we believe that such recognition will do more to save life, lessen want, and promote prosperity than any act within the power of the President and the Congress of the United States.

Respectfully submitted:

(Signed)

| NAME | Occupation | Number of years since first came to Mexico |
|---|---|---|
| CASSIUS E. GILLETTE | Consulting Engineer | 6 years |
| C. H. M. y AGRAMONTE | Attorney | 26 " |
| W. L. VAIL | Real Estate | 19 " |
| C. A. HAMILTON | Mining | 28 " |
| CHAS. F. YEAGER | Manager American Club | 15 " |
| PAUL S. LEITZ | Contractor | |
| ARTHUR W. BLAND | Manager Printing Office | 10 " |
| W. A. PARKER | Merchant | 17 " |
| PAUL HUDSON | Editor | 17 " |
| C. McGEHAM | Contractor | 15 " |
| W. J. McGAVOCK | Contractor | 32 " |
| I. FRANK MOHLER | Merchant | 18 " |
| JUAN GOLDMAN | Mines | 30 " |
| H. M. DIFFENBACH | Mining | 25 " |
| E. A. MARR | Exporter | 18 " |
| W. R. HUDSON | Mechanical Engineer | 12 " |
| G. A. HUTCHINSON | Contractor | 8 " |
| A. W. CURZEL | Actuary (British subject) | 7 " |
| C. S. NEWCOMB | Mechanical Engineer | 12 " |
| VICTOR M. BRASCHI | Machinery | 23 " |
| E. I. KIMBALL | Mining | 12 " |
| R. L. M. DAULEY | V. P. Sultepec Electric Co. | 11 " |
| CLAUDIO DUNNING | Farmer | 20 " |

# Lest We Forget

Our ideals are shot through with "material interests."

* * *

Maybe Henry Clay Pierce has done some of the shooting through.

* * *

Or the Phelps-Dodge combine.

* * *

Or a favored group of bankers.

* * *

If we are going to restrict the Money Power in the United States, why not encourage its activity in Mexico? That seems to be the brilliant idea.

* * *

It must have some field for exploitation, some outlet for its energies.

* * *

Also it must be placated for the good of Democratic policies and the Democratic party.

* * *

But England outgeneraled us.

* * *

Therefore words—while we consider the next move.

* * *

Words were devised to conceal policies.

* * *

Meanwhile Mexico's the sufferer.

* * *

And the apostles of peace in their wrath would arm the rebels and bandits. Pax vobiscum.

* * *

Pax grapejuiceibus.

* * *

Morality—not expediency.

* * *

Is it moral to support lawless uprisings in Mexico, to encourage the gentle bandits?

* * *

The bandit leaders dearly love this morality.

* * *

A policy of expediency would put them all out of business.

* * *

* * *

Gentle bandits!

* * *

If words could solve Mexico's troubles Madero would have solved them.

* * *

He chattered volubly while his campfollowers looted the treasury and the country went to the dogs.

* * *

Mexico needs the silent man of action.

* * *

We think Huerta's that sort.

## STANDARD OIL ACCUSED.

### German Paper Says Britain Seeks to Check Monopoly.

(Special Cable Despatch to the New York "Sun.")

Berlin, Oct. 23.—The "Vossische Zeitung" prints a letter from a Mexican correspondent, who charges that the Standard Oil Company has been the real instigator and fomentor of revolutions in Mexico for the last three years. The correspondent says President Wilson is an unwitting puppet in the hands of the company.

The "Vossische Zeitung" in commenting on this expresses the opinion that Great Britain is concerned alone in the development of her commerce, and her energetic attitude is influenced by a desire not to allow the Mexican oil to fall wholly into the control of the Rockefeller monopoly. The paper concludes:

"The German interests, which are likewise concerned solely in fostering the commercial relations, coincide in this instance with those of Great Britain."

# THE OIL WAR

Chicago, Oct. 23.—The continuous performance of revolutions in Mexico for more than decade has been the result of a bitter fight between British and American oil interests for control of the rich fields in the southern republic, according to a story told to-day by Henry Lane Wilson. The former United States Ambassador to Mexico is in this city paying a visit to a son who will be graduated from the University of Chicago next spring.

Mr. Wilson was prompted to make comment by published despatches from London relative to Great Britain's reported disapproval of President Wilson's Mexican policy and references in the despatches to the struggle for the control of the oil fields.

"Let me say by way of preface," said Mr. Wilson, "that this story is one the accuracy of which I do not vouch for personally. It is current talk in Mexico and is to some extent to be found in the testimony which was taken before the Smith Senatorial committee investigating the Mexican situation and which has not so far been made public.

### English Company Held Concessions.

"At the time of the Gen. Porfirio Diaz regime, an English company—and I wish to avoid names as far as possible—controlled the oil situation in Mexico. This company had all the concessions and contracts with the railroads and also with the other oil consumers controlled by the Government.

"The benefits which it obtained for this control were viewed with disfavor by other large oil concerns. Two of these were 'outsiders,' one with world-wide business ramifications (and I guess you know which that is), and the other, a subsidiary of this larger company, contributed with influence and money to the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz.

"As a result of the aid these two companies had furnished Madero they took a leading position in the oil industry of Mexico. They then got all the concessions and contracts and the English company fell outside the breastworks.

"In the meantime the larger American oil concern ceased to hold relations with its subsidiary company in Mexico and it identified itself with the company which had been hampered by the Madero Government. This new alliance in its turn began to intrigue against the Government of Madero and to furnish arms and ammunition for his overthrow.

### Rival Companies Helped Huerta.

"In the meantime the revolution in the city of Mexico, in which the oil companies had no part, took place, but it was in a measure originated and aided by Spaniards. The unfavored oil companies were quick to take advantage of the situation and in the earlier stages contributed materially to the establishment of the prestige of Huerta and the new Mexican administration abroad.

"Again the pendulum swung outward, however, and now, according to the story told by many well posted persons, we find the agents of the oil companies which were favored under Madero fomenting revolution in Mexico and it is said that these agents have actually wormed themselves into the confidence of President Wilson's advisers on Mexican matters.

"These advisers have been secretly investigating conditions in Mexico and are not to be understood as identified with the mission of John Lind in Mexico."—New York "Sun."

## NOT SO POOR

**Mexico City.—The Mexican Government is believed to have large balances here as a result of loans secured in Europe. Just what these amount to is not known, but with the recent loan obtained in Paris, the credit balances of the Mexican Government in New York, London and Paris are believed to exceed $20,000,000 gold, even allowing for the direct gold shipments to Vera Cruz.—New York "Evening Post."**

## WHAT IS MORALITY?

It is the feeling that you are right when everybody knows you are wrong.

It is the feeling that you and your works are beyond criticism, removed from the commonplace.

It is the feeling that everybody who does not conform to your standards is vicious.

It is the feeling that hynotizes you into the belief that your mission is to do others good.

It is the feeling that is shocked by facts and warmed by platitudes.

It is the feeling that in His inscrutable wisdom the Creator has singled you out as a model for others.

It is the feeling that makes you impatient of others' human frailty while lost in contemplation of your own sublime righteousness.

It is the feeling that is so naive that clever men find it an effective cloak or a powerful weapon.

## WHAT IS EXPEDIENCY?

To help your neighbor when he's down no matter how he got there.

To buckle down to work with things as they are and do your best to improve them.

To be chary of criticism, to be tolerant and open-minded.

To know the facts before you pass judgment on them.

To give everybody else a fair chance while openly helping yourself.

To fight straight from the shoulder when fight is necessary.

To play the game according to the rules and not to whimper when you're beaten.

To assume no obligation that you cannot fulfill.

To realize that there are some few thousands of millions of people besides yourself.

To act on the knowledge that Rome was not built in a day.

# LOBBYGRAMS FROM THE CAPITAL

Washington, D. C.—There seems to be trouble in diplomatic circles. It is not difficult to reason out the underlying cause. That "drifting" policy of the Administration in respect to Mexico was predicted long ago to be one that would make things bad for the States as well as Mexico. Long ago members of the Senate and House of Representatives, who were farsighted enough to descry the breakers ahead, predicted trouble unless a real policy in conformity with established diplomatic usage and international law were substituted for the "moral" one which has swayed the Administration in handling the Mexican situation.

As the affair has drifted along the rapidly moving events have brought other Senators and Representatives to see the situation in its proper light. **It can be said that if the question of recognition of the established government in Mexico could be submitted to the Senate and House the vote in favor would be overwhelming.** Perhaps it is probable that there are few persons in Washington, outside the Administration, who do not think the Mexican Government should be recognized. There is not so much open expression along this line, for the reason that there is a hesitation to criticize the President, but there is constant discussion in private gatherings of the subject that is foremost in the public mind. There may be found Senators and Representatives in these gatherings earnestly discussing the Mexican situation and advocating recognition.

One Senator, and it might be told that he was for a long time an upholder of the Administration's position—said the other day that he had lost patience and wished the matter could be brought before the Senate and the House for final disposition.

This Senator, who comes from south of Mason and Dixon's line, is a very warm friend and admirer of the President, but he disagrees with him as to the Mexican policy, so called. His view is shared by more than a majority of both branches of the National Legislature.

Several Senators and Representatives discussing privately the foreign muddle into which the thing had drifted, took the view that the time has about come when the Administration should take steps to get out of an untenable position, which would be laughable if it were not so serious. The sum of their opinions was that opposition to Huerta should be withdrawn, that he may be unhampered in his efforts to restore peace. They held too, that if the people want Huerta to rule they are entitled to have him, and it is no part of our duty to interfere.

The legislators are annoyed by the foreign complications growing out of the Administration's attitude. The laughter from foreign diplomatic centers is getting on their nerves. A prominent Senator said:

"Only my respect for the Administration deters me from speaking my mind on this Mexican situation. It is to be regretted we have become embroiled in this affair for, it seems to me, we are in a position we cannot continue long to maintain, in view of the attitude of the great nations which have recognized Mexico. I am aware that they are secretly laughing at our position. We ought to take steps to straighten it out and without delay."

This may be said to be a fair example of the sentiment in Washington at present. Constant irritation will wear on the nerves of the most finished diplomats. Irritation is showing among the legislators.

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Secretary Bryan, who made a campaign tour last week in New Jersey, by direction of President Wilson in the interest of Governor Fielder's candidacy for re-election, found the people alive to the Mexican situation. In a speech at Camden he was discussing national issues, avoiding discussion of Mexico.

"How about Mexico?" called out a half-score of men. Bryan's eyes blazed and his jaws set. It was plainly evident he was angered by the questioners. Shaking a finger in the direction of several of the questioners, the Secretary said:

"If the gentlemen who asked that are Democrats they will trust the Democratic party. If they are Republicans or others I will not permit them to interrupt a Democratic meeting."

It was evident to everybody that the very pertinent question rasped a tender spot in the Secretary's cuticle. The irreverent and prone to be vulgar ones said it had "got his goat." Strange Mr. Bryan should be so sensitive when asked by the commoners to discuss a national question that is in the minds of the whole people. What is the matter with the "Great Commoner?" Why so touchy?


## Read "MEXICO"

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE


## HENNESSY TO INVESTIGATE?

The rebel juntas in New York have been thrown into deep consternation. The rumor is persistent that John A. Hennessy has consented to make an investigation of the workings of the juntas in connection with certain American interests. It is reported that he will begin after hearing New York's "amen" at the burial of Tammany on Tuesday next.

Members of the juntas have doubled their confabs with the members of the Madero family at their office in 115 Broadway, trying to devise ways and means to ward off the telling blow which is sure to fall upon them if Hennessy undertakes to unearth the plots engineered to make Mexico a dependency of certain American oil and railroad interests.

The head of the Madero family, Mr. Francisco Madero, and the head of the Pierce Oil Corporation are said to have held several conferences last week in the Waldorf-Astoria. It is not known whether these conferences were caused by the rumor of Hennessy's probable investigation or were simply a national consequence of the intimate relations existing between the Madero family and the Pierce Oil interests.

However, John A. Hennessy may be prevailed upon to forego for a while the pleasure of exposing graft and grafters in New York State to conduct a graft investigation of national and international scope. In that case, little hope is left to the rebel juntas and allies, for they will no longer be able to make a portion of the American public believe that their only aim is to uphold the Mexican Constitution.

It will be a close McCall, anyway.

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## COLLEGE IDEALS.

**"So it seems to me that there is no great difference between the ideals of the college and the ideals of the State."—The President's Swarthmore speech.**

**But there is a great difference between the ideals of a man's or a military college—like West Point—and those of a young ladies' seminary.**

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## JAPANESE REBELS.

Many Mexican refugees and a large number of Japanese were refused admission to the United States. It was said that the Mexicans were likely to become public charges and that the Japanese had not made proper application. An appeal to Washington for exception in the latter case will allege that the Japanese are in danger of death from the Federals for having aided the Constitutionalists.—American Press Despatch.

A short time ago the jingo newspapers were shouting that Japan and the Mexican Government were acting in cahoots. Now we learn that all along Japanese have been fighting against the Federals on the side of the rebels. They must have misunderstood the instructions from Tokio.

# PUBLIC OPINION

## THE DANGER.

"Public opinion in Europe, for which the President's doctrine possesses only an academic interest, recognizes the high ideals from which it is derived, but it is to be doubted if the moral indignation of a section of the American press against Huerta's 'blood-stained dictatorship' springs from the same sources as those which inspire President Wilson.

"The danger in the Mexican situation is that which is always found lurking where idealism mingles with politics. Idealists seem fated to stir up trouble, and their idealism, if only for its transparent honesty, is more deadly in its effect if there are forces behind it, which are by no means idealistic, but are only seeking to use it to serve their own earthly ends.e"—London "Daily Mail."

## THE DIPLOMATIC CRISIS.

Plunging blindly on, without plan, without guide, without destination, refusing information, trying to substitute imagination for knowledge, and fanaticism for practical judgment, damning to increasing injury or total destruction our people in Mexico, sacrificing American lives, vast material possessions, and even the national honor to satisfy his personal notion of propriety, Woodrow Wilson, with his secretary of state, has succeeded in precipitating upon this nation a crisis more threatening to our national prestige, more pregnant with moral if not physical disaster, than any crisis since the Venezuela crisis in 1895, when President Cleveland and Secretary Olney threatened to make war on the British Empire notwithstanding that the United States at that time did not have a single modern coast defence gun in position, did not have a single modern fortification on 5,000 miles of coast, and had the merest skeleton of an army.

The same picayunish spirit of slavish obedience to partisan demands as the demagogs of that day displayed, has recently been manifested by political leaders at Washington, in and out of Congress. The best example of the worst taste in this connection is furnished by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, who, speaking at Indianapolis, "laid down the principle that when the interests of the nation are at stake in an international controversy, like the present Mexican situation, the President's voice ought to be accepted by the newspapers as that of a united nation."

"The rights of the whole people," said Secretary Daniels, "restrict individual freedom of speech and freedom of the press in international matters, though free and unrestrained in the domestic or internal policies.

"The President is at any time liable to fail to effect a program of peace with any nation unless the people—more particularly the press, through which their views find best expression—admit the principle that the President having announced a foreign policy, his will thereby, until congress acts, becomes the will of the nation. Any other course is necessarily disastrous to the world power of the American people."

That is exactly the mistaken idea of patriotism that has prevailed all these three years in both Houses of Congress at Washington. Discussion of the Mexican situation has been tabooed because it "might tend to embarrass the Administration in working out its plans." The suppression principle has been carried so far that the President has refused to furnish general information to the Senate on the Senate's formal request by resolution.

The El Paso "Herald" is not bound by any partisan obligation that blinds it to the truth of the situation, or that crushes patriotic impulse, or that prevents it from speaking out in behalf of peace as well as in behalf of saving the national honor. **The Administration at Washington, and the Congress of the United States, are fomenting war; they have lightly sacrificed the lives and property of our nationals abroad; without any justification they have meddled in the domestic affairs of a friendly power; they have habitually violated the spirit and the law of neutrality by openly taking sides for or against Mexican factions; by such failure to secure protection to our nationals, and by such direct interference in Mexican domestic affairs, they have abdicated the first duty of a self respecting government, they have abandoned the plain path of national duty, and they have reversed the honorable precedents of our whole national existence; they have promoted international ill feeling, and have provoked strife; they have destroyed the prestige of the United States in Latin-America; and they have overturned the basis of all our international friendships on this continent.** The indictment applies equally to the present Administration and Congress, and to the Taft Administration and the Congress that accompanied it.

Under both Administrations, the United States has habitually meddled with Mexico's internal affairs, and has habitually neglected those matters legitimately coming within the scope of the American government's international activity.

Now the reckoning is coming. The United States has tempted fate for three years, by consistently pursuing a wrong course with regard to the Mexican situation. Practically every diplomatic move and formal declaration has served only to add fuel to the fires of hostile feeling that Washington itself originally created and continually fostered. The future bodes ill, and it is the fault of the Washington government of the last three years that this is so.

The European powers have been singularly forbearing. Now the hand of the United States is to be forced. The most significant fact in the news of the last few weeks relating to Mexico is the attitude of England. The American policy is tending toward anarchy and chaos. At least it can be said that England has a definite and positive policy, while the American policy has been at all times fundamentally wrong in theory and futile in practice—either negative or else indecisive, impudent, and insincere; impulsive, ignorant and weak; vascillating, evasive and erratic; destructive and inhuman.—El Paso "Herald."

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## A MISSIONARY NATION.

In Mr. Wilson's somewhat curious Swarthmore speech the most curious passage is this:

"But the extent of the American conquest is not what gives America distinction in the annals of the world. It is the professed purpose of the conquest, which was to see to it that every foot of that land should be the home of free, self-governed people, who should have no government whatever which did not rest upon the consent of the governed. I would like to believe that all this hemisphere is devoted to the same sacred purpose, and that nowhere can any government endure which is stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed."

As a historian Mr. Wilson must remember that the real if not the professed purpose of the Mexican war, brought on by the Democratic party, was a conquest for the purpose of extending slavery. Unkind foreign observers might perhaps find a State or two in the United States where the consent of the governed means what it means in some republics to the south, the dominance of a small class. Unkind observers in those republics reproach the United States with violence and bloodshed, with its lynchings, its frequent homicides, its massacres of Italians and Chinese. Possibly it might be well for the United States to revise its own morality before assuming the part, naturally offensive to other nations on this hemisphere, of radiating moral influences on them.

The generous feeling in Mr. Wilson's words is evident, but how many governments are not "stained by blood"? If no bloodstained governments are to endure, what an overturning, what a world of revolution must result!

**Mr. Wilson will remember that Dante punishes fraud more severely than violence.** If the boot had been on the other leg, might not Don Porfirio Diaz, instead of having to wait long for recognition by the Hayes Administration, have refused to recognize an Executive who, as the elder Charles Francis Adams wrote, "must forever bear on his brow the stamp of fraud for the first time triumphant in our history"?

These remarks are made in no spirit of captious criticism. A college address is not an official policy. Mr. Wilson expresses his aspirations for the future of his country. A country that should make it its business to mind that of other nations might have to find in the consciousness of a high ethical volunteer missionary spirit recompense for a pack of trouble.—New York "Sun."

## MEXICO AND TAMMANY.

(From Public Ledger Bureau.)

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—United States Senator William E. Borah, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, who arrived here to-day, was asked his opinion on the Mexican situation and political situation in New York. He found a sort of similarity in the two.

"The political situation in New York city to-day," he said, "would be interpreted by the whole world as being just as much a travesty on decent popular government as would the political conditions in Mexico. In the greatest

(Continued on Page Ten)

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

city of our country, a city which wields a tremendous influence throughout the whole country, the only arguments which we can read of as being addressed to the voters are 'Liar!' 'Thief!' 'Embezzler!' 'Corruptionist!' 'Perjurer!' 'Judgeships bought and sold!' 'Justice auctioned off like the drunken Consul auctioned the Dictatorship from the Roman ramparts.'

"What grim humorist Huerta must be learning to regard us, as we dilate on the beauty and efficiency of our way of doing business, and our benevolent and kindly desire to have all countries imitate our example.

"Mexico is not prepared to give us a New York election. It takes time, it takes a higher civilization, it takes years and years of training under the most favorable advantages of self-government to give us a New York campaign. How can Mexico, Nicaragua and Guatemala and the less experienced republics be expected to reach our ideals so swiftly?"

"What do you think of the situation with respect to Mexico?" Senator Borah was asked.

"I am not speaking of Mexico alone, but generally, when I say that as a government and as a nation, we are without a foreign policy," said Senator Borah. "I do not now refer particularly to the Administration, but I refer to our attitude as a people. Our foreign policy is nebulous, hesitating, undefined. There was a time when the Monroe doctrine had a definite meaning. As Monroe announced it, and as it was then thoroughly understood, it was a wise, useful and definite policy.

"But its modern additions, and, what is worse, its modern possibilities, leave us in doubt, and every Central American country in dread. No one who is familiar with the situation can doubt for a moment that our standing with the other countries of this continent is greatly in peril."

### MEXICAN DIPLOMACY.

With the best of sentiment for the earnest endeavors of President Wilson to guide the difficult matters of Mexican relations wisely, the fact must be faced that this country has been outgeneraled by England and has been placed in that peculiarly ineffective condition that is well known in European statecraft as isolation. This situation is primarily due to the fact that the policy of the United States, as outlined in the ethical standards of the Department of State and of the President, has deprived the country of proper representation at the Mexican capital.

This condition of affairs has made it necessary for the representatives of the other powers to get close together in marking out a common line of action, looking, as they believe, to the best protection of foreign interests and persons. England is fortunate in having at the seat of trouble a highly qualified minister in the person of Sir Lionel Carden, whose long residence in the country has made him familiar with the land and the people, and who has been peculiarly effective in his relations with Latin-Americans at Cuba and Guatemala.

The question is, What is the United States to do about it? The administration made a bid for the support of Europe for its policies instead of simply adhering to the Monroe Doctrine and letting the other countries govern themselves accordingly. The rebuff is mortifying and the outcome is apt to be troublesome. Huerta has abundant support and Europe would not sympathize with intervention, even if this country were forced to it.—Baltimore "American."

### FROM THE CHURCH VIEWPOINT.

Kansas City, October 27.—Defense of Provisional President Huerta's administration in Mexico and denial that the Mexican executive had a share in the murder of former President Madero and Vice-President Suarez were made by Rev. John Howland of Guadalajara, a missionary, in an address before the annual meeting of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions held in connection with the national council of the Congregational churches to-day.

Dr. Howland has lived for thirty-one years in Mexico as head of the College Internacional at Guadalajara.

**"The widespread idea that Gen. Huerta seized the presidency," he said, "or that he came in through the door of assassination is entirely incorrect. His acceptance of the provisional presidency precluded his being a candidate in the present election and his government was established and both officially and popularly accepted days before the death of President Madero. Huerta had nothing to gain by the death of Madero.**

"President Madero left the treasury bankrupt and revenues were immensely reduced by the closing of most of the ports of entry, the interruption of traffic and general disturbance. The hostile attitude of American authorities against Gen. Huerta caused the bankers who arranged a large loan to delay the promised payments and this has greatly impeded the pacification of the country. Mexico should be left alone. It is well able to take care of itself."—New York "Herald."

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It is the opinion of the Rev. Samuel Salinas, a Mexican and an Episcopalian clergyman, that the United States government is strangling Mexico.

Mr. Salinas has been attending the General Convention of the Episcopal Church and has been staying at No. 415 West 118th street. For twenty years he has been a missionary clergyman in Southern Mexico, Zapata's country, but his travels have extended throughout the land, and he thinks, therefore, that he knows the views of representative Americans in every section.

"I am not a politician," said Dr. Salinas, "but even clergymen have a right at times to utter political truths. The United States is strangling Mexico. When I say the United States I do not mean, and the people of Mexico do not mean, the American people. They mean the present government, that stands on one side and adopts the holier-than-thou attitude towards Mexico.

"All factions in Mexico are against intervention," said the Rev. Samuel Salinas. "I hope to God there will be no intervention. It will mean desperate fighting and frightful chaos. We Mexicans are very jealous of our national honor. If an American army invaded our country all classes and factions would unite to fight it. Under such conditions a general truce would be formed between bandits and honest men, political enemies, social outcasts and the flower of our country to repel the common invader.

"Mexico does not dislike Americans, but we feel doubtful of the acts of their Government officials."—New York "Sun."

### DO NOT WANT INTERVENTION.

That the only thing holding back peace and prosperity is the lack of recognition by the United States is the emphatic declarations of J. B. (Tom) Sutton, a former Denver man, who arrived Saturday from Tampico on his wedding trip.

"Huerta is backed up by every big man in the country," said Sutton yesterday. "Just before I left he negotiated a loan from the big ranchmen of several million dollars. That is the way they are showing their support of the president now.

"In spite of the warning of President Wilson the thinking American people are not leaving Mexico at all. No representative American or foreigner is leaving on account of the present conditions. They are enraged at Washington. The Mexican people ask with wonder why it is that almost every American in that country is flat against the Washington administration.

"And they ask why it was that when Ambassador Wilson, the one man who was familiar with the situation, when he advised the government here to recognize Huerta, he was recalled? They can't see why the administration takes these attitudes.

"The great question that is bothering them down there, Mexicans and Americans alike, is: Do the people of the United States want intervention? The Americans down there certainly do not. And if those up here want it, they wonder why it is. Intervention will mean a tremendous war, with 15,000,000 Mexicans fighting shoulder to shoulder against a common invading foe.

"Business now is simply being held up on account of the lack of recognition of Huerta by the Washington administration. This, of course, will force Huerta from the presidency and work a great injustice upon the Mexican people as well as upon the Americans now in Mexico and all other foreigners. It would be a great mistake now to throw Huerta out of office. He now has the real support of the best interests and is believed to be the one man who can control the situation—or at least can do more toward controlling it than any other."—Denver "Republican."

### BAD ADVICE FROM GENERAL SHERWOOD.

Representative Sherwood of Ohio was not so faithful a supporter of President Wilson's Mexico policy as he believed himself to be when he said in the House on Friday that "one of three courses is open to us"; to raise the embargo on arms, to intervene, or to share with other nations a military protectorate over Mexico until a stable Government is established.

Public opinion would not tolerate the last course for a moment; to allow the exportation of munitions of war to Mexico would be equivalent to promoting the cause of the Constitutionalists and would incense the Federalists, with the probable result that American citizens would be in greater peril than ever—our army officers, by the way, have sounded the warning that if we allow arms to go into Mexico freely they may in the end be used against us; and intervention should be the last resort, when no other course remains.

It does not seem to occur to public men of a certain type that Mr. Wilson's policy of neutrality between the combatants has at least an even chance of working out successfully and perhaps very soon. If the Constitutionalist cause is as strong as it is represented to be, and if the Huerta Government is stumbling to a fall, as many believe, the end may come as swiftly as the retirement of Porfirio Diaz came. At any rate, this seems to be no time to talk of intervention or of pouring rifles, cartridges and field guns into Mexico. Has it ever occurred to military men like General Sherwood that to the cost of armed intervention, that is to say, of war, the charges of an enormous pension list would have to be added?—New York "Sun."

### NOTHING ON THEM.

It must be admitted that, no matter how wicked and treacherous Huerta may have been, he has put nothing over on the constitutionalists in the way of bloodshed and assassination.—Houston "Chronicle."

## BRITISH SEE MORE DANGER.

### Think Wilson is Drifting Toward Intervention in Mexico.

(By Marconi Transatlantic Wireless Telegraph to the New York "Times.")

London, Tuesday, Oct. 28.—With the news of the Mexican elections pointing to Gen. Huerta's continued control of affairs, the danger of the situation, according to the British view, has increased.

One paper compares President Wilson to Gladstone, who, "after innumerable philippics on the wickedness of a spirited foreign policy, was driven to the bombardment of Alexandria and the addition of the Nile Valley to British responsibilities. Nothing is more conducive to foreign complications than the presence of a declared man of peace at the head of affairs. It tempts other people to take chances and ultimately to cross the limit which no degree of national self-restraint can allow to be infringed."

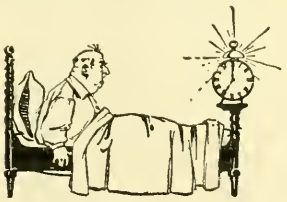
The eventual necessity of a recourse to force by the United States is also foreseen by "The Chronicle," which asks: "Will President Wilson continue to press for Huerta's deposition, and, if so, by what means? One still hesitates to credit him with the intention of embarking on such a risky advenure as military intervention; yet unless fortune favors him or he gradually shifts his course, that is what he seems heading toward; and there are not a few resemblances between the present aspect of things in the United States and that which preceded the Cubar war."

## CROWD TALKS OF MEXICO TROUBLE.

Approximately 5 000 persons assembled in the rain to welcome President Wilson on his arrival in the city for the re-dedication of Congress Hall. The President was received cordially, but without marked enthusiasm.

A surprising feature to be noticed in a tour of the thronged streets in the vicinity of Broad Street Station was the frequent discussion of the Mexican situation to be overheard. In a period of ten minutes seven separate groups of men in the crowd were overheard talking of Mexico, and the situation which confronts the federal government in its attitude toward the southern republic.

The general tone of the comment was condemnatory toward the administration for its apparent lack of confidence in the American people and its failure to take the public into its confidence.—Philadelphia "Evening Bulletin."

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: The rebels in the North of Mexico seek to form a "new Republic," cast aside the country of their same race and traditions and traitorously give away some of its territory to certain American rapacity.

The credulous public has been entertained with pretty stories long enough in regard to the aims of the separatists, but the plain truth is that they are not seeking independence of the Northern states in any emulation of the heroes of 1810 and 1821; they are actuated only by hate. Honest public opinion should recognize the plain truth of this affair in all its ugliness.

The United States will never declare war on Mexico; the cost has been mathematically calculated; they know that all their fabulous riches and hundreds of thousands of soldiers would not suffice for the subjugation of two million square kilometers of territory, and with all of their enormous power, in case of intervention, they would only be masters of the camps which their soldiers might occupy. How then to proceed? To divide the enemy, just as they did in 1847—first aid the desire for separation of the rebels, then the actual separation, then annexation. "History repeats itself" and the procedure in the case of Texas is being repeated to-day with terrible exactness, as if the spirit of some traitorous Elizondo, an ancestor of Madero, were guiding the rebel mobs in their work of infamy.

Facts are eloquent and it is sufficient to narrate them truthfully to learn useful teaching. No one, not even the Maderists, can deny that the United States aided Madero in every way against the great Porfirio Diaz, and that the Madero government was quite intimate at the White House and even went so far as to try to suppress—to please Washington—the propaganda in Mexico made by the poet Manuel Ugarte in favor of a union of the Latin peoples in America. Nor can any one deny that the revolution headed by Orozco fell through because the American authorities would not permit the smuggling of arms and ammunition against Madero, yet the same authorities are now suddenly incapable of stopping this traffic now that it is in favor of the rebels of the North and even the bandits in the South.

In addition the United States Government is using every effort to effect the triumph of the rebellion by refusing to recognize the legitimate government and trying to embarass and hinder Mexico at every step. No one forgets that some American consuls have been openly conniving with the rebels and that the American warships in the harbor of Guaymas turned their searchlights on the government fortification so that the rebels were able to make a night attack. What does all this mean? Simply that the United States has quite decided to support the revolution, and why? To favor the formation of a buffer republic and to end by annexing it so much easier than "intervention"—quite a "policy of peace" indeed

Baltimore, Md. T. MUECAS.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I have been reading your paper since the first number and I am so pleased with it that through some friends I have secured many copies which I have distributed. I found many that would like to subscribe. Nearly every business man here has interests in Mexico and they would like to take MEXICO regularly.

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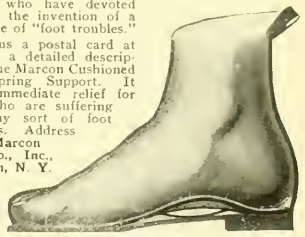

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## A DISTINCTION.

In editing a publication frankly opposed to the Administration's Mexican policy we find ourselves constantly drawing a mental distinction between President Wilson himself and those interests and individuals who are supporting his policy though not actuated by his high motives and ideals.

Whatever personal criticism may have been leveled at President Wilson by those who have questioned the wisdom of his methods, the fact remains that President Wilson is absolutely untainted with anything approaching even suspicion of his motives. These are universally recognized as pure, sincere, admirable and inspiring. It is in the very nature of the President to be above sordid considerations. He simply could not be anything else.

Against the beauty of the President's sentiments, the good will inspiring his policies, his earnest desire for peace in Mexico, nothing can be said in truth.

But at this point the distinction must be made and the people of the United States must make this distinction if they are to understand the true, underlying reason for our and others' opposition to President Wilson's Mexican policy. **If certain large American interests and certain American newspapers, who for reasons best known to themselves want control of Mexico, had dictated every move that President Wilson has made in the Mexican matter, they would be no better suited than they are now. And it must be understood that they are not actuated or inspired by the lofty morality or the spiritual aspirations of President Wilson.**

What they want and have wanted since the day that Porfirio Diaz undertook to free Mexico from the rapacity and dominance of American oil, railroad and financial interests, is control of Mexico, by hook or crook. By war, if necessary. By "moral diplomacy," if that serves their purpose.

When we attack President Wilson's Mexican policy let it be understood by our readers that we are not attacking President Wilson, the man or the President. He is immune to any attack. We are attacking those who have with the most sordid, unworthy motive decided on the death of Mexico as a nation, who have applauded President Wilson's morality because it has best furthered their immorality.

## THE POET SPEAKS.

Nobody can possibly object to President Wilson's felicitous expression of sincere and beautiful principles. When a poet in exquisite numbers thrills us with the glory and the ennoblement of life, in our emotional satisfaction we may lose sight of the brutal reality of facts. It is the province of the poet to lift us above the contemplation of sordid reality and into the realms of harmony, to focus our mental gaze on the precious metal to the exclusion of the ugly ore. We expect this from the poet, recognize it as his mission, and applaud his success in sublimating nature. We all wish we could be poets, but facts tug cruelly and relentlessly at our coat tails when we would ride Pegasus.

When we want a railroad built across mountains and desert, when the world trade cries for a union of ocean and ocean, when the task awaits man to subdue and apply the dumb forces of nature and of other man, when danger stalks and the floodgates of human passion are unlocked, when a vortex of destructive forces must be leashed and stilled, do we call upon the poet to take the job? With all due respect to the poet, we could not, would not, trust him not to botch it.

Matters in Mexico cannot be solved or handled by a poet. From a safe distance a poet may interpret them to his own satisfaction. But when that poetical self-satisfaction involves the destiny of at least two nations and millions of human beings, it takes on a power of peril that cannot be exaggerated.

That is why nations do not usually choose poets as rulers. Why Mexico does not relish the most perfect poetical phrases, while it must battle with the most painful matters of fact.

It is a pity that the rhapsodical word, the ecstatic phrase does not reap its sowing of good intention. It is a pity that President Wilson cannot "think" our country and all other nations into a state of blissful, righteous Nirvana. That he cannot by one "good thought" resolve the heritage of centuries into the lily-while purity of dreams.

It is a pity—but, great Scott!—when have we let poets handle such things before?

---

It used to be the iron hand and the velvet glove.

* * *

Now it is the iron heart and the velvet words.

* * *

Mexico does not want words.

* * *

It wants peace.

* * *

But behind the words may lurk—who knows?

* * *

Beautiful principles and ideals shot through with "material interests."

## SERVICE TO HUMANITY.

Let us give President Huerta a fair chance. **Not to prove what's in him**—for he has already shown to the world aplenty of strength, courage, statesmanship and patriotism. He has been traduced, maligned, misrepresented, libeled, stung, goaded, harrassed and hampered by his enemies who have had the ready ear of the Washington Administration. He has stood the acid test of adversity and maintained poise and dignity without losing in power. **But let us give him a chance to prove what he can do for Mexico.**

Is it a "square deal" when our Washington "high officials," and a particularly virulent group of the American press, rail impotently at the personality and performance of the man as though the success of his program to pacify Mexico would be a bitter dose for them to swallow? While they profess to desire, and loudly demand, peaceful conditions across the border?

Is it not a significant fact that all the nations of the world with diplomatic representatives in Mexico City express unanimous faith in President Huerta's ability to accomplish what the world wants in Mexico? That the United States is isolated in its suspicions and belittling attitude? Those foreign diplomats have had ample opportunity to measure the stature of the man and his every-day record has favorably impressed them. Can you blame them or blame Mexicans for seeing in our continued antagonism either blind perversity, studied ulterior purpose, or personal pique.

"Service to humanity" is the criterion of action so ably expounded by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. Is it not possible that service to humanity may take many forms? That humanity may be served by President Huerta if, whatever his real or imagined faults, he brings peace again to Mexico after three years of volcanic disorder, if on the foundation of that peace he or those who come after him may in a practical way solve the sociological problems that are clamoring for solution? Clamoring perhaps more violently in Mexico than elsewhere, but to a certain extent in all the nations?

Let us work out the problems of our own national life with patience and patriotism; deny with spirit the right of other countries officiously and unsympathetically to meddle here, and give to Mexico and all other countries our moral support and sympathy in their travail.

Nothing can be accomplished of lasting good in Mexico unless peace is first established. And if President Huerta cannot establish peace, who can? If the United States should undertake the task the "stain of blood" would be a lake of gore. Let us give President Huerta a fair chance.

REC'D 13 1913

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## THE PRESS GAME

Whatever criticism may be made of the Administration's course in dealing with Mexico it must be acknowledged by all impartial observers that remarkable ability in playing the "press game" has been displayed by Washington officials.

Critics of Mr. Bryan have undoubtedly underestimated his shrewdness. The manner in which news columns have been used to "throw out feelers"—to sound public opinion—and to impress the Mexican officials has revealed the machiavellic hand of a past master in press-agenting.

Take, for instance, the incident of the ultimatum to the Mexican President. The news came through the Associated Press, the semi-official news agency in all international matters. The dispatch stating that an ultimatum had been presented was couched in the most positive terms. It did not, however, reveal the source of information.

Endeavoring to obtain official confirmation or denial, Washington correspondents informed Secretary Bryan of its tenor the same night it was received. Secretary Bryan did not show any surprise and refused to either deny or confirm the news, allowing this fact to be published everywhere and to be cabled back to Mexico City. As was to be expected the news created great alarm and drew from all quarters expressions of opinions mostly adverse to the step.

The following day Secretary Bryan denied the ultimatum. Why had he not done so the night before?

It would be interesting to receive an explanation from Secretary Bryan himself but in the absence of such explanation it must be concluded that Bryan had intended that the news should be published.

Likewise it would be interesting to know exactly why the Administration allowed stories about intervention and military preparations to be published all over the country during several days and denied them only after public sentiment had revealed itself strongly opposed to such intervention.

## USING THE REBELS AS A CATSPAW

By recognizing the belligerency of the Mexican rebels and giving them openly material and moral support, the Washington Government may or may not succeed in imposing upon Mexico a government of United States choice. If successful, however, it will not be able to maintain that government in power and permanent peace will not be restored to Mexico.

Besides the moral aspect of a recognition of rebels and of lending support not only to "bona fide" rebels—and they are not many—but principally to numerous bands of brigands, the practical aspect of the question must be considered.

That the support found by Mexican rebels on this side of the Rio Grande has always been largely instrumental in preventing Mexican governments from crushing rebellions no one doubts.

That this country, on the other hand, has the power of making unsuccessful any revolution in Northern Mexico was amply demonstrated at the time the Orozco revolution threatened the Madero Government, when an effective embargo was placed by the Taft Administration on arms and ammunition for the Orozco forces.

But in the case of Madero it was also clearly demonstrated that while the Washington Government may have the power of establishing in Mexico a government of its own choice it cannot maintain that government in power. Madero was assisted before and after his assumption of power by American interests backed by the American Government. Madero obtained all the money he wanted from American bankers.

The Orozco movement collapsed because after the defeat inflicted by the government forces commanded by General Huerta it could not recover by drawing supplies and ammunition from this side of the Rio Grande.

Yet Madero was overthrown. The cause of his fall can be found not only in the fact that he failed utterly to keep the promises made to the people, but mainly in the fact that his Administration was generally known to be subservient to special American interests.

Those rebel leaders who at this juncture would welcome American support are very-short-sighted if they do not realize that if successful in seizing the reins of power they will not be able to hold them because they will be considered as puppets of American interests.

They would find themselves confronted by the same opposition which confronted Madero, and brigandage and revolutions would persist in the future as they have in the last three years.

The people of Mexico will never accept the imposition of a government subservient to privileged American interests.

If the present rebel leaders should become heads of the government they would be forced by public opinion to show themselves independent of American domination. In that case, they would find themselves in the same predicament in which the Huerta Government finds itself to-day.

It is not here a question of defending the Huerta Government. It is a question of defending the independence of any

(Continued on Next Page)

## THE SUPPORT OF BANDITS—
Continued.

Mexican government and the right of the Mexican people to be respected in their sovereignty and national integrity.

We believe that commercial supremacy of the United States in Mexico and other Latin-American countries is desirable and we are anxious to see it established but not by **might**. By **right**.

It is only by respecting the sovereignty of our neighbors that we can hope to maintain permanently friendly relations with the Mexican and other Latin-American peoples.

Unfortunately the attempt to establish a protectorate over Mexico has been made. Intervention in Mexico—if not by force of arms, by meddling in her domestic politics and giving support to rebels—is an accomplished fact.

The Washington Administration has entered upon a dangerous course, one fraught with many dangers, the greatest not being that of war but that of demonstrating to the world that with us **might** counts more than **right**.

As we deal with others so will they deal with us.

## SELFISH PERSONS.

Mr. Frisbie, who has spent thirty-seven years in Mexico, was asked who on the boat favored President Wilson's policy regarding Mexico, and he answered:

"Mrs. Lind. I know of nobody else."

Not even Mr. and Mrs. William Blair Flandreau, formerly of St. Paul, who are accompanying Mrs. Lind, have a kind word to say for the administration's course. Mrs. Flandreau went so far as to say that not a foreigner in Mexico agreed with Wilson, all believing that he should have supported Huerta. Mr. Flandreau is a mining man.

Of course Mr. Frisbie and Mr. and Mrs. Flandreau, as well as all other Americans who have expressed the same views, are selfish persons who care not for the high moral principles involved in the question. Perhaps they have some property in Mexico, perhaps they own a ranch or a hacienda or a mine and they are so devoid of all humanitarian principles that they think of their cows and calves and of their ore. Their desire to see their property safeguarded reveals the depths of infamy to which they are willing to go. Fortunately Secretary Bryan did not mince his words when he upbraided some time ago a committee of Americans from northern Mexico who had the impudence to request from him a policy that would prevent the destruction of their interests. He made it clear to them that their selfish attitude could not be countenanced by him. He could not understand how anyone could be so selfish as to think of money. But those men were evidently hardened to moral appeal and the Secretary's finger of scorn pointed at them did not have the desired effect. They could not be induced to follow Bryan's example in renouncing all thought of increased earnings.

## THE WASHINGTON MORALISTS.
They Are Bitterly Assailed for Their Policy in Mexico.

To the Editor of the New York "Tribune."

Sir: It is plain to be seen that President Wilson's Mexican policy, stripped of its occasional outbursts of verbiage and glittering generalities, is simply one of waiting and hoping that something will happen to Huerta. The inspired press dispatches from Washington daily assert without denial that the Administration would welcome the overthrow of Huerta by force. An assassination is force, must it be gathered from these dispatches that if to-morrow some political enemy or fanatic assassinated the President of Mexico in cold blood President Wilson and Secretary Bryan would be pleased?

And they go about the country talking morality and spiritual aspirations, and deep and abiding sympathy among nations and all that sort of buncombe! Their works don't gee with their words. Morality! Is it morality to encourage every brigand and looting outlaw in Mexico by taking a stand against the government which is trying to put them down? If that's morality, Heaven help us!

Some of these days individuals who have suffered, their relatives and friends and civilized nations of the world are going to hurl ugly accusations at those who are shaping the Mexican policy at Washington, concrete accusations of concrete wrong that will compare with those so viciously and maliciously flung at President Huerta by some of the American newspapers. It's mighty serious when you know that there are hundreds who are nursing these accusations with reason and holding them back because they realize their seriousness more than the moralists at Washington seem to.

MORRO CASTLE PASSENGER.

New York, Nov. 3, 1913.

Mexico City, Oct. 27.—"El Pais," one of the newspapers through which the policy of the Huerta Administration is given to the public as far as the Administration desires that the public should be informed, has this to say to-day of yesterday's election:

"All the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the republic, with the exception of Gen. Felix Diaz, signed a manifesto promising to abide by the result of the election and to support the present Government in case the election is declared void by Congress.

"Great surprise has been caused by the news that the result in the districts from which definite reports have been received was wholly favorable to the Huerta-Blanquet ticket. It is the general opinion that Congress will nullify the result of this election, because, according to the Constitution, the provisional President cannot be elected.

"Up to now all the details have not been received, and it is impossible to say definitely what the result has been. The people have shown the utmost indifference toward the election. This is explained by three causes:

"First—The people of Mexico are convinced that the great problem of the moment is the pacification of the country and for this purpose nobody but a competent military man, a man of national prestige, should occupy the executive seat, and none of the candidates satisfies this condition.

"Second—Mexico is not yet ready for the exercise of the suffrage, and even the election of Madero was looked on by persons of good sense as a joke.

"Third—Gen. Huerta has constituted himself the defender of public order and the bulwark of society, and the revolution is considered as an anti-social movement."—New York "Sun."

Some time ago the "Sun" correspondent, quoting "El Pais," said that this was the only truly independent newspaper in Mexico City. But every time a Mexican newspaper expresses itself favorably to the Government it is referred to as a Government newspaper, as in this case.

## FAIRNESS—YES?

Major Gillette, in an address at the Belasco Theatre in Washington, last week, bitterly complained that he had been unsuccessful in obtaining a hearing either from President Wilson or from Secretary Bryan. It was known in advance that Major Gillette's views on the Mexican question did not coincide with those of the Administration—and that was sufficient to close all official doors to him. He met the fate of hundreds of other Americans who have tried to get evidence and opinions before the Washington officials.

Americans living in Mexico, personal representatives of the Mexican President, and all other persons holding the opinion that the only government existing in Mexico should be recognized and supported have butted against a stone wall of prejudice.

On the other hand, full hearing has been given to all persons representing the rebels or interests opposed to the Mexican Government.

We learn from the daily press that even President Wilson made it clear to the newspapermen that while communications from the rebels would not be received officially, some way would be found by which **their** views could be laid before the Administration.

The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate has lent a willing and sympathetic hearing to Captain Hopkins and other representatives of the mentioned rebels and interests. All appeals from Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, have been benevolently accepted. Members of the Washington junta have even been able to secure copies of telegrams sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

But if an American citizen happening to possess opinions at variance with those of the Washington officials tries to make them known he is ostracized and is compelled to rent a theatre and give a public lecture to make himself heard!

Fairness, fairness, where hast thou been hidden?

And Senator Hoke Smith, one of President Wilson's close advisers, withdrew a previously offered Senate bill that would benefit Major Gillette.

Personal spite!

## THE FUNDAMENTAL ERROR.

Had the government at Washington recognized the government of Huerta in the beginning, as almost every civilized nation in the world did, there is little doubt that comparative peace and order would have been restored in Mexico by this time.

President Wilson's fundamental error lay in his failure to understand the fact, realized by almost all who know the subject intimately, that Mexico is not, and probably never can be, a democracy in the sense that the United States is a democracy.

His mind, like the minds of others who have made the same mistake, has been misled by the resemblance in essentials of the Mexican constitution to the constitution of the United States, wholly unmindful of the many times demonstrated incapacity of the masses of the Mexican people to sympathize with or live according to Anglo-Saxon ideas of law-regulated liberty based on loyal obedience to the will of the majority.

And now what are we going to do about wrecked and bleeding Mexico?

We have refused to recognize any government there and we have announced that we will not recognize any government resulting from an election held under the dictatorship of Huerta.

Is wholesome brigandage and bloodshed, under whatever pretense of patriotism, to reduce a great country on our own frontier to conditions of barbarism?—**James Creelman in the New York "Evening Mail."**

## WE SHOULD BE SHOCKED.

(Herald Bureau, Legation Quarter, Pekin, Tuesday.)

President Yuan Shih-kai has issued a mandate abolishing from Parliament the Kuo Ming Tang, which is the radical party.

This action does not come as a surprise and is welcomed by the President's supporters as evidence that at last he is taking a strong stand to establish himself the active ruler which the Kuo Ming Tang originally aimed at making him.

The excitement in political circles will be only temporary if the police are restrained.

Even the Kuo Ming Tang's supporters, including many American students, are accepting their congé as the inevitable result of the criminal action of the leaders in precipitating the rebellion.

Yuan Shih-kai now completely controls Parliament, and it is expected that very soon all outstanding questions will be settled and several loan agreements otherwise impossible of acceptance will be confirmed.

This drastic action of the President was taken at midnight, when long proclamations were issued abolishing from Parliament the Kuo Ming Tang, which numbers more than three hundred members.

The proclamations recount the difficulties with which the government has been struggling since the Manchu régime and describe disasters which are certain to follow if parties such as the Kuo Ming Tang are permitted to exist.

The Kuo Ming Tang party formerly was headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the first Provisional President of China, who is now in exile, but during the recent rebellion was required by Yuan Shih-kai to dismiss its southern leaders.

A crisis in the situation was reported last week, when the draft of the proposed constitution made the President absolutely dependent upon the Parliament. Martial law is in operation in Pekin; the authorities are engaged in making arrests and summary executions, which have been numerous since the rebellion began, it is understood, will continue. Preparations are under way for the Elder Statesmen, who served under the Manchus, to resume their positions in the Cabinet.

This is the government that President Wilson recognized in such mellifluous phrases a few months ago. It is rumored here in official and semi-official circles that he now contemplates sending a note to the Chinese Dictator telling him that he (Wilson) is painfully shocked and much distressed. It is even suggested that Dr. Wilson will withdraw United States recognition. John Bassett Moore has advised him that this is not possible according to international law. But what is international law to Doctor Wilson?

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## "FAILURE," SAYS H. L. WILSON.

Ann Arbor,, Mich., Oct. 31.—"I said at the beginning that President Wilson's foreign policy would not succeed and I repeat now that it will not succeed," said Henry Lane Wilson, former United States Ambassador to Mexico, to the Michigan State Teachers' Association to-day.

"The nature of the country and the nature of its people are such that Wilson's policies can never make good. If this country were filled with Princeton graduates there might be fruitful ground for the President's altruistic ideals," continued Mr. Wilson.

He gave a minute history of his experiences in Mexico and made a comprehensive outline of conditions in that republic as he saw them.

Mr. Wilson showed that he did not take sides as is charged against him. He said:

"When Madero was arrested I went before the provisional President and asked that Madero's life might be spared and conditions made better for him in prison. I had every member of the Cabinet released from prison.

"Everything that a human being could do under these circumstances I did. If I have ever done anything humanitarian in my seventeen years of diplomatic service, it was in Mexico during the recent troubles, and still I was accused of interfering with the policies of other Powers."—New York "Sun."

# THE OSTRICH POLICY

Writing immediately upon reading President Wilson's Mobile speech, we predicted in our last number that those beautiful, beautiful words embodied a policy which would add to the antagonism of Latin-Americans for the United States.

Already this declaration of policy has drawn severe criticism from Europe. It is too early to learn the impression created throughout Latin America by President Wilson's words. We repeat our prediction, however, that it will be one of indignation and renewed mistrust. The fact is that the Latin-American republics shy at the "protection" which, volis or nolis, the United States insists on extending to them.

The offers of protection have been in most cases translated in fact into an aggressive policy which has gained for us the antagonism of the people we have professed to protect. Latin-Americans would feel greatly relieved if the United States would not insist on protecting them so much.

It is well for us to realize fully and acknowledge that Latin-Americans have invited and welcomed European investments as a means of defense against the aggressive and domineering attitude of the United States.

While we have been telling them how much we love them and how we want to protect them against outside interference of any kind they have been tightening the bonds of friendship with Europeans, seeking protection against us. This is the truth and we may as well understand it.

Our attitude has cost and is costing us much in trade and in friendship. Latin-Americans even now would welcome American investments and a greater commercial intercourse with the United States if they did not fear the encroachment of this country upon their rights as sovereign people and our domination in their domestic affairs.

Their long-existing fears have been increased a thousandfold—in spite of the beautifully sounding words of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan—by the attitude of this country toward Mexico.

A cry of protest and warning has been sounded by the press of Latin America against the unwarranted interference of the Washington Administration in Mexican domestic affairs. One of the most authoritative newspapers in South America, "La Prensa," has reflected the sentiment of Argentines, declaring that President Wilson has the right not to recognize the President of Mexico but has not the right to interfere in the politics of Mexico and impose his own will on a free and sovereign people.

This meddling in Mexican affairs is going to prove very costly to us. Europeans have already been quick in availing themselves of the impression of disgust created by our policy to further their own interests throughout Latin America.

But then that is expediency.

Here is what the German press has to say about the announced policy:

The Neuste-Nachrichten, being the mouthpiece of Pan-Germanism, speaks somewhat more vociferously than other journals, but its reasoning is typical of the general comment taking place in Germany. It says:

"President Wilson has climbed to the summit of puritanism by extending the Monroe Doctrine so that European capital shall henceforth be forbidden to acquire concessions in Latin-America—that is to say, to attend to its own affairs—because such operations violate these countries' independence of Europe. Inasmuch as no such prohibition is imposed on North American capital. President Wilson's pretense amounts to colossal arrogance, and is aimed not only at the European powers, but also against the Central and South American republics themselves.

"No Parliament and no Government of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Venezuela may henceforth grant to European business men the right to exploit mines, build railways, or establish slaughter houses.

"In such places as Mexico, where concessions have nevertheless been granted, the President of the United States, in the fullness of his autocratic power, simply annuls them. He seems to argue: 'The Monroe Doctrine clothes men with authority to rule over everything that breathes in the Western Hemisphere. Everything that has come into existence between the Atlantic and the Pacific belongs to me. I am the almighty shepherd and pope of all the American peoples.

"Thus the ideological Wilsonian puritanism mounts to the level of imperialistic delirium, to a megolomania, which becomes a challenge simultaneously to both the Old and the New Worlds.

"It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that President Wilson's flights of political imagination will remain the vaporings of a pretentious dreamer. A growing hatred of the American hegemony is manifesting itself throughout South America. It has already crystalized public sentiment in favor of a defensive league against the Yankees.

"The European powers are indicating, moreover, that in Mexico they are in no respect willing to submit to the naive claims to supremacy set up by Wilsonism.

"America's military resources are limited. Her capacity to widen her influence in Latin America is constantly on the decline. If, therefore, the various antagonistic forces now at work remain firm, it will not prove very difficult to force Wilsonism back into the confines behind which it is essential it should be kept, if the peoples of the earth are to live together, but which Wilsonism, in its high-browed lordliness, does not see or will not see."

Another common view here of the American policy in Mexico is that it is conceived exclusively in the interests of the Standard Oil Company. The Berliner Morgen-Post, which is as opposite to the Neuste-Nachrichten politically as one pole to the other, says:

"Notwithstanding that the whole world knows only too well that the American-Mexican conflict owes both its origin and its aggravation to the struggle of the petroleum interests to maintain their monopolistic position south of the Rio Grande, President Wilson still pretends to believe that the attitude of the United States is dictated by strictly moral motives.

"Nobody doubts the good faith of the statesman and idealist now at the helm in Washington, but we do not think that anybody ought to stick his head in the sand so deep as to overlook the real root of the evil. This ostrich policy of President Wilson has brought the United States into an extremely precarious position."

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The National Academy of Medicine in Mexico City has opened a competition to all the doctors of the world for the cure of typhus.

A prize of 15,000 pesos will be awarded to the person discovering the way in which the disease is transmitted. Another prize of 15,000 pesos will be given to the person discovering an efficacious cure for the disease.

All papers entered in this competition must be presented before May 31, 1915.

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# More Confessions of a Border Reporter

Should the constitutionalists become victors in the present struggle, I believe they ought to award all the border newspapermen with some valuable positions. We of Douglas should have nothing less than an ambassadorship. I should like to go to Venezuela or some such peaceful country because I have learned to understand the Latin type and I like it.

We of Douglas first named the rebels Maderists, but when the common Mexican people, used to killing from infancy, failed to respond with the proper spirit with "Viva Madero" after he was dead, we renamed them the "constitutionalists."

After several more experiments, our press-agenting bringing splendid results, the cause had spread through the interior, resulting in the grand meeting at Piedras Negras and the election of Venustiano Carranza as leader. The correspondent at Eagle Pass christened them the Carranzistas after several weeks' delay, but Maderistas and Constitutionalists they have been to most of the papers ever since.

Not only were we experts in military tactics—we also became advisers in international law. What the Constitutionalists ought to do and did do we promptly anticipated.

For instance, was it not at our suggestion that the lands of the Cientificos were seized to be parceled out among the people? Did we not help to pass a sort of alien land law and declare Mexico for the Mexicans? What good did it all do us, anyway, except to give us something to talk about, for after Governor Maytorena resumed his office after several months absence in the United States on account of failing health, he promptly declared all the laws null and void.

It really became a job to supply outside papers with "exclusive dispatches" that they might head it "from our own staff correspondents." To do this, Mexican papers of both rebel and Federal sympathies were closely watched, their contents rewritten in English and sent out with the local date line. I see the Eagle Pass and Laredo correspondents are still doing this.

As we became purveyors of war news we frequently stimulated trade by promises of "battles" and "endangering of American lives." After weeks of repeated faking we had to make good our promises and once an original correspondent did stage a fight between American and Mexican soldiers. It was in March, when the whole country awaited what appeared to be the first pitched battle between the two countries. An American officer was fired upon. His bodyguard returned the fire. Reserves were called out, so the papers stated, and many were killed and wounded. The truth of it all was that a stray bullet from a Mexican gun killed a burro, some several hundred feet from where the officer stood.

That this little incident did more in promising immediate war between the two countries may be remembered, for a commission was appointed to investigate the affair. Papers echoed with "the battle" for days afterward.

Newspapermen were not responsible for all the fakes that crept out of Douglass. Many of the citizens wrote home, enlarging upon the details. These letters somehow reached the newspapers of their home towns and with the usual journalistic high lights they became very serious affairs.

I suppose we on the border would still be measuring our "strings" by the yard, but we are responsible for our own undoing. Bill Henry, with his report of a battle that took four days to materialize, and Shad with his smuggling stories helped to spoil the game. Shad invented the idea of smuggling ammunition across the border by attaching toy balloons to each bullet. Woods with his killing of Obregon, the famous Constitutionalist general, Hayes' aeroplane stories in which he daily annihilated the Federal army for more than a month, and my human interest stories of the cruelties perpetrated on Americans hastened the death. The scenes have shifted to other parts but the same methods are being used.

If all this talk about Mexico has done nothing more, it has centered attraction on our own Southwest. That country which has come in for publicity through the Mexican trouble has been built up by leaps and bounds within the past three years.

If by our reports of the war we drove the Americans from Mexico, they came to the United States and built substantial homes in El Paso, Nogales, Douglas and Galveston. Population has more than doubled. In 1910 Douglas was a town of 6,000. To-day it contains nearly three times that many people.

Business has grown, too. I know of one large wholesale house in Galveston which was gradually going under when Uncle Sam came to its rescue, sent 15,000 soldiers down there who bought cargoes of 65-cent tan socks at 72½ cents special.

Do Americans want to stop this Mexican revolution? On the border and the coast, invariably, no. It has proven too great an advertising medium for the town and business. An enterprising Chamber of Commerce can get a wide-awake newspaperman any time. With a little originality and the invariable rule that should an American be imprisoned for making himself obnoxious in Mexico it's a good story, he ought to make pretty good money if he can run to the telegraph office fast enough.

## RIDING ROUGH-SHOD.

"The Monroe Doctrine, An Obsolete Shibboleth," a recently published book by Dr. Hiram Bingham, contains the following passages:

"In 1891 we again overstepped the rules of international law, and denied the right of one of the contestants in the civil war in Chile to purchase arms on the Pacific Coast. It has always been considered lawful for merchants to sell arms to all the world, at peace or at war. Arms were sold and shipped by the steamer "Itata." The transaction was not a guilty one, but one of our men-of-war chased the "Itata" for thousands of miles and finally brought her back to San Diego, where she was kept several months awaiting trial. The case against her was eventually dismissed, for she had committed no breach of international law in the judgment of our own courts. The seizure of the "Itata" was the cause of very bitter feeling arising in Chile. Aided by other events which it is not necessary to go into here, it resulted in the "Baltimore" episode, when two of our sailors on shore leave were killed in the streets of Valparaiso. We did not like the dilatory tactics of Chilean law and procedure. We refused to respect the decision of the Chilean courts, and we issued an ultimatum which, although extremely distasteful to Chile, forced her to take our view of the case. **There is no question that the American people took an immense amount of satisfaction in riding rough-shod over Chile at that time, and did it without the slightest notion that we had given the Chileans abundant cause to feel that with us MIGHT meant right.** In commenting on this episode in 1892 Professor Woolsey very justly said: "* * * It means, in the first place, a departure from the old safe policy of the fathers. It means courting rather than avoiding foreign entanglements. It means one collision after another, each with its sulphurous war-cloud about it. It means the violation of former precedents, setting up new ones in their stead which may prove awkward, even dangerous. It will encourage aggressions upon weak neighbors. It will make this country hated and distrusted by its natural friends. It will weaken its commercial position on this continent, throwing trade into other channels than our own. Years must pass before Chile can forget her bitter experiences at the hands of the United States and open her arms to our trade freely. International trade is largely based on sentiment."

In subsequent issues we shall quote more extensively from Dr. Bingham's enlightening volume. The very rough-shod methods he condemns in our past Latin-American relations are to the fore again in President Wilson's dealings with Mexico, only in more flagrant forms. We are acting the bully and pretending disinterested friendship.

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We wonder how it feels to have the power of committing 100,000,000 people to an unjust war because one man dislikes another.

* * *

A tremendous responsibility.

* * *

But it rests lightly on our theorists.

* * *

Wasn't Bryan a colonel once?

* * *

Perhaps he wants to lead an army of invasion with Colquitt.

* * *

Has all his peace talk been humbug?

* * *

Or just the effects of grape juice?

## THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT.

Mrs. John Lind came in for a good deal of criticism to-day for what is construed her exceedingly undiplomatic act in aiding two refugee Deputies of the Vera Cruz Assembly to make their escape on board the steamship "Morro Castle."

Is it possible that any undiplomatic act should be criticized in Washington nowadays? The criticism must have come from some careless official unmindful of his surroundings.

Frankly, we think that Mrs. Lind's undiplomatic act in aiding two Mexican refugees can be explained as the natural impulse of a woman whose feelings are easily worked upon.

But we do not think there could be any excuse found for Mrs. Lind's lack of knowledge of the most elementary rules of tact and propriety in boasting of the act. Nor is there any excuse possible for the wife of a special and personal envoy of the President of the United States in making her views known either through the press or in semi-public conversations, as Mrs. Lind has done since her departure from Mexico.

While on her way to New York on board the "Morro Castle" Mrs. Lind freely expressed views which were interpreted by her fellow passengers as reflecting those of her husband. **She ascribed all the troubles of Mexico to the Catholic priests and suggested as a remedy the sending of Protestant missionaries to Mexico from this country to "show them."**

Since reaching this country she has given interviews expressing all sorts of opinions which reveal in the main a narrow and prejudiced mind. This is not surprising and it is only one more proof of the peculiarly happy faculty possessed by Secretary Bryan in selecting the Administration's special representatives in Mexico.

"Why did you shield the two Deputies?" reporters asked Mrs. Lind.

"I believed that if captured they would be hanged. I knew they had not committed an offence for which they should pay the penalty of their lives.

We should like to ask Mrs. Lind on what experience she based her belief. Did she see any innocent or guilty person hanged while she was in Mexico? And since when has the wife of a special envoy constituted herself judge and tribunal in a foreign country?

## TUPPER BOBS UP AGAIN.

We note that the Reverend Tupper, D. D., "special peace commissioner" of the International Peace Forum, has turned up again in Tucson, Arizona, fresh from another banquet and confab with the Carranza bandits. Tupper is the remarkable "man of peace" who suggested blithely that the United States should arm the rebels and bandits. Of course to all classes of Mexicans Tupper has been and is a joke, but really it is about time that the honest men of the Peace Forum should rescue him from the crowd who have made an ass of him along the border, incidentally injuring the reputation of the Peace Forum and the cause of peace.

# THE DEAFNESS OF EGOTISM

Washington, Nov. 2. Major Cassius L. Gillette, an ex-officer of the United States army, who has resided in Mexico many years, made the charge in a public speech delivered here to night that President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan had decided upon a policy of non-recognition of the Huerta Government for the reason that they are absolutely ignorant of actual conditions and events in the southern republic.

**Major Gillette charged further that the Administration officers had repeatedly declined to receive information as to conditions in Mexico from persons well informed and, failing to recognize Huerta, were in large part responsible for the state of chaos that obtains in the republic. Major Gillette told his audience that he had been denied access to the President and that he had found it impossible to see the Secretary of State. He eulogized Huerta as a patriot.**

Major Gillette was one of the twenty-one Americans who recently signed a communication addressed to the President protesting against the Administration's Mexican policy.

At the conclusion of his speech Major Gillette publicly invited the President to listen to another speech on the subject of Mexico that he will deliver in this city on next Sunday night.

**"I shall have the Presidential box reserved for Mr. Wilson," said Major Gillette, "and I hope that he will do me the honor of being present. The only way I can get my views before him is through public speech."**

The speaker told his audience that when he first came to Washington he called at the White House with a view to discussing Mexican affairs with President Wilson. "I was told by Secretary Tumulty that I could not see the President unless I presented a letter from the Secretary of State," said Major Gillette. "I went to the State Department. I found that Mr. Bryan was delivering Chautauqua lectures in the West."

Continuing, Major Gillette said:

**"The trouble with this Mexican situation so far as the United States is concerned is that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan do not understand conditions in Mexico. They are working in the dark. Huerta is 'hobbled' in his efforts to restore order by reason of the failure of this Government to recognize him."**

Major Gillette insisted that Huerta was a worthy man, well qualified to cope with the situation in Mexico and having the respect of the only classes in Mexico who are entitled to a voice in the affairs of the Government.

"Huerta has always been loyal to the Government of Mexico," said Major Gillette. "He was loyal to Porfirio Diaz and to Francisco Madero. He had nothing to do with the assassination of Madero."

Major Gilletet declared that Madero was the idol of the savage peons, who, according to Major Gillette, were not fit to govern through the suffrage. "Conditions in Mexico under Madero were intolerable," said the speaker. "Madero disregarded his promises to the people and his relatives plundered the public treasury."

Major Gillette went on to say that when trouble came in Mexico under Madero the Congress asked Madero to resign. Madero refused to receive representatives of the Congress. According to Major Gillette Huerta then sent a Mexican army officer to Madero notifying him of the desires of the Congress. "Madero shot this officer dead," said Major Gillette. "He killed him in cold blood. He could have been tried and convicted of murder for the offence."

Major Gillette insisted that when men prominent in the affairs of Mexico decided that Madero would have to relinquish the Presidency Huerta raised his voice against the death sentence. Others insisted that he would be a menace to the Government as long as he lived.

Major Gillette expressed doubt that Madero was the victim of an organized conspiracy and warranted the various versions of Madero's death.

Discussing political conditions in Mexico, Major Gillette declared there never had been an honest election in Mexico and that under present conditions there never would be. He likened affairs in Mexico to the situation that obtains in many of the Southern States.

"Take Mississippi as an example," said Major Gillette. "If the negroes of that State were permitted to follow their own devices at the ballot box Jack Johnson would be elected Governor. The peons of Mexico are not as well fitted as the Mississippi negroes to pick out candidates for office."

In eulogizing Huerta, Major Gillette compared the provisional President to Gen. Robert E. Lee. He said that he had heard Huerta upheld as a "traitor," whereas, according to the speaker, Huerta is a patriot.

## A CATHOLIC MISSIONARY.

Rev. P. J. O'Reilly, a Catholic missionary of Austin, Tex., who is at the Planters' Hotel, last night said hundreds of poor and rich Mexicans are crossing the border line into Texas because they fear their country will not be in a settled condition for many years.

Father O'Reilly said most of the inhabitants of Mexico feel the United States should give recognition to Huerta. He said there seems to be little real danger of a war between the two countries.

"Having recently returned from Mexico, where I was associated with the peons as well as the wealthy classes, I am in a position to know the country needs another Diaz and a constitutional form of government will not suffice," said Father O'Reilly. "It takes the mailed hand to rule successfully. Huerta is a good man, as was Ambassador Wilson. This country can not afford to interfere in Mexico, as our neighbor is in a state of great unrest."

Father O'Reilly is here visiting St. Louis friends.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

The Mexican regular army is at present composed of 182 generals, 1,081 chiefs of battalions, 5,537 officers and 84,985 privates, a total of 91,785 men.

Under the Department of the Interior there are, besides, 10,000 rural policemen, 4,000 city policemen and 16,200 regional State militia, making a total of 30,200 men.

The soft word and the concrete heart.

* * *

**For us, we prefer the straight-from-the-shoulder fighter.**

# THE GLAMOUR OF WORDS

Aside from the "personal" element, which undoubtedly has had most to do with the strained relations between Mexico and the United States, there are other elements entering into the Administration's attitude which are more or less nebulous but which are brought forward now and then when it is deemed necessary to excuse, obfuscate or explain the purely personal. They are as follows:

1.—The necessity for establishing permanent peace in Mexico.

2.—The discouragement of revolutions in Latin-America.

3.—The maintenance of United States prestige and supremacy at all costs.

4.—The spreading of constitutional liberty in the Western Hemisphere.

Permanent peace in Mexico is as desirable as permanent peace in the United States and among all the nations. Porfirio Diaz wanted permanent peace in Mexico and came as near establishing it as any human instrument could. The dogs of war were unleashed by the Madero crowd of ambitious and unscrupulous men, backed by American financial interests, whose continued machinations to-day are so "morally" supported by the Washington Administration.

President Huerta wants permanent peace in Mexico quite as much as the most ardent peace apostle on this side of the border, but finds himself hampered and hobbled by Washington's antagonism toward him and encouragement of his enemies. If as a consequence Huerta is overthrown and a puppet of the Washington Administration and American financial interests is put in power, Mexico will seethe with a national revolt against foreign domination that will mean nothing but ultimate armed invasion by the United States and a long and costly war. Mexicans would never submit to a United States-made President.

In the end peace might be restored, but it will be maintained only by constant force of arms. Rebellion and brigandage will lie dormant but not extinct. Meanwhile a nation will have been cruelly and needlessly destroyed and a tremendous and costly imperial and racial problem added to our own great internal problems. Would it not be saner, more just and honorable to aid the government of Mexico in its efforts to establish permanent peace while maintaining Mexican national dignity and Mexico for the Mexicans?

As to the professed purpose of the Washington Administration to discourage revolutions generally in Mexico and all Latin-American countries, it must be admitted that it is a beautifully conceived ideal. But ideals are only valuable when they are translated into action. Nobody with the slightest knowledge of the situation in Mexico to-day can deny that revolution, far from being discouraged by Washington's attitude, is materially aided. Not only does every scheming politician see in it an opportunity for ambitious revolt against the unrecognized government but actually a premium is set on the overthrowing of Huerta —the premium of United States support and recognition. More than this—every utterly lawless Jesse James type of bandit leader feels that he has the sympathy of the Washington government, that the United States is his friend, and he goes about his work of pillage, blackmail and rapine with the moral sanction of our enlightened country. This fact is too obvious to need elaboration. As to discouraging revolutions in other Latin-American countries, do we want to discourage a revolution that would overthrow those really diabolical dictators of Guatemala and Venezuela? Are we going to back them against the democratic aspirations of the great majority of the people in those countries? Armed revolution is the only method by which the people under certain circumstances can free themselves from intolerable conditions. But it would seem that we are for revolution when it serves our purposes and against it when it doesn't.

"Maintenance of United States prestige and supremacy at all costs!" This is a glowing phrase and one designed to appeal to the "patriotism" of those who do not believe that just dealing is the highest and most lasting prestige and that supremacy based on injustice and might signifies the beginning of the end for the Republic of the United States. With might we can overrule and overlord all the little comparatively powerless nations of Latin-America, but in the end we shall get back a thousandfold from the more powerful of them and from Europe and the Orient an avalanche of the very force we have applied. That's the law, and in the light of history it is the inevitable result of power abused.

Every true American wants to see the prestige of the United States increased and multiplied in all the countries to the south of us. The opening of the Panama Canal makes this almost imperative from the standpoint of our trade and our competition with the other great commercial countries of the world. But the last possible way in which to gain prestige among the Latin-American countries is to act the bully or the patronizing doctrinaire toward them, which for a long time and never so much as now has been our unwarranted position. We are doing more by our Mexican policy to destroy American prestige in Latin-America than we can undo in a generation. We are not frank. We are not informed. We are positive in perpetuating a mistake, and negative when a positive course would be powerful for good.

The spreading of constitutional liberty in the Western Hemisphere is another of those self-imposed and self-satisfied ideals that are pernicious in practice. As a generous people and a liberty-loving nation it is natural that we should within certain limits seek to influence in other countries of the New World the development of the principles of democracy. But we must remember that the principles of democracy are being applied with considerable difficulty and obstacles to progress in our own land; that the greatest influence is the influence of example; that all peoples are not equally receptive to or ready for democratic government, that democratic forms of government are one thing and the conditions for applying them another, and finally that the forceful imposition of our forms and ideas on a people of a sovereign and independent nation, who either do not want them or are not ready to use them, is a crime against something greater than "constitutional liberty"—and that is national liberty.

For the honor of the United Statse, for our good name among the nations, for the future welfare of our country, let us cease this throwing of a glamour of fine words and phrases about an ugly fact. It would be so much finer, so much more honest and honorable to announce to the world that we are a narrow-minded, stubborn, ignorant, self-glorying nation of braggarts and hypocrites and that we don't give a hoot what anybody thinks about it. That we don't pretend to have any attitude toward Mexico except one of intolerance and personal dislike plus a natural desire to gobble up all we can and take advantage of a neighbor in distress. Let us cut out the hypocrisy.

## WHAT "INVASION" WOULD MEAN.

(Herald Bureau, No. 1,502 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., Friday.)

That a force of not less than 560,000 men would be required to furnish adequate "police" protection to foreign properties in Mexico is the conclusion reached by the Army General Staff.

This estimate is based upon a careful investigation made by the Army War College of enterprises owned and controlled by foreigners of all nationalities in Mexico. The information from which the report of the War College has been compiled was gathered with great care from official reports of the Mexican government and from other sources considered reliable.

In making up the list of foreign properties that would have to be given adequate protection in case the United States assumed the responsibility for policing Mexico, none has been considered that did not represent an investment or capitalization of at least one million dollars.

Upon a carefully prepared map accompanying its report the War College has indicated the location of each of the enterprises—mines, water power plants, railways, electric railways, oil concessions, large agricultural estates and other concessions—that are strictly legitimately "foreign." The map is closely dotted with the signs that indicate location and nationality of ownership of these properties.

American enterprises largely predominate, but European nations are liberally represented. The interest of the foreigner in Mexico extends from the northern border to the Guatemala and British Honduras boundaries, from the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific.

The fact that the War College has taken into consideration only enterprises representing $1,000,000 as a minimum, not only reveals the vast foreign investment in Mexico, but serves to emphasize the magnitude of the problem of giving adequate protection to foreign interests should there be an attempt by the United States, or the United States and other nations directly interested, to solve the Mexican situation by armed intervention.

That this would mean war with a practically united Mexico is admitted, even by those who advocate armed intervention. Some politicians talk blithely of such a war as "easy." No military expert looks upon it in that light. Without in the least undervaluing the superiority of the American soldier and the American army, officers of the army familiar with Mexico and its people are of the opinion that the conditions in that country make possible a guerilla warfare that would pale into comparative insignificance the historic contest between the British and the Boers of South Africa.

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That the Catholics of Mexico have approved Huerta's course must come as a shock to the devout Joseph Patrick Tumulty.

* * *

Oh, but we love the people of Central America!

## THE SITUATION IN A NUTSHELL

President Wilson will not recognize the government of President Huerta although all other Powers have

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He has announced in advance that he will not recognize any other government elected during Huerta's Presidency.

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He will not recognize any President in whose favor Huerta might resign.

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He will not recognize any government founded on revolutionary force.

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Therefore it is not possible for Mexico to do anything to please President Wilson.

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He makes no suggestions, he offers no help, he simply scolds and goads and antagonizes.

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Is it any wonder foreign governments with national and huge interests in Mexico should be appalled by the truculent dog-in-the-manger policy of President Wilson and feel called upon to give their moral support to the only government in Mexico as a buffer against anarchy?

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If President Wilson has any plan for Mexico save an absolute and complete overnight change in the nature of the country and its people nobody has an inkling of what it is.

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Or does he really want an excuse for armed intervention and territorial aggrandizement?

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## LOOTERS.

The only Mexicans who are not loyal to the Huerta Government are the bandits and brigands who overrun certain sections of the Republic and the disgruntled crowd of ex-office holders whose activities consist in proclaiming from the border and in Washington for the benefit of Mr. Wilson that each sacking and looting of a town by these numerous bands of brigands is a victory of patriotic "constitutionalists" against the usurpation of a military dictator. The tragic part of it is that they have so cleverely misled the Washington Administration that the latter finds itself now in the strange position of professing it wants peace in Mexico and taking the side of the bandits who are causing all the trouble.

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## THE MONSTER!

**"Returning from a banquet in Tlalpam, President Huerta made an informal visit to the Country Club yesterday afternoon, displaying the genial side of his character. He surveyed the golf links, but played only one shot with a few friends. He piled his automobile full of little children for a short turn and sent them off rejoicing, each with a peso."—New York "Herald," Nov. 5.**

# THE MADERO CRIME

**(Further Extracts from the Memorial Address by American Residents of Mexico to the President and Congress of the United States.)**

Had Madero been set free he would have had a new "revolution" started fifteen minutes after he could get to San Antonio. Had he been kept a prisoner there was always a menace of his escape. He could easily have been tried, convicted and executed for shooting in cold blood an officer who went to reason with him during the destructive bombardment, but every day he lived the greater menace he became. A lynching is not a noble spectacle, but they occur daily in the United States for comparatively trivial causes, and in this case a nation's life was at stake.

But it is argued that the Diaz regime had become corrupt, that grafters had crept in, that the "Cientificos" were robbing the people and that it was Madero's plan to remedy it. Granting, for the sake of argument, that such was the case, we submit that during the same period in the United States, the proven graft there was greater than the asserted graft in Mexico, and that the undoubted public land and railroad graft there was very much greater than possible in Mexico; and we also submit that Madero's remedy was colossal in its ghastly absurdity. It was like burning down the house to drive out a few rats. And it appears that there were more rats in the bizarre new structure he erected in its place than in the one he burned.

Whether his performance was a ghastly blunder or a crime is really unimportant. That it was a blunder is indicated by the fact that he was probably mentally unbalanced. This is the belief of many people. It was indicated by a habitual sudden jumping from one topic to another, wholly disconnected; by his frequent consultation of spiritualistic mediums; by his giving the same importance to trivialties as to matters of serious moment; by an astonishing sort of absent-minded tactlessness and discourtesy, and by many other things.

That it was deliberately criminal is strongly indicated by the following partial list of his own relatives whom he put into office promptly on his accession to the Presidency:

| Name | Relationship to Madero | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Gustavo Madero | Brother | Deputy and Ambassador |
| Ernesto Madero | Uncle | Cabinet Minister |
| Alfonso Madero | Brother | Deputy |
| Emilio Madero | Brother | General |
| Raul Madero | **Brother** | Colonel |
| Rafael Hernandez Madero | **Cousin** | Cabinet Minister |
| Antonio U. Hernandez | Uncle | Senator |
| Manuel Perez | Brother-in-law | Deputy |
| Jose Aguilar | Cousin | Deputy |
| Salvador Benavides | Cousin | Deputy |
| Rodriguez Aguilar Campos | Cousin | Hospital General |
| Adrian Aguirre Benavides | Cousin | Deputy |
| Jesús Gonzalez | Cousin | Minister of Supreme Court |
| Juvencio Gonzalez | Cousin | Employee Dept. Pub. Works |
| José Gonzalez | Cousin | Employee Dept. Fomento |
| Rafael Aguirre, Sr. | Cousin | Administrator, Puebla |
| Rafael Aguirre, Jr. | Cousin | Intervenor, Torreon |
| Francisco Olivares | Uncle wife's brother | Intervenor, Tampico |
| D. Raymundo Navarro | Cousin | Chief of Rurales, Coahuila |
| Andrés Felistos | Cousin | Employee Monterey |
| Jesús Villareal | Cousin | Chief of Hacienda |
| D. Marcos Benavides | **Cousin** | **Administrator, Saltillo** |
| **And many others.** | | |

Nepotism like that is not a normal accompaniment of a disinterested attempt to make Mexico a pure democracy.

That it was a crime is further indicated by the fact that, while during his two years in office, nearly four hundred million pesos came into the Mexicon Treasury, only three hundred and twenty millions can be accounted for, eighty millions having disappeared.

A clue to this may possibly be afforded by the fact that there is reliable information to the effect that Madero's private secretary, who had been a local newspaper reporter and whose only extravagance had been to the extent of about fifty centavos borrowed from the editor about two or three times a week and expended for pulque and enchiladas in a little Mexican tienda, whereas, during his incumbency as private secretary to the President, his bill at a single French restaurant alone was from $3,000 to $4,000 a month, on a salary of $480.00 a month, and there is no doubt that someone is spending lots of money distributing Madierista misinformation in Washington.

An example of Madero's irrational tactlessness may be cited in an address he made to the army officers who gave him a banquet about the time of his inauguration. He upbraided them for having remained loyal to the long-established government. He said that they should have turned and helped him, in other words, he thought that they should have committed treason. * * *

The rebels whom Madero led against Diaz upon capturing a town immediately did two things; they released all the criminals in jail and burned the public records and archives, the latter strikingly similar to the performance of the negro office holders of the Alabama State Government in "carpet bag" days, of which any old resident of Montgomery can give the facts. * * *

# NAILING THEM

## THAT'S ALL.

Some recent exhibitions of European diplomacy in the vicinity of Mexico City tend to make Americans proud of the United States brand, even if it has been characterized in some of the European capitals as "amateurish."

One of the strange things in connection with the Mexican situation is that anybody at all wants to be President. It's a job any sane man would fall over himself getting away from.

The British government may be a little cold toward President Wilson's Mexican policy now, but it will not be when it finds out more about it. Nobody wants to conclude that that policy was adopted without due consideration. That is not the Wilson way.

The above are little "digs" from the Raleigh, N. C., "News and Observer," Secretary of the Navy Daniels' paper, which may be accepted as reflecting the Administration's point of view. The pitiful attempts to defend the "amateurish" diplomacy of Washington and to create the impression that there is something mighty deep and portentous in the Mexican "policy" are obvious. The Wilson way—that's all.

## NO CO-OPERATION PROMISED.

Instead of having assented to co-operate with the United States in any policy it may adopt, foreign nations, notably Great Britain, France and Germany, have merely assented to await the enunciation of a policy by this government before taking further action.—News item.

Well, well, how the news from Washington changes from day to day! All newspapers had declared previously that the Washington Administration had received assurances from all European powers that they would abide by any policy adopted by this country. In most of the dope sent out from Washington the wish is father of the thought.

## HUFF AMUSED.

Capt. Huff of the 'Morro Castle" was inclined to make light of his ship's detention at Vera Cruz. He said it was a tempest in a teapot, and that reading the stories in the newspapers about it scared him much more than the incident itself.

He was much amused over the report that the Mexican gunboat "Zaragoza" had lain across his bows with her guns trained on his ship. The "Zaragoza," he said, occupied the same position that night that she had all along in the harbor, and in no way threatened him.

We often wonder whether present history will ever be written from newspaper reports. The extent to which some newspapers will go to sell a few more copies speaks evil for the poor devils involved.

Even the once reliable New York "Sun" published the story with this headline: "Mexican guns halt United States liner with Mrs. Lind on board!" Tut! Tut! roared the cannons!

## COMPLACENTLY.

Now, even in the conversation of public men, one hears American intervention also spoken of as if it were inevitable. It is also spoken of complacently, and even such conservative Administration supporters as Senator Bacon talk of the possibility of the landing of marines in Mexico.

It is beginning to crop out. That "complacently" is quite significant. We have had a faint suspicion for some time.

## NEVER BACKS OUT.

The conviction apparently has settled down in the last few days over all Washington, both in Administration circles and at the Capitol, that there are only two ways out of the Mexican tangle—one is by retreating and the other is by the use of force or a threat of force. President Wilson said only a few days ago that he never backed out of anything.

The logical conclusion then is that there will be use of force. And this is precisely what we have been predicting: that to enforce the Administration's unreasonable demands in regard to Mexico nothing short of war would avail.

And the people of this country do not want war with Mexico, do not want to interfere in the private affairs of Mexico. The large majority is convinced that the Administration's blunders and stubbornness are drawing the country into a conflict for which no excuse can be found.

## MORALITY!

There is a strong impression that the President's new policy will embody the removal of the embargo on the exportation of arms to the revolutionists. The suggestion that this course may be pursued has revived reports that the Administration contemplates taking sides with the Constitutional Party, and seek to end Mexico's troubles by giving Huerta's enemies such material aid that the Dictator will be driven from power by force of arms.

What a spectacle we would offer to the world if the foregoing should prove to be true! The United States taking sides with the rebels against the established government of a neighbor and lending them arms and ammunition so that brother could kill brother with more ease and expedition.

But why be shocked even at the thought of such a course, since a member of the United States Senate, the Honorable Mr. Bristow, has openly suggested it, introducing into the records of the Senate a letter from a friend of his advocating the frank and open giving of arms to rebels and bandits?

By the way, would that be morality or expediency?

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It is logical to assume that the objective of the President's policy will be to turn out of Mexico City either Huerta or the man who succeeds him.

Good Heavens! Who then will be at the head of the Mexican Government? Or are we to look forward to a headless government?

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The solution of the Mexican problem is in the hands of the President of the United States, and President Wilson is insistent that the dictatorial government of Huerta must be overthrown.—New York "Herald" Editorial.

Which suggests that the Mexican "problem" is bigger than any one man; that we have a sufficiency of problems right here awaiting solution; and that nothing shows that the "overthrow" of Huerta would be anything but purely destructive.

## MORE MALICIOUS LIES.

In their attempt to misrepresent the facts regarding the recent Mexican elections, many of the newspapers have published an El Pasogram stating that the Juarez garrison had been compelled to vote for President Huerta to a man.

Also that the soldiers at Eagle Pass had been commanded to do the same. We quote from the El Paso "Times," which cannot be accused of undue favoritism toward any Mexican Government:

Election day passed off in Juarez without the semblance of a disturbance.

Felix Diaz, candidate for the presidency, and Federico Gamboa, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, received 90 per cent. of the vote cast, which was light.

An unexpected feature of the election in Juarez was the refusal of the garrison authorities to permit the troops to vote. Officers voted, but not a single soldier in the ranks was allowed to cast a ballot.

The total number of votes in the city districts, officials of the town stated, will not total more than 300 or 400. The exact vote had not been learned last night by the Juarez officials, and will not be definitely known until Tuesday, when the votes will be officially counted by the city council of Juarez.

**Juarez, almost to a man, was in favor of President Huerta for president and for General Aureliano Blanquet for vice-president, but the citizens did not vote for them, because of Huerta's announcement that he would not accept election.**

Judge Luis G. Martinez, of the civil court of Juarez, was almost unanimously elected to represent the district of Bravos, which includes Juarez, in the national house of deputies.

Eagle Pass, Tex., Oct. 26.—Victoriana Huerta was the overwhelming choice for president of Mexico in the votes cast in to-day's election at Piedras Negras, Mexico.

Felix Diaz was the only rival of the provisional president, and he received less than 100 votes. Of 2,300 votes cast, General Huerta is shown in unofficial figures to have received more than 95 per cent., or 2,200.

The day passed without material disorder. Soldiers were voted first. **Their officers cast their votes for them, asking each man his choice after the soldier had been told they might vote for whom they pleased.** Without exception, so far as is known, the men replied "Huerta." It is probable that not enough precincts were opened and votes cast in Piedras Negras to comply with the constitutional requirements to make the election here legal.

## THE NORTH.

In the northern States of Mexico, in which are centered most of the intelligence and wealth of the country, to say nothing of foreign investments, there is a constitutionalism which rests upon bayonets.—New York "World."

The foreign investments in northern Mexico are American—almost entirely—and thereby may hang an interesting tale as to the support received by the rebels. As to the statement that in the northern States are centred most of the intelligence and wealth of Mexico will come as a great surprise even to the northern Mexicans themselves.

While it is true that the peon is in a measure more advanced in northern Mexico than in some parts of the south, the wealth and intelligence of the country are not centered there. States like Vera Cruz, Jalisco, Tabasco, Yucatan and Oaxaca boast of having given to Mexico some of its most brilliant statesmen. If the circulation of newspapers can be taken as a criterion of intelligence and culture, the State of Vera Cruz ranks first in the number of reading citizens.

In any case, we note with interest the assertion of the "World" that "a constitutionalism in northern Mexico is sustained by bayonets."

# PUBLIC OPINION

## BRAVE HUERTA—Y EL OTRO HOMBRE.

President Wilson had the gall to send a message to the Mexican President that he (Wilson) was "shocked" at the arrest of 110 members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, and found it impossible to regard it as otherwise than an act of bad faith toward the United States. How? What duty rested upon the United States to guard the persons of the Mexican Congress from arrest? Suppose Huerta had wired Wilson that he regarded the conviction of Gov. Sulzer as an act of bad faith toward the republic of Mexico. Will President Wilson never discontinue violating the eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt mind thy own business?" Will he never take a tumble to the fact that he is not the United States, and that if he were he should not further complicate the situation in Mexico, and bring evil upon our countrymen there, by continuing to thrust his meddlesomeness into the tangle of Mexican politics?

The intimation in the telegrams that "President Wilson feels that the time has come when he may well investigate the purposes inspiring those in arms against the Huerta government," and the suggestion that this will be followed by negotiations with Gov. Carranza, is so utterly and outrageously absurd that it is difficult to comment upon it in language fit to be used concerning the President of the United States. It needs no "investigation" to ascertain "the purposes of those in arms against the Huerta Government." From Carranza down to the lowest unbreeched, drunken soldado in his army their purposes are robbery, rapine and murder. For President Wilson to recognize or hold communication with these bandits would be an unspeakable folly, and would invite depredations upon American property and life which the Huerta Government has to a great extent thus far succeeded in checking.

From the meager and conflicting accounts which have come over the wires, the assumption of dictatorial powers by Huerta, and the arrest of Congressmen who were arranging to sell valuable concessions to British capitalists, was warranted by the exigencies of the situation. Whether so or not, it was not the business of President Wilson to sit in judgment upon the acts of President Huerta.

President Huerta is a brave soldier who has succeeded in preserving the government of the republic of Mexico from utter destruction, American property from seizure, and many Americans from torture and death. In doing this he has not been helped by the United States, but has been hindered by the strange and unwarranted action of President Wilson, who, in defiance of the laws and usages of nations, not only refused to recognize him as President de facto, but with immeasurable impudence demanded that he should not be a candidate for President at the coming election.

President Huerta is the only man in Mexico who has exhibited the disposition and the ability to suppress the disorders there in the only way they can be suppressed—by the strong hand. It is the opinion of those most familiar with the situation that if President Wilson had performed his plain duty and followed the example of all the powers of Europe by recognizing Huerta as provisional President months ago, Huerta would by this time have crushed the bandits and restored peace and order to distracted Mexico. The blood of Americans who have been murdered by Carranza's bandits cries out from the ground against Woodrow Wilson, whose egotism and whose folly contributed to their taking off.

Those who think that anything President Wilson may do or leave undone will cause Huerta to sway to the right or the left do not know the old warrior. Somehow, somewhere he has obtained the money to keep an army in the field, and he will remain the ruler of Mexico unless and until the voters of the republic shall set another man in his place. His bold, outspoken, timely utterances, as reported in an Associated Press dispatch published in "The Times" of yesterday, show the poise, courage and rugged patriotism of this veteran Mexican soldier, who is more nearly a Porfirio Diaz in times of sore trial than any man of his now distracted country.—Los Angeles "Times."

## "NOT OUR BUSINESS."

The "New York Evening Post," in its powerful desire to approve of everything done at Washington in these democratic days, has said a good many mushy and muddy things, first and last, about General Huerta and his government in Mexico. But last Monday it momentarily got down to hardpan and said this:—

Yesterday's so-called Mexican elections give no promise of real relief. Even if there had been anything like a Constitutional vote in the states taking part, half the territory of the republic would not abide by the result. But while this government is waiting, it is of the highest importance to have it in mind what we are waiting for. It is not for the emergence of a morally impeccable President of Mexico. It is not our business to teach Mexicans morals or even self-government, except as we may be able to do so indirectly by example. All that we can ask is a settled government in Mexico, capable of uniting the country and of discharging all international obligations. To demand more and even this minimum is, unhappily, not in sight —would be both futile and dangerous.

Yet President Wilson and the fantastic Bryan are demanding this identical "futile and dangerous" thing. They are using the power of the United States as a kind of school-master's ferule "to teach Mexicans morals." and to give instruction to that neighboring and independent country in the art of "self-government." Not having been able thus far to make their teachings effective, **but only to stimulate sedition and promote rapine in Mexico, with a good deal of slaughter of innocent Mexicans thrown in as a side line,** they now plan, according to the shifty Bryan, to form a European coalition against the only responsible or visible government that Mexico has.

Just how this proposed European coalition could convey instruction to the Mexicans in morals, **but it would at least serve the purpose of securing time for the Carranza and Madero bandit groups 'to rob and burn and murder for a while longer.** Europe may be persuaded to wait for all this—although Mr. Bryan is the poorest authority for what the old-fashioned trained statesman of Europe will do that we know of. But when Europe finds out, in the phrase of the "Post," what they are "waiting for," then this bubble of teaching morality and self-government to a foreign independent nation will burst over there, just as it already has collapsed here as a proper or safe method of promoting peace and good-will between adjoining and independent countries.—Hartford (Conn.) "Daily Courant."

## NARROW SHOULDERS.

The truth is that Dr. Wilson has taken too much upon his narrow shoulders. His policy of negation and suspicion—and, not being Sir Lionel Carden, we will add, ignorance—in regard to Mexico, has already caused an increasing disruption of order in that friendly and independent State, and has cost hundreds of Mexican lives. **He may call this morality or what he pleases; but neither the law of nations nor good customs give him any right, as President of the United States, to take a line with a neighboring and concededly backward country whereby sedition and rebellion, war and rapine, are actually encouraged and promoted as against the best and only existing public authority that that country has been or is able to produce.** Let President Wilson reserve all his fancied morality for this country, which is strong enough and hopeful enough to stand it, and leave our weak and inferior and struggling neighbors in peace. A change of this sort on his part would combine expediency with sound morality, and this is a very happy combination, even if it does sometimes add material security to the satisfactions of conscience.—Hartford (Conn.) "Courant."

## MORE BLUNDERING IN MEXICAN RELATIONS.

Amateur diplomacy at Washington and the Democratic Administration's long series of blunders in dealing with the Mexican crisis have brought about a result foreseen and foretold by well-informed observers from the first. The other Powers, which in other Latin-American crises have relied with entire security upon the United States to protect the interests of all foreigners as well as its own citizens, have taken matters into their own hands.

A German warship is already in the harbor of Vera Cruz and another is under orders to join her in Mexican waters. France has detailed a cruiser to the same duty. And now the British Government, by curtly telling us that it entirely approves of the course of its anti-American Minister at Mexico City, makes it clear that London too finds the Democratic Administration at Washington unable to perform those duties in Latin-America which all other Administrations have exercised to the entire satisfaction of everybody interested.

If the other Powers do not choose to cooperate with us in Mexico that is their affair. Such concern as will be felt in the United States over the latest developments as regards Mexican affairs is purely domestic. The humiliating feature of our position is that the Democratic Administration has shown itself hopelessly unable to deal effectively with this situation and that as a result our prestige as the one great American Power has been seriously impaired and the respect of other nations temporarily forfeited.—Philadelphia "Press."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### PERSONAL SPITE.

Sir Lionel Carden, the British Minister to Mexico, with the double authority of personal investigation and official position, says: "I am not sure that Washington understands the serious problem that Mexico is facing. Strictly speaking there is no revolution in Mexico, for revolution means an armed protest against present conditions, is inspired by political ideas and possesses some sort of organization, with recognized leaders. Mexico, on the contrary, is suffering from social unrest, which results in outbreaks in this and that part of the country, without any particular connection or any fixed political aim. Punitive methods must go hand in hand with remedial measures. It seems ridiculous to me that the selection of a strong man and a statesman is expected to come from such an election as it will be possible to hold under existing conditions." Sir Lionel speaks diplomatically, but the position assumed by President Wilson—"No Huerta! Anybody but Huerta!" is as ridiculous to everybody else as it is to Sir Lionel. There is only one obstacle to the immediate pacification of Mexico, and that is the stubborn, obstinate, perverse self-sufficiency of President Wilson, who refuses to acknowledge himself in the wrong, though he has been put right a thousand times. For whatever may happen in Mexico he will be solely responsible, and if the American, English, German, French and Japanese residents are subjected to heavy losses, and bring suits against the United States, our own Supreme Court will have to decide that we must pay them, because of the Wilson bitter prejudice against Huerta. Therefore I urge Congress to take Mexican affairs out of the hands of Mr. Wilson. We shall never have peace while he meddles and muddles. If we are to have war, let us have it now, before all the other Powers are leagued against us. It will be cheaper than paying damages for Mr. Wilson's personal spite against President Huerta, who has done wonders and will quiet his country if Mr. Wilson will let him alone.—"Town Topics."

### MR. WILSON'S OPPORTUNITY.

A reason why there is no force of public opinion in Mexico is that there is no public opinion in Mexico. That elemental fact once grasped, intelligence which is without prejudice will be better able to understand the difficulties of the abler men in Mexican affairs who bear the burden of official responsibility in such a country. In the polling on Sunday, for the choice of a president, the election appears to have gone by default through a failure to open polls in a majority of the voting precincts. In precincts where polls were open, the vote was less than would be polled in any ward in any American city at a special election for alderman. In the City of Mexico, the capital of the country, where Mexican public opinion can be assumed to be more active than elsewhere, less than 5,000 of 80,000 voters voted. There is no charge of intimidation or obstruction. In fact, this sort of thing is not exceptional. Madero, hailed as the successful candidate of a people said to be struggling to redeem themselves from oppression, had a total of less than 20,000 votes.

Huerta was elected provisional president of Mexico by the practically unanimous voice of Congress voting under Mexican constitutional forms. He was chosen in conformity with the strict letter of the Mexican law, and only because (a fact of which it is now time to speak freely) a canvass of the Congress had shown it impossible to elect Felix Diaz, then an avowed candidate for the presidency, and against whom, politically if not personally, many elements of opposition had been aroused, for that reason. Huerta assumed office reluctantly, a fact which, to those conversant with it, has served as offset to the immense amount of blatherskiting and rhodomontade we have since been compelled to hear. Jumpers at conclusions jumped at once to the one that his provisional presidency was to be but an interregnum between two reigns of the Diaz family, and that the military, and other forces of his administration, were to be used for the election and seating of Felix Diaz. Their disappointment has not been their confounding. On finding the Huerta administration not more friendly to a Diaz candidacy than to any other, they have attributed the fact to Huerta's fear of Diaz's election and the defeat of his plan to have nobody elected. * * *

We may, of course, refuse to recognize, diplomatically, the government they ordain. Our material interests will suffer from such a policy, but we agree with Mr. Wilson's statement made at Mobile that material interests are not the highest. Higher than anything else are the rights of man, among which is that of the Mexican to govern himself in his own way. That bas been our traditional policy in protecting the Latin-American republics, and it is one from which we should not depart.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### WILSON RESPONSIBLE.

All who are conversant with the facts of the political situation in Mexico and have intelligently followed the momentous developments of the last months, which are culminating in one of the gravest, if not the gravest, crisis which Mexico has had to face, cannot fail to place a large measure of responsibility for it all on the mistaken policy of President Wilson.

The consequence of this policy have been disastrous not only to the hopes and aspirations of a people who are bravely struggling for the salvation of their country, but also to the prestige of the United States in Latin-America. In Mexico President Wilson's policy of non-recognition, besides the incidental moral support which it has given to the rebels, has also made it impossible for the Mexican government to obtain the urgently needed foreign loan and so has prevented the Government from being able to carry out its pledge to end the revolution and to establish peaceful conditions. * * *

President Wilson has also made the mistake of trying to impose upon Mexico the standards of elections in this country, an impossible thing, which can only come through the development and the education of the lower orders. * * * There is no intimation whatever which can rationally be interpreted as an investiture of the United States with the right of interference with the domestic affairs of any of the independent nations in this hemisphere, whose liberties and whose independence are as dear and as sacred to them as are its liberties and independence to the United States.—T. M. P. C. in Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

### REFUSAL NO POLICY.

Affairs in Mexico are placing upon President Wilson and Secretary Bryan a responsibility that neither is fitted to meet either by training or by temperament. That they both realize this fact is evident from their having shirked the responsibility until forced by the representations of foreign governments to take some definite stand in the matter. Under the circumstances they can hardly be blamed for having delayed as long as possible in the hope that somehow or other there might be a turn for the better in the situation. The Lind mission, obviously destined to failure from the start, at least served its purpose in quieting for the time being the friendly powers who have shown every disposition to accept our leadership if we will only really lead. Now for a second time the Administration is forced by foreign pressure to perform the duty imposed upon it by the Monroe Doctrine and decide upon some definite policy. Mere refusal to recognize Huerta is not such a policy. The idealistic declarations of the President in recent addresses do not constitute such a policy. It is to be hoped that the promised statement now in course of preparation may at last meet existing conditions squarely, as continued delay is likely to prove dangerous—Bridgeport (Conn.) "Daily Standard."

### WAR MUST BE AVOIDED.

A representative of the "Press" called on Rabbi J. Leonard Levy this morning to request an interview on the subject of Mexico from the viewpoint of the Peace Party in the United States. The rabbi is the founder of the local movement for international peace and is a prominent figure in the world of the peacemakers, being the vice-president of the Universal Peace Union and a member of the executive committee of the Pennsylvania Peace and Arbitration Society.

"Do you not believe that war with Mexico is unavoidable?" asked the "Press" reporter. "Not only do I think that it is avoidable," said the divine, "but I think that it must be avoided at all costs. Nothing has happened in Mexico to warrant any interference in her affairs by our nation; that is to say armed interference. The Mexican people are quite able to look after themselves without the advice of the United States, and certainly without the suggestions of a bloodthirsty character emanating from the realms of financiers of a brutally selfish order or from vast landowners who are citizens of the United States who wish to involve a whose nation in cruel war for the protection of their private interests."—Pittsburgh "Press."

### MIND OUR OWN BUSINESS.

Another point will occur as important: The President says we shall not seek any further territory by conquest. This does not mean that an armed invasion of Mexico would not result eventually in annexation. Intent is one thing, but the outcome and consequences of an act may be very different. One may suggest an intervention solely in the interest of freedom and morality, and with a view to an early restoration of power to the Mexican people, but any such possibility must be surveyed with grave concern. To subdue Mexico and erect a governmental structure that would endure independently of props maintained by the United States, is far easier said than done. Excellent as is the tone and diction of the Mobile speech, it should blind no American to the untold cost and dangers of any such excursion, however lofty its purpose. Whether we regard ourselves in the light of an evangel among our Southern neighbors, or as an international policeman, we cannot afford to divest ourselves rashly of that virtue regarded by President Washington as cardinal with us, that represented by the happy art of minding our own business.—Springfield (Mass.) "Union."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

We have received an interesting confidential letter from a noted peace advocate, who has asked us to withhold his name. He says that he has been interester in our argument favoring recognition of the Huerta Government as the one course to bring about peace in Mexico and prevent war with Mexico. He questions whether such recognition will be granted and then goes on to say:

Beyond all doubt the Administration desires peace, but it must bring joy to the jingo press to note the unmistakable drift of events in the opposite direction. However, there are newspapers, such as the New York "Post," which (although this particular paper is partial to the business interests) are sincere advocates of peace.

If such papers could be made to see the drift of events, no doubt they would be willing to devote space to setting forth a just recital of the news. For example, the elections held Sunday in Mexico passed off in most orderly manner. There was an entire absence of lawlessness, or rioting, or bloodshed. Due credit should be given for this, and if presented properly, it would influence public sentiment.

The press almost universally refers to the situation as "the crisis in Mexico." This is to me an entirely erroneous point of view. Small rebellions have existed for three years. No crisis exists. It is unreasonable to expect that order throughout the country may be established immediately or on short notice. The passions that have been aroused must run their course like a fever. This point presented properly should allay the excitement that is beginning to manifest itself on the part of the American public, and would gain time, which is what our southern neighbor needs, in which to work out her problems.

The idea, advanced by some of the newspapers, of sending so-called legation guards to Mexico should also be placed in its true light. To me, a student of the character of the Mexican people, their pride will not brook the landing of even one armed foreigner on Mexican soil. Such an attempt would mean war, and I find it difficult to believe that any intelligent newspaper could advance such a proposition otherwise than maliciously. Certainly if it does not show malice, it shows unpardonable ignorance. Let those who wish for war, advocate the sending of legation guards, for it is a certain and a speedy way to bring it on.

Another fetish of the press is that the Huerta Government is tottering. How long may a government continue to totter, and still exercise such control as was shown during the elections of Sunday? The false claim of the rebels that they had taken Monterrey was published in large headlines by the cosmopolitan newspapers, the denial from authentic sources was published in small type on the inside page. I fail to see how the capture and looting of this important city by the bandits of the north would fit in with America's desire for peace with Mexico and for peace in Mexico.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I just read a copy of your weekly, MEXICO, and was very gladly surprised to find truth and justice in every one of its articles.

In three years personal experience in the U. S., I have found out how little U. S. people in general know about Mexican affairs, and how utterly they are misled on this particular point by most of their leaders, such as newspaper editors, public speakers, writers, moving-picture managers, etc.

I just came back from my vacation trip to Guadalajara, Mex., and can assure you that the feeling of all the good, sensible Mexicans agree with your words.

I can not help congratulating you for your "square dealing" with Mexican affairs and conditions. It assures me once more than the U. S. people are not to be blamed for what they judge and feel about Mexico, because if they were only told the bare truth in a fair way, they would undoubtedly display the principle of justice which they have so deeply rooted in their hearts.

I am enclosing $1.00, price of the subscription for six months.

Sincerely,
JOSE AGUILAR FIGUEROA.
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: That the Carrancistas are really in favor of intervention there is not much doubt. They disguise their desire for direct aid from the United States by saying that they are only seeking recognition of belligerent rights, or at least so says Manuel Pérez Romero. (Mr. Romero is the brother-in-law of the late Francisco Madero and in addition to fraudulent credentials as Congressman was favored by a railway concession and several other snaps.)

But in international law the recognition of the belligerency of an insurgent signifies a sort of tacit support, a directly hostile act toward the government against which the insurrection is directed, so that what the Carrancistas are asking for, is that the United States commit an act of hostility against Mexico, which country would then have no other dignified course to pursue other than breaking off all relations with Washington.

In support of this contention, it will be remembered that the United States was careful about recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans against Spain, even though they eventually went to war with that country. The Republic of Columbia, even after six years, is not satisfied for the injustice of the recognition of the handful of rebels who improvised the Republic of Panama and mutilated the integrity of Columbian territory, and so Mexico could not consider the recognition of any of the revolutionary leaders except in the light of an openly hostile act.

The Carrancistas do not hesitate in favoring intervention, with the hope that the United States, after a long and costly war, will deliver the government of the country over to Carranza, reinstall Earnest Madero and the rest of the family in positions of trust, etc. Thus Carranza and the new Madero party seek to enter the city of Mexico in triumph, even though they are preceded by foreign soldiers.

But President Wilson has refused to recognize General Huerta because his government sprung from an act of violence, and supposing for a moment that the Carranza rebellion should finally triumph, could Mr. Wilson consistently recognize the ensuing government which would also emenate from violence? Truly an embarassing position for the President of the United States.

C. METUSA.
Baltimore, Md.


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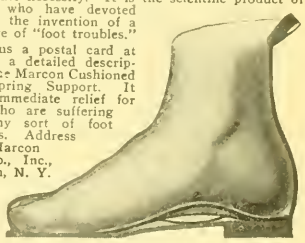

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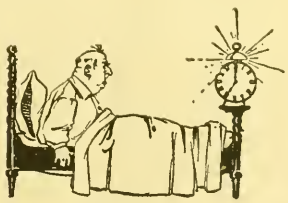

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## "A RUN ON THE BANK."

The words send a shiver of dread through every banker. He realizes the tremendous power of ignorance and panic. The strongest institution in the world is at the mercy of these forces. It is a crime to bring them to life. It is a greater crime to use them purposely, through a spirit of revenge, to destroy an institution that is solvent. The man who starts a "run on a bank" to destroy a banker is worse than a murderer.

Mexico, a country of tremendous wealth and resources, is inherently solvent. True, internal dissensions have embarrassed her .but the Washington Administration has taken advantage of this condition to start a "run on the bank," to destroy an individual it does not like, in reality to destroy a neighboring nation.

We have said that a man who deliberately starts a run on a bank is worse than a murderer. He is diabolical. Draw your own conclusion as to what the civilized world may think of a Washington Administration which does the same thing.

The more one delves into the words, the motives and the actions of the men who are shaping the Administration's Mexican policy the more hypocritically impossible they appear.

## LIBERTY OR LICENSE?

We would like to ask our idealistic autocrats in Washington if they have been or are in sympathy with the I. W. W., with syndicalism, with the rioters of Lawrence and Paterson, N. J., with dynamiters of the McNamara stamp, with the gangsters of New York, with the negroes who ravish in the South, the bad men of the West, the yeggmen of the East, the Black Hand and the Mafia? All these organizations, movements and men seek the kind of liberty that the Administration yearns to see in Mexico, and by the same violent methods.

Fortunately for the United States, the hand of the law is strong and the great mass of the people are law-abiding, blessed with more peaceful history and traditions than the unfortunate people of Mexico. It is comparatively easy to hold the violent outbreaks here in check and scattered. But were circumstances different, were conditions such as they are in Mexico, would the Administration attempt to deal with them by "moral suasion"? We wonder what President Wilson would do if he were ruler of Mexico to-day. If he had the nerve he would rule by force to put down violence and disorder, and with peace restored, seek to get at the root of the evil. Precisely what President Huerta purposes to do. Precisely what President Wilson will have to do at the sacrifice of thousands of American lives and millions, possibly billions of dollars, if he follows his present intolerant, antagonistic attitude toward the government of Mexico.

## LEST WE FORGET.

"Get rid of Huerta."

* * *

The Administration's "policy" in the last analysis.

* * *

A personal policy.

* * *

Which may lead to the death of thousands of American young men.

* * *

Because two Mexicans, Madero and Suarez, were killed.

* * *

Were they worth one American life?

* * *

Peace has been delayed by this "policy."

* * *

Hundreds of lives and millions in property have paid for this "policy."

* * *

Is that morality, expediency, or just plain hypocrisy?

* * *

"Be sure you're right—then go ahead" has been translated into "Go ahead and then try to convince yourself you are right."

* * *

If Huerta is "eliminated" what then?

* * *

Chaos, anarchy and United States intervention.

* * *

Which means WAR.

* * *

So it's war or Huerta, one way or the other.

* * *

A war of Personal Grudge and Grouch.

* * *

Our foreign friends and enemies could wish us no worse luck.

* * *

Japan, for instance—quick to take advantage.

England and Germany, whose prestige in Latin America would increase as Latin-America fear of us proved justified.

* * *

There are also some embarrassing matters in reference to the Panama Canal that would be pressed for settlement.

* * *

A nice kettle of trouble for a peaceful nation.

* * *

All because—

* * *

Have you anything against Huerta?

* * *

Have you any feeling that Mexico should not govern herself?

* * *

Have you any quarrel with the Mexican people?

* * *

Then why war?

* * *

Because certain Big Interests want it and an amateurish Administration has played into their hands.

* * *

Talking morality.

* * *

Dreaming dreams.

* * *

Acting vindictively.

* * *

And committing 100,000,000 people.

## THREE OF A KIND.

"My dear!" and "My gracious!" the reverend cried.
"They threw out Madero and were glad when he died—
"And turned down me oil friends," he added aside.
Three heads drooped in sorrow, expressed or implied,
Of Wilson and Bryan and Hale.

"They tell me that Huerta drinks brandy and such,
"And not only that but awfully much.
"I cannot abide the demon rum's clutch"—
The Commoner spoke in tones that would touch
Wilson and Bryan and Hale.

"Never, no, never, will I clasp the fist
"Of one whom no Y. M. C. A. would enlist.
"I'll slap him as hard as I can on the wrist.
"Good night, my dear friends, the class is dismissed"—
Wilson to Bryan and Hale.

Those newspapers in this country which profess to be profoundly shocked at Mexican elections as held Sunday before last may do well to reflect that both under Diaz and under Madero there were many deputies who had never been in the districts they were supposed to represent in Congress and some of them did not even know where their districts were.

DEC 15 1913


# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 13 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1913. FIVE CENTS


**Anybody under the delusion that the Administration's Mexican policy is supported by a united press and people, should read the expressions of public opinion we publish this week.---The Editor.**

## THE CRIME OF ARMING
# BANDITS

Most amazing of the latest developments in the so-called "Mexican situation" is the pressure brought to bear on President Wilson in favor of his lifting the embargo on arms for the Mexican rebels and the open advocacy of such a course by some editors and public men.

Not less amazing is the fact that the opposition to lifting the embargo has been based in most cases on considerations of a material character and not on consideration of the moral principle involved in the proposed course. It must be conceded, however, that two influential New York newspapers, the "Evening Mail" and the "Sun"—particularly the former—have strongly opposed the lifting of the embargo, on moral principles.

It is also most gratifying to notice that President Wilson, despite reports to the contrary, has until now resisted all attempts to induce him to let arms and ammunition enter into Mexico freely

Nevertheless in many newspapers a compaign—by whom inspired we know not—is being conducted to force the President to change his mind.

That lifting the embargo on arms and ammunition for the rebels would be a crime against humanity and civilization and would be neither moral nor expedient we can easily demonstrate. Only persons unacquainted with conditions as they exist in Mexico—or those beyond the pale of civilization—could fail to realize the strength of our contention.

Let us leave aside for the moment the argument advanced against the proposed measure by military men: namely, that those arms and munitions of war might eventually be used by the Mexicans against Americans.

Let us consider the lack of morality and expediency in the proposed course, viewed in the light of social and political conditions in Mexico.

### MORALITY.

It is sufficient to have even a slight knowledge and understanding of events as they have occurred since the fall of Porfirio Diaz to realize fully the moral principles involved in allowing rebels and bandits to receive arms freely from this country.

We did not intend to touch upon these events because they are too revolting even to be mentioned under ordinary circumstances, but since efforts are being made by part of the press and even by some of our Democratic statesmen to create a sentiment favorable to letting the so-called rebels get arms and ammunition freely in this country we find it absolutely necessary to relate a few of the incidents even though this is repugnant to us.

The Covadonga incident, which has been forgotten until a few days ago when the news came that after nearly three years justice had finally been meted out to the guilty persons, is typical of many others that have occurred since.

At Covadonga a band of Maderist rebels attacked a factory and, after killing many of the workmen and assaulting several of the working-girls, reached the apartment of a German foreman. They found him with his wife in his bed-room, tied him up at the foot of the bed, with his face toward the bed, and more than twenty rebels surrounded by their laughing and jeering fellows assaulted the wife before the eyes of the powerless husband.

Then they killed her and with diabolical glee they outraged even the corpse with other bestial indignities.

The husband saw it all until they killed him, too.

The capture of Sombrerete was witnessed by a reporter of one of the Mexico City newspapers, who had joined the rebels in order to get his news first hand. This is what the reporter saw: A band of a hundred rebels entered the house of a well-to-do inhabitant. They demanded money and he gave them all he had. They helped themselves, besides, to all objects of any value that were around. The wife and daughter—a young girl about fifteen years old—were taken to one of the bed-rooms and although they had both fainted they were outraged by more than thirty rebels while the husband and father—gagged—was held and forced to look on by their companions. The reporter protested and entreated the drunken men to stop the horror. He was threatened and forced to keep quiet. One of the assaulting rebels finally discovered that the wife was dead. The horror stopped when the husband had been killed. The daughter was left there in a comatose condition. The reporter made his way out of the town and returned to Mexico City.

Instances like these have been frequent. Not scores but hundreds of girls, some of them belonging to good families, have been outraged in this manner. Often the rebels belonging to bands after living for several weeks in the woods refuse to continue in the ranks unless women are provided for them. The leader will then approach an unprotected village and send a messenger to the men of the village to send all their women irrespective of age to their camp. The messenger serves notice that if the order is not complied with immediately the village will be razed to the ground and all the men killed. Whenever the men of the village attempt resistance the threat is carried out. In some cases no resistance is even attempted and all the women irrespective of age are sent to the rebel camp. Some of the women are sent back after they have served the purpose, others are carried away into the mountains.

This may sound exaggerated but it is not. In fact, it is impossible for us to describe completely the horrors to which peaceful Mexicans have been subjected by bands of self-styled rebels. We do not mention here in detail the work of pillage and looting perpetrated daily by these men because much has been published in the daily press about this. We wish, however, to call again attention to the fact that besides Mexicans themselves many

(Continued on next page.)

## THE CRIME OF ARMING BANDITS---Continued

Americans and other foreigners have been victims of this work and that to allow the rebels to buy freely arms and ammunition in this country would be giving them further means to destroy the lives and property of those Americans and foreigners left in Mexico, to say nothing, of course, of the lives and property of peaceful Mexicans.

The numerous bands of brigands operating in the northern states under the name of rebels, the very men responsible for the outrages mentioned, would benefit by the litting of the embargo. Those men would be encouraged by this country to continue their infamous work. A recrudescence of loot and rapine would be the immediate consequence of the order.

If there were no other proof of the terror which those bandits under the name of rebels have spread throughout Mexico, the fact that the Federals are hailed wherever they go and helped by the citizens of the attacked towns would be sufficient proof.

In the recent defense of Monterrey and Chihuahua the Federal forces were most effectively supported by citizens of those cities, who were defending not only their property but the honor of their families. The women showed their gratitude to the Federal forces by furnishing them food. lending assistance in the hospitals and showering the victorious soldiers with flowers.

Now, we wish to ask the Senators and the editors who have advocated the giving of arms to the rebels to put themselves in the place of these peaceful Mexicans. We ask them to think of their wives and daughters, to imagine them in the place of the unfortunate Mexican wives and daughters, and then if they still advocate the giving of arms to the rebels, well, we shall have little more to say.

But we do not believe that in this enlightened country, that prides itself on being foremost in the progress of civilization, there are many persons that after investigating the conditions as they actually exist in Mexico, can view with complacency the giving of arms to bandits and monsters who call themselves rebels.

That a few men who, even though perfectly aware of the mentioned conditions, recommend this crime against civilization is only one more indication that even in the most civilized communities there are those whose selfish interests are the dominant factor in their actions.

The blot upon Mexico for the existence of savage outlaws capable of the deeds we have described is perhaps no greater than that upon the people of this country for the existence of men who consciously wish to arm and encourage those savages.

That gross ignorance and ignorance alone is responsible for the attitude of certain Senators and Congressmen who favor so inhuman and criminal a course must be the fervent hope of the people whom they represent.

We do not say that all the rebels and all their leaders are capable of perpertrating the horrors outlined here but we do affirm that those leaders who claim to be fighting for a principle must rely for their success on the cooperation of the bandits that are daily committing these crimes. And the leaders know it. Carranza is not sincere when he says that all leaders are under his orders and would afford protection to the lives and property and honor of foreigners and nationals alike. Besides, Carranza states that such protection will be given to all those foreigners or nationals who do not and will not give any support to the Huerta Government. This in other words means that the great majority of people in Mexico and almost all foreigners will be without protection whatever should Carranza and his forces have the upper hand.

It is, indeed, inconceivable that the men who constitute the Legislative and the Executive power of this country should adopt a course which would leave an indelible stain upon the fair name of the American people.

We cannot but feel that a man of such high moral principles as President Wilson, wrong as we think him in his policy of non-recognition, will continue to resist the pressure brought to bear upon him to lift the embargo on arms.

Great responsibility rests already upon the Administration for having failed to recognize the only Government in Mexico that could guarantee protection to life, honor and property.

Non-recognition has meant moral encouragement to elements of lawlessness in Mexico. How could the Administration assume the greater responsibility of materially encouraging, nay, supporting those elements?

### EXPEDIENCY.

To every one familiar with Mexican political and social conditions the assertion that helping the rebels to gain power by force of arms would be inexpedient is self-evident.

The statement made by rebel leaders that if victorious they would re-establish peace within one or two months is ridiculous on the face of it.

In the first place, in so far as any popular support they may have from certain classes of Mexicans is concerned, the rebels would be completely weakened in their struggle by the spreading knowledge that they were being helped by this country. Because behind each rebel the people of Mexico would see a Yankee.

And the Federal forces would find ready help from the people themselves, even more so than they find at present.

The fight would be more furious and bloody than ever and the outcome would be favorable to the Federal Government.

Supposing, but not admitting for a moment, that the rebels should win, what then? The rebels become Federals would not be able to control the numerous bands of free-lances and bandits now operating throughout the North. By free-lances we mean the Magonistas, who are as much opposed to the Carranza forces as they are to the Federals because they consider Carranza, Pesquiera, Maytorena and other leaders as much their oppressors as the men constituting the Central Government. The Magonistas are communists whose fight is waged against all property-holders.

What could the now rebel leaders do with the present Federal army? They might be able to defeat it temporarily, but they could not destroy it. And the army would never submit to the government of men who vanquished them. No government in Mexico can last without the support of the army. This was demonstrated by the fall of Madero and many times in Mexican history before Madero. Do you think for a moment that the army would submit to the present rebels, one of whose leaders—Alvaro Obregon—in a recent manifesto addressed to the people of Sonora declared that, "Even though we shall have to roll in a wave of blood our 'dear' Mexico, we shall make disappear once forever that loathsome monster: the Federal Army."

An army of ninety thousand men with five thousand officers cannot be made to disappear.

Besides being part of the army, the irregular corps are formed by forces (as those under Orozco) that were rebel forces against Madero and upon the assumption of power by the Maderists they would again become rebels.

There is another factor never considered in this country and that is the antagonism existing between the northern men and those from the central and southern parts of Mexico. The Centre and the South will never submit to a Government composed exclusively of northern men as the Government of Carranza and allies would be.

But the strongest reason why it would not be expedient to facilitate the assumption of power by a rebel leader lies in the fact that a rebel leader cannot make a successful Government head, unless he be an exceptional man like Porfirio Diaz.

**A successful destroyer is seldom a successful constructor.** And a revolutionary leader cannot re-establish peace and govern successfully because he cannot surround himself when in power by the men who can assist him on the road to success. This also is self-evident and was very clearly demonstrated during the Madero Administration.

In order to start a revolution and bring it to a successful finish a leader must use all and any elements that he may have at hand. These elements are usually the worst in the country, because the best elements of the Mexican population do not take part in revolutions. Bandit leaders, fugitives from justice, and ne'er-do-wells are the main supporters of a revolutionary leader, especially at the incipiency of the revolution. And the leader who is successful owes his success to these men more than any one else who may have joined him later.

Each of these early friends considers himself as the one who most contributed to the chief's triumph and seldom does he think that the compensation he receives is adequate to the service rendered.

When in power the revolutionary leader must take care of his friends. If he does not they immediately start another revolution against him.

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**Really, if there is any Administration policy, it is one designed to help Huerta.**

* * *

**We are forcing him to stick by insisting that he get out.**

* * *

**The Administration tried to influence the recent elections by appealing to the loyalty of the voters.**

* * *

**Continued misunderstanding with Mexico might be used the same way at the next Congressional elections.**

* * *

**Dangerous politics that! Criminal.**

* * *

**But what are Mexican lives and American property to our moral opportunists?**

* * *

**The people are getting sick of the whole business already.**

## NO INCONSISTENCY.

Informal comment on Huerta's statement, however, emphasized that, while the elections of the President and Vice-President were to be declared null and void, Huerta intended to consider the election of Congress valid. By the Washington Government that is regarded as an inconsistency of which foreign nations must take cognizance, and the impression prevailed that the repudiation of all acts of the new Congress would be forthcoming by the United States.

If the Washington Government really regards it inconsistent that the Presidential elections should be declared null and void and those of Congressmen valid, then it manifests once more that ignorance of Mexican laws and conditions which has been responsible for so many blunders.

The Mexican Constitution provides that a presidential candidate, irrespective of the number of candidates in the field, must receive at least a majority of the total votes in order to be duly elected.

In the recent election votes were cast for five different persons, including General Huerta, who was not a candidate. The latter seems to have received the largest vote and it is therefore probable that no one of the others received sufficient votes to constitute an absolute majority of the total votes cast. In that case the elections must be declared null and void. But this condition does not affect in the least the status of the Congressmen and Senators, who are elected by districts. Even though many districts under rebel control may have failed to send in returns there is no doubt that returns were received from the majority of districts in the Republic. This because the number of congressional districts is based on the number of population and more than five-sixths of the entire population of Mexico lives in the districts under Federal control. Each district having the right to elect one Congressman and one substitute, and each State two Senators, there is no legal reason why according to Mexican laws there should not have been elected a Congress representing at least five-sixths of the entire Mexican population.

In other words, a perfectly legal Congress can have been elected even if the elections for President and Vice-President should have proved void.

It may be added here that in case no one candidate has received a majority of the Presidential vote, Congress has the power of either choosing a President, selecting from the two candidates who have received the largest vote, or declaring the election void and calling for a new one.

In this case, as one of the men receiving the largest vote is General Huerta—who is excluded by the Constitution—it is probable that Congress will call for new elections.

# WASHYGRAMS

Say, gentle reader, between you, me and the Washington Monument, that man Huerta certainly is a grand totterer! If we are to believe all the Mexican patriots, including Sherby Hopkins and Munsey, he has been tottering for eight months and it looks as if he would continue to totter for a powerful long time yet!

* * *

Huerta must disappear and with him all his supporters. Fiat!

The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt will pale into insignificance, but where are the Mexicans to find a new Palestine?

* * *

Official Washington wants to know the exact strength and length of the insurrectionary movement against Huerta—says the "World."

Of course the proper source of information is Carranza. He will give official Washington all the reliable data, as he gave it to the "World."

As to his moral standing and purposes, ex-reverend Hale will report on that. The latter is the person best qualified to report on the moral status and moral aspiration of the rebels. No one could understand morality as well as William Bayard Hale. Ardmore, Pa., can vouch for that.

* * *

The El Paso Liar was baffled but not daunted last week. El Pasograms have had to make room for Washygrams of late, but it looks as if El Pasograms will come into their own again.

Too bad, though, that "General" Villa chose to go south after being defeated at Chihuahua. If he had gone north the El Paso Liar could have made a little more money by starting all over again the series of attacks on Juarez by that greatest of all patriots, Pancho Villa.

His proposed attacks on Juarez furnished copy for three months last summer, from June until September, and there is no reason why the same should not happen again during the winter.

The El Paso Liar, however, scored an inning in the New York "American" recently when he ascribed to Villa the faculty of ubiquity, for according to the cheerful El Paso history-recorder Villa led an attack on Monterrey and on Chihuahua on the same day.

* * *

Whenever a Mexican newspaper approves an act of the Huerta Government it is qualified in the American press as a "Government newspaper." Whenever it criticizes the Government it is qualified as an "independent newspaper."

Thus "El Pais" was referred to as a Government newspaper and an independent newspaper several times during the last few days.

* * *

The Venezuelan Constitution still lies buried in her grave, where she was laid by President Gomez, but not a voice of protest has been raised by the Constitution-lovers of this country. And the Washington Administration maintains the most friendly intercourse with Dictator Gomez.

Is it because Asphalt cannot be frozen?

* * *

The Chinese President has proclaimed himself dictator after dismissing about three hundred opposition members of Congress. That same Congress which had elected him under the moral suasion of his detectives who surrounded them while their votes were being cast. The Washington Administration accorded full recognition to the Chinese "President."

Evidently the Administration's enthusiasm for the Constitution of other nations does not reach beyond Mexico City.

* * *

Our delightful, cheerful, history-recorders—the ponderous scribes—prate lightly of seizing the Mexican Custom Houses and of blockading the Mexican Ports just to make it clear to President Huerta that he must gracefully submit to the requests of the Washington Administration.

As if those would not be acts of war!

But then our cheerful history-recorders take their cue from Alfalfa Bill. And it looks as if Alfalfa Diplomacy was to be the latest Bryan-American fashion.

* * *

Shh——! Shh——! the Administration has a Mexican policy!

What? No. I am not going on. You have not read the New York "Evening Post," that's all. Not worth three cents, you say? Well, may be, but you don't know what you miss. I tell you the "Post" has discovered the Mexican policy. It is the "glacial movement," otherwise the "freeze out," likewise the "icy stare." Yes, sir, this movement—like that of the Grand Pacific Glacier is to continue its slow but inexorable course.

A third Pole is to be added to this dismal globe of ours, the Mexican Pole, and Dr. Cook is getting ready to discover it.

* * *

Switzerland is donning her mourning garb. She will not be "in it" for the icy stare slowly but inexorably—just like fate—is to convert the tropical jungles and the mesas of Mexico into rising glaciers and the Midnight Sun will frown upon the land of the Aztecs.

Good night! The "Post" says so.

# COURTING WAR

The Washington Administration, for reasons best known to itself, refuses to recognize the government of President Huerta, refuses to recognize any government established by the recent elections or any elections conducted under the Huerta Government, refuses to recognize as President of Mexico any man who might be considered an ally, follower or friend of President Huerta. Whatever may be said of the arbitrary aspect of this policy, it is strictly within President Wilson's rights.

But he goes even farther in his intolerance of anything and anybody connected with the present Government of Mexico. He demands that President Huerta and his official family and "unofficial coterie" eliminate themselves entirely from Mexican political life. **This he has no right to do.**

In making this demand he leaves no alternative for the Mexican president except refusal. **To enforce this demand means war.** Did President Wilson think for an instant that President Huerta would yield on a point that involves the national sovereignty and integrity of Mexico? If he had yielded he would be a traitor to his country, and **Mexico as a nation would no longer exist.** It would become a dependency of the United States and of the financial interests of this country. He would be surrendering the liberty of the Mexican people, their right to govern themselves in their own way, without outside interference or dictation.

The demand of President Wilson is so stupendous a piece of arrogance and so opposed to all principles of international fair dealing that it could not possibly have been made except on the principle that might makes right. **In the last analysis it is an act of open hostility and war.**

The people of the United States are going to ask the question with increasing insistence: "Why war?" and they are going to demand an answer that will satisfy them. If the answer is that President Huerta is personally obnoxious to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan—that is not going to satisfy. If the answer is that by taking advice from some persons and refusing information from others, the Administration has been led into a situation that could have been avoided—that is not going to satisfy. If the answer is that certain American financial interests want control of Mexico—that is not going to satisfy. If the answer is that this country wants to grab Mexico, or as much of it as possible—that is not going to satisfy. And all the glittering verbiage about constitutional liberty, democratic ideals, etc., is not going to satisfy a people who will have **to pay a tremendous price for helping to work out impractical theories.**

President Wilson in his Swarthmore speech said that he would like to believe that "nowhere can any government endure which is stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed." That is all very well, an admirable sentiment. But if President Wilson, either by American invasion or the open support of the Northern rebels, imposes a government on Mexico more to his liking than the present, **will it not be stained by blood?**

Every person loving peace does sincerely want to believe the President's words, but it is terribly disconcerting to find his course of action and threatened courses of action so out of harmony with his expressions. It may be that the warlike reports and analyses of domineering Presidential purposes that come by the ream from Washington emanate from **sources that do not truly represent the President's point of view or intentions. It may be that they are given out and circulated by interests and instruments who are really enemies of the President's ideals.** It may be that they are designed for purely political purposes.

In any of these cases, would it not seem that to clear up a complicated and dangerous situation the President should deny that he is actuated by the motives and ideas that are ascribed to him? Deny also that he is attempting to interfere in the affairs of Mexico? State if he will that he does not intend to recognize any government in Mexico that does not suit him, but that beyond that point he can not and will not go. That he does not consider that he has any right to meddle in Mexico's politics. That he does not intend to sacrifice American lives to enforce his personal wishes or work out his theories. **That he does not intend to arm rebels and bandits to turn Mexico into a shambles.** That he, himself, cannot be forced to do something he does not want to do, but that on the other hand he will not try to force his personal will on a weaker though sovereign and independent nation.

The world would understand him then and an end would be put to the rumors and reports from Washington that are designed to **inflame the passions of the people of the United States** and insult and goad the Government of Mexico.

There is peril in permitting the circulation of reports that are not consistent with the President's announced ideals. The impression is growing that the Administration, without committing itself to any definite stand, is letting the press, by methods that are not strictly unquestionable, fight the Administration's battle. When it is a matter of a possible international war, this is too much power to place in the hands of those to whom, naturally, the "story" and the sensational features are the first considerations. Moreover, no matter how patriotic their intentions, they have not the strict responsibility and accountability to the people of the country to which the officials of the Government are sworn.

**There has been too much small-politician shiftiness about this whole Mexican matter from the very beginning of the Wilson Administration.** First, too much secrecy as to the Administration's purposes and sources of information, and then when something had to be said to satisfy the impatience of the world, that something couched in flowery phrases and followed by actions inconsistent therewith. And in the newspapers too much of speculation and rumors that for months have been ascribed to high officials of the Administration and subsequently shown to be unfounded and untrue, but always suggesting that the Administration's wish has been father to the thought. There has been something subterranean about the whole Mexican policy of this Administration. The light must be turned into the dark places before many days.

## LET US KEEP OUT.

Nine persons out of ten declare they do not want this country to get mixed up in the Mexican mess and then at least five of them will add: "But eventually it will be necessary for us to go down there and clean things up and establish order just as we did in Cuba."

The constant repetition of this in newspapers, speeches and conversations is creating the possibility of one of the greatest perils that ever confronted this Government. It is doing more to lead to intervention than any logic or any group of influences. It is preparing the public mind to be ready for something that is not right.

Those who are guilty do not realize their error. Intervention in Mexico is comparable to no experience that this country has ever known. Mexico is so much larger than Cuba, the difficulties are so much more complicated and the whole problem is so much vaster that there can be no approximation between the two tasks. It would cost tens of thousands of lives, hundreds of millions of dollars and be a sad page in the nation's history. It must not be done.

The careless speaking of intervention needs to be corrected. It is not a new folly. A generation ago people were saying that eventually we must take all the West Indies. At another time there was a widespread demand that we go beyond the St. Lawrence and absorb Canada. Much was said about "manifest destiny" and all that sort of thing. But the fevers passed. **So also should the idea that because Mexico has internal troubles we should hazard our happiness by interfering. Let us keep out.**—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## MORALITY.

Some newspaper has stated that the Administration, in dealing with Mexico, is sacrificing expediency to morality.

We contend that the Administration is sacrificing expediency and morality both—in fact, **morality more than expediency.**

If certain interests [illegible] terial benefits from the [illegible] policy—or hope to derive [illegible] which would be a result of expediency—no moral benefit is derived by any one from that policy.

It is the **immorality** of the policy which will weigh against this country in the judgment of the world. Because of the determination to bring about the elimination of one man a whole people is made to suffer.

Because of the belief that the Mexican Government is stained with the blood of one man, the blood of thousands of other men—most of them innocent and none of them responsible as that man for Mexico's ills—is made to flow.

Because of the belief that the Mexican Government was responsible for the killing of one man—a political criminal if ever there was one—brigandage is encouraged—more: actually propped—and as a consequence thousands of Americans and other foreigners have lost their property and some their lives.

Morality? Great Scott! Is it moral to contemplate with indifference the massacre of your neighbors? Is it moral to suggest that further means be given to these neighbors to destroy one another more rapidly, to increase the flow of blood in your neighbor's home on the plea that you are horrified at the killing of one man?

Morality!

---

## GOING UP!

According to the bordergrams published in the New York newspapers in the last two weeks the rebel army is growing by leaps and bounds. A few days ago the "World" published a statement by Carranza saying that the rebel forces numbered eighty thousand men. Immediately the "Herald's" correspondent in Nogales, piqued by the "World's" scoop, telegraphed to his paper that the rebels had a total of one hundred thousand men under arms. Then the "Times" correspondent learned of this and, not to be outdone, went the "Herald" a few better. On November 12th, he telegraphed his paper a detailed statement of rebel forces in the various Mexican States—the statement was compiled in Nogales—the result being that the "Times" very seriously—the "Times" is always serious, even when it cracks a few jokes—stated: "Rebels have 136,000."

By the time this number of MEXICO reaches our readers some other correspondent will have had the better of the "Times" and the rebel army will be figured close to two hundred thousand.

# LEST WE FORGET

Washington is much concerned now about giving Huerta a chance to "save his face."

* * *

That may be the Washington idea of accomplishment.

But Huerta wants to save his country. He doesn't think so much of his face as others of theirs. For why—we don't know.

* * *

Everybody who opposes the Administration is a crook, a lobbyist, a concessionaire, a Wall Street wolf or an icthyosaurus.

* * *

There can be no honest difference of opinion.

* * *

All honesty, all opinion, all virtue, all wisdom, all morality are centered in the Administration.

* * *

Mrs. John Lind thinks that an army of Protestant missionaries could pacify Mexico.

* * *

So does Secretary Daniels' paper, the Raleigh (N. C.) "News and Observer."

* * *

We warrant you that the ex-reverend Hale does, too.

* * *

Also the peace-faker, Rev. Dr. Tupper, who misrepresents the Peace Forum by making the barbarous suggestion that rebels and bandits should be given more arms.

* * *

That fellow Tupper knows just as little about Mexico as—as—the whole Administration.

* * *

It is so tragic for Mexico that one can not laugh.

* * *

But it is laughable to see a blind man leading with so much cocksureness.

* * *

So self-complacent, self-satisfied, smugly pleased with himself before God and man.

* * *

While a nation suffers, hundreds are killed, women and girls outraged, crime and outlawry encouraged.

* * *

Moral suasion! Bah! It's a crime against civilization.

* * *

The Ambassadorship to Russia and the Meddleship in Mexico have the same odor.

* * *

The odor of bland hypocrisy and shifty politics.

* * *

Pindell was to get $17,500 for a year of Continental gayety.

What is William Bayard Hale getting for gathering "literary" material?

* * *

Secretary Bryan announced that he needed money. The New York "World" offered him $8,000 a year but he did not accept. There are some sources from which he would not accept even provision for his old age.

* * *

Who is the Senator "Ham" Lewis in the Mexican Meddleship?

* * *

Bryan is going to "starve Huerta out." He's a man of peace.

* * *

He wants the bankers to refuse Huerta money.

* * *

What influence has Bryan with the bankers?

* * *

What influence have they with him?

* * *

Wrecking Huerta means wrecking Mexico.

* * *

But we are her sincere friends! Yes.

* * *

The policy strongly smacks of megalomania.

* * *

Most railroad wrecks happen on single tracks.

* * *

Switches are very useful, also block-signals.

* * *

The Administration seems to have none of either.

* * *

Schoolroom psychology: If you give in once the pupils have your number.

* * *

But nations have your number when you show you have the schoolroom psychology.

* * *

Anyhow, did you ever know a boy who loved that kind of teacher?

* * *

Chorus of World Powers: "With all due respect, what is your policy, Mr. Bryan?"

* * *

Bryan: H. M. G. - M. A. M.

* * *

And what does the algebraic formula signify?

* * *

Huerta must go by malicious animal magnetism.

* * *

Chorus: Help!

* * *

After Huerta goes—what?

* * *

Wait a minute till I consult the ex-reverend Hale.

# The Truth From A Fighting Man

Washington, Nov. 9.—Major Cassius E. Gillette, an ex-officer of the United States Army who has lived in Mexico many years, resumed his attack on the Administration to-day for its present policy in Mexico.

Major Gillette recently joined twenty-one other Americans who have large interests in Mexico in signing a communication, addressed to the President, protesting against the present Mexican policy of this Government.

The Major's new statements are sharper than any made by him before and report revolting conditions in many Mexican cities. He said among other things, referring to the so-called Constitutionalists:

"'The forces' that have been in absolute control in Durango for many months consist of four bands. The largest is in command of a man who has been a cattle thief for years, his name being used by nurses to scare children with. He can neither read nor write.

### Major Tells of Excesses.

"The second is a common farmhand peon. ignorant and a savage. The two others, I believe, can read and write. Barring Americans whom they have somewhat respected and a few of the better class of Mexicans who got away, **practically every woman and girl over ten years of age within 125 miles of Durango has been outraged by the 'patriots.'**

"A man came to an American in charge of a large business in that section and asked if the doctor could come and see his two girls, 12 and 14 years old. They had been carried off by the 'Constitutionalists,' outraged for about two weeks and then left in the wilds, eighty miles from home, to find their way back as best they could.

**"Do you suppose that one of those brutes is interested in a constitution or would have the slightest comprehension of the word or cares a continental about it in any event?**

"I was told by a cultured and refined American woman just from Durango that if a rap came at the front door of any house and it were not instantly opened a bomb blew it open. One Englishman got there just as the bomb opened the door, taking off his legs.

"She said the American women missionaries there were chased around the patio by drunken savages at the points of bayonets and forced to cry 'Viva Madero!' as they ran.

### Quotes Senator Bacon.

"These are the people whom our Congress proposes to help get arms. The President alone holds out against it. Only the other day Senator Bacon of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, told the President that only their personal consideration for President Wilson kept the Senate from passing a resolution authorizing the free sale of arms to the Carranzistas.

"A few weeks ago Carranza came to Durango to consult his 'followers.' He called a meeting—only one man attended and Carranza left at once for Hermosillo, 300 miles away over the mountains.

"If Carranza were made President tomorow he would have exactly the same problem Huerta now has against 90 per cent. of the same 'patriots.'

"Carranza is now forming a 'Cabinet' for its avowed effect upon the United States. **We seem to be easy to fool.**

"The situation in Mexico to-day is strikingly similar to what it was in the Island of Hayti when owned by the French, but the savages of Mexico are a far more bloodthirsty race than those of Hayti. Their ancestral altars flowed with human blood like rivers.

"Wait and see what happens in the next year if our Government helps arm 'the poor patriots,' who are struggling so hard against the demon Huerta, making 'cannon of axles,' as one of our sympathetic Congressmen puts it, and who are incidentally destroying every mine (Madero's included, with its $1,000,000 worth of equipment, &c.), every bridge, every railroad and outraging every child they can reach.

"The Hayti horrors were brought on by equally high grade philanthropy. The Wilberforce Society got the blacks freed, armed and the island put in charge of negro Generals. This is the only case in history where enslaved savages got control of the country and of their former masters. Does our philanthropic Government want to make Mexico the second?

### Gives Another Illustration.

"Suppose for another illustration that the South and the North were separate countries; that the South had 11,500,000 of negroes equal in character to the lower half, of the present black race, against 3,000,000 whites, and they had been started on the warpath by a millionaire criminal or fool; that they had one-third of the country under their control and were destroying everything that stood in the way of making an African jungle of the country.

"I wonder how Senator Bacon would feel if the North should propose to let the negroes get free arms; especially if the conditions in the South were such that no white man could have any hope of handling it unless he laid himself open to being called a 'dictator,' 'assassin,' a 'traitor' and a few of the other gentle terms that have been so liberally applied to Gen. Huerta and—crowning blunder of them all—were given as a reason for arming the blacks.

"The Congress that pledged its support to Huerta September 16 was dissolved October 10 by him. This Congress was elected at Madero's election, or rather selected by him. Many of them are willing to take the chance of sacrificing their country by 'turning the tigers loose' to gain political power, thinking perhaps they could control them later on.

### Madero's Death.

"There are at least six versions of Madero's lynching. I have carefully canvassed the whole subject and established certain facts in the matter and I believe the following the most probable story:

"The subject was debated in councils of the provisional Government. All agreed that his death was necessary to prevent riots, plots, assassinations and heavy loss of life. That he could be legally tried, convicted and shot was obvious, but a trial would inflame his follower half of the present black race, ages, who are always ready for demonstrations and destructive loot, resulting possibly in hundreds of thousands of deaths.

"Gen. Huerta was in favor of his being kept a prisoner, but some one else gave the order to the governor of the palace to deliver Madero and Pino Suarez to a guard to be taken to the penitentiary. He did so and they were taken in two automobiles out of the palace. They were shot by the guards, who then 'shot up' the automobile and brought back the story of the atempted escape which was given out.

"Gen. Huerta is in precisely the position of many Southern Governors whose friends have been engaged in justifiable lynchings. The subsequent investigation is generally not very zealously pursued.

"Had the undersigned been in Gen. Huerta's place he would have given Madero a prompt trial by a drumhead court-martial and had him shot in public thirty minutes after the verdict had been rendered, believing that by so doing he would be pursuing absolutely the only course possible to prevent a vast amount of bloodshed."

"The undersigned begs all red blooded Americans when they read of future similar outrages in our Southern neighbor to attribute them not to Mexico, but to the savages that are destroying Mexico.

**"And he begs that all who read and believe this will write the President or Congressmen of their opinion. In this behalf the writer begs to identify himself as the engineer officer who exposed the Carter-Greene-Gaynor frauds in Savannah and the McNichol-Durham frauds in Philadelphia."**

# A Challenge to Lind

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: As my job depends on the concealment of my identity, I have had to use a nom-de-plume. Yet I would be willing to lose my job if Mr. Lind would take up my challenge. And eight years' residence in bandit-infested Durango gives me the right to talk and a sincere love for Mexico and Mexicans prompts the halting phrase. If you care to publish my letter, please feel free to do so. Sincerely

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[Name and address withheld by request, but if Mr. Lind wants to accept the writer's challenge we shall be pleased to inform him as to the challenger.—Editor's Note.]

## THE LETTER.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: How do you think posterity will judge the actions of our misguided President and his satellite, the Secretary of State, when the pitiless limelight of sound analytical reasoning is turned upon the events of the past week—as far as the relations between the United States and Mexican Governments are concerned? What a tremendous revelation will be given of the degree to which the diplomatic usages of centuries can be overturned by the bungling of men essentially politicians. How the diplomats of Europe must be amused at each new evidence of "Grand Stand Diplomacy."

I had thought the United States a free country. Yet I see a club held over the country's press, because in no other way can the absolute lack of fair dealing towards Huerta be explained. Newspaper men are fair-minded when given free rein, and yet hardly a paper publishes the Huerta side of the case. The British government is accused of aiding the cause of Lord Cowdray, but it is not intimated that the insistence with which Wilson and Bryan harp on the elimination of Huerta is due to orders dictated by the Rockefeller interests. Yet Sir Edward Grey has no international reputation as a party man, nor is his fame based on his political acumen. Has Bryan any other grounds upon which to base his claim to eminence? Is it not known that Standard Oil preferred Wilson to Roosevelt? And does not the pitiful exposure of the proposed deal in Russian Ambassadors show that the present Administration intends to reward its helpers?

And to assist in paying off political obligations this country is to be plunged in war. Seas of blood spilled, billions of dollars squandered, and the prestige of the United States for fair dealing and honesty in its international relationships forever destroyed.

It is maddening to those of us who have been in the thick of the fight in Mexico, to see the trend of events. By what argument President Wilson can justify his callous, cold-blooded refusal to listen to those of us who have suffered, yea and bled, passes our comprehension. What possible knowledge can "Confidential Agent Lind" have of conditions in Mexico? He has never been farther than from Vera Cruz to the capital. Can it be that he is afraid to enter the really revolutionary States? Is he unwilling to trust himself to the tender mercies of Pancho Villa, Zapata or Contreras? I can readily see the wisdom displayed in not taking chances. It would be the height of folly to risk insult or injury at the hands of the men the United States government is meditating recognizing.

Now, Mr. Lind, here is a proposition for you. Drop your title of "Confidential Agent" and go with me to Durango, to Torreon, to Chihuahua, as plain Americans. No frills, no flurries. We'll take our chances together to pay our own expenses, and after such a journey, when you have been able to judge for yourself, at first hand, I will abide by your decision and O. K. any report you may make to the Government. Are you game, Mr. Lind? Will you risk it with me? We'll be in the same boat 'Y nos tocara' la misma suerte." Then make your report and every criticism would be stilled. It would be some itinerary, Mr. Lind, and no lack of excitement, and who knows, if we emerge scot-free, you may have a year's term as Ambassador to Russia. If we escape scot-free! You may have my name and bona-fides on application to the editor of MEXICO.

Yours sincerely,
PEACE IN MEXICO.

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The forward-looking men are looking forward to the finish.

* * *

When the crash comes—oh, what a fall 'twill be!

* * *

The Pindell letter!

* * *

The Mexican muddle!

* * *

Then Ajax defying the lightning of public opinion.

* * *

It would be an interesting experiment if the President of Mexico and the President of the United States would exchange positions for a few weeks.

* * *

Some one would learn something.

* * *

They are describing the Administration's policy now as a "glacial movement." My gracious, but it's cold!

## JUST AN INCIDENT.

Scene—Dining saloon of the "Morro Castle" first day out from Vera Cruz, distinguished by the presence aboard of Mrs. John Lind, wife of President Wilson's personal envoy to Mexico. Mrs. Lind seated at the Captain's table with other Americans, among them a charming stately matron who had lost none of her Americanism through many years' residence in Mexico. Much chatter of the relations between United States and Mexico and what the outcome might be. Charming matron listens smilingly to general expressions of opinion. Mrs. Lind does not seem to relish drift of remarks. Charming matron speaks and all instinctively pause to hear her opinion. "One thing," she said, "on which we all agree, and which every foreigner in Mexico appreciates, is that President Huerta is a remarkable man and if he were not handicapped by our folks at Washington, for what reason I fail to see, he would have Mexico in peace today."

Mrs. Lind rises abrutly from her seat beside the Captain and, looking angrily at the speaker, says:

"I will not have you say anything like that on this boat." Seats herself with an air of finality.

Charming Matron (very sweetly): "I shall not only say what I think and believe on this boat, but on any other boat, and anywhere or whenever I feel like it."

Curtain. Applause.

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Seventeen million Catholics in this country will be extremely gratified to learn the opinions entertained by Mrs. Lind and obviously reflecting those of her husband, John Lind, of Minnesota, the personal envoy to Mexico of President Wilson. Mrs. Lind did not even make an attempt to keep her opinions covered by a cloak of discretion, while in Mexico and on the boat from Vera Cruz to New York. She not only ascribed all the troubles of Mexico to the Catholic Church, but went as far as to state that she would rather know that all Mexicans were atheists than to know they were Catholics.

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The easiest man in the world to use is the man with unyielding convictions. Situations can be twisted to appeal to his convictions—and there you are.

* * *

The rebel junta in Washington knows this. So does Senator Bacon, William Bayard Hale, and a few others.

* * *

We wish the country could look into the mind of John Bassett Moore, Counselor of the State Department, authority on international law. It would reveal many interesting sidelights on the Administration's "diplomacy." He knows.

* * *

But international law is one thing while small politics and perverse egotism are something else again, Mawruss.

# MEXICO AND FRANCE

The "Intervention" of Napoleon III, in Setting Up the Ill-Fated Maximilian Empire.

When Napoleon III formulated the great "conception of his reign," to place the Archduke Maximilian on the throne of a Mexican empire, the mercenary incentive was the prospective wealth that it was anticipated would flow from the French colonization and development of the great resources of the new nation. A secondary object, but one of greater importance to the United States, was the desire of France to aid the Latin races in checking the spread of Anglo-Saxon ideas and customs in the western hemisphere and through the encouragement of a friendly power in America to balance the growing strength of England in the Far East. With such thoughts germinating in his mind it is easy to conceive how eagerly the Emperor of France grasped at the financial obligations of the Mexican Government to furnish the cause of dispute, to aid the apparent coalition of England, Spain and France and to take advantage of the momentary occupation of the United States in its Civil War, which apparently afforded opportunity for breaking down the barriers of the Monroe Doctrine. But this dreamer of empires, who aimed to live up to the imperial reputation of "The Napoleon," beginning with the Mexican disaster was to see the gradual decline of his own power until its final extinguishment.

The march of the French from Vera Cruz to the capital city was not accomplished speedily or without resistance, and the French found Mexico a hard land to pacify, a difficult land to conquer and a country impossible of subjugation. Their march to the capital and their journey over a road that is now traversed in less than ten hours by rail, occupied sixteen months and the small armed force that was first sent on the expedition was successively increased until five years later nearly fifty thousand men were kept in the field three thousand miles from their home country. As is the reported condition of the Mexicans of to-day, the French found them undrilled and poorly commanded, but capable of putting up a strong resistance where the proper officers were in charge. Thus it was at Puebla that the sons of the "conquerors of Europe" received a severe repulse when on the 5th of May, 1862, the famous "Cinco de Mayo" that the patriotic Latin-American names a street after, that the Mexicans hurled back the French advance with the sacrifice of one-fifth of the foreign invaders. Compelled to await reinforcements, the French were at the mercy of the many diseases of war, together with the dreaded yellow fever, until ten months later, when Puebla was again besieged by twenty-five thousand men after two months of stubborn and sanguinary resistance the Mexicans were forced to withdraw and surrender the town.

From then on the march to the capital was comparatively easy despite the difficulty of bringing foreign troops from the marshy lowlands near Vera Cruz, infested with malaria and yellow fever, through mountain passes, to the high altitude of the capital where malaria was to be met this time in conjunction with pneumonia. Disease played its part, as it has in every war and, as usual, aided the defenders. Mexico had been "conquered" and the way paved for Maximilian who, confident in the belief that the people of the country had signified their ardent desire for his reign, hastened with high hope to the new land. Sara Yorke Stevenson, speaking of the entrance of Maximilian and the beautiful Carlotta to the City of Mexico, has said: "Never had such a sight been seen since the days of the Aztecs * * * Triumphal arches of verdure, draped with flags and patriotic devices were raised along the principal avennes leading to the Plaza Mayor and to the palace. As far as the eye could reach the festively decked windows, the streets and the flat roofs of the houses were crowded with people eager to catch a glimse of the new sovereigns." And radiant in their enthusiastic youth, Carlotta being but twenty-four and Maximilian thirty-two years of age, they probably well imagined that they were the people's choice instead of but the fulfilment of the schemes of mercenary planners.

The three years following the entrance of Maximilian and his accession to the throne were strenuous years for the army of occupation. The French found that the possession of the capital city alone did not give them the reputed prowess throughout the country that would stifle any attempt at rebellion, but they were compelled to watch Jaurez establish another seat of government, to fight Diaz and his associates, to meet the incessant attacks of the guerillas. In addition the dispatches that reached the ears of Paris to the effect that Mexico was peaceful, from time to time, there would leak out the story of such events as the attack upon the Belgian envoys, who had come as a special embassy to the Empress to inform her of the accession of her brother, Leopold II, to the throne of Belgium, and were severely attacked by highwaymen, one of the party being killed and four wounded. On all sides there was constant warfare and the necessity of meeting fire with fire. There were tales of burning villages, as, for example, when General Castagny wiped out by fire the village of San Sebastian, a town of four thousand inhabitants. There were tales of kidnapping, rapine and plunder by guerilla bands, all calculated to make the French dissatisfied with their task.

In the south, in Oaxaca, an active and aggressive campaign was being waged by Diaz. For three weeks he was besieged by Marshal Bazaine, the French Commander-in-chief of the Army of Mexico, and finally forced to surrender. Diaz escaped from his captors, however, and in a short time had retaken Oaxaca, and begun to lead the French a merry chase, while at every opportunity he inflicted injury on their army. Five years of this constant and continued warfare cost the French enormous sums of money and thousands of lives. And it was this sacrifice of blood and money that caused the Chamber of Deputies to cry out for the withdrawal of the French troops, to leave Maximilian to work out his own destiny. In the Convention of Miramar, as the agreement between Napoleon III. and Maximilian is known, it was stipulated that the French forces should not be reduced below twenty thousand until 1867, and that thereafter the Foreign Legion should remain in Mexico for six years. Up to July, 1864, the expenses of the expedition were fixed at $54,000,000, for which Maximilian was compelled to obligate his unborn government, and from that date the Mexican Government was to pay a thousand francs a year per man for the maintenance of the army of occupation. These obligations were beyond the power of the feeble government to pay and although successive Ministers of Finance were sent over by Napoleon III. to find a way out of the financial tangle, the Mexican intervention proved a disastrous political, social and financial experiment. Accordingly, when the United States relieved from the struggles of the Civil War, applied pressure and demanded the abandonment by the French of this attempt at colonial expansion, the troops were withdrawn, and, standing alone on his own merits, Maximilian soon met his tragic fate.-Philadelphia "Evening Bulletin."

## LACK OF SYMPATHY.

This is an enlightened age. We are a highly civilized people, a generous, good-hearted people. This being true, is it not remarkable that we have not even offered material help to the suffering people of Mexico? As the result of three years of social unrest and turbulence the poor of Mexico, and they are unfortunately many, have known the pangs of hunger and undergone terrible privations. Has any American philanthropist of charitable organization, in a spirit of sympathy and common humanity, even suggested the sending of relief supplies to Mexican non-combatant sufferers? Has any American newspaper sought by popular subscription to enlist aid for the poor people of Mexico? Of course they have not asked for charity, for the Mexican is proud. It is more than possible that a proffer of assistance would be refused under any circumstances. But is it not a reflection on our finer instincts that the matter of American assistance has seemingly not even been thought of? We tell Mexicans we are their friends. But can you blame Mexicans for feeling in their hearts that we have shown none of the natural impulses of true friendship?

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East West and All Angles.

## MR. WILSON'S MEXICAN POLICY OF SECRECY AND DRIFT.

What does President Wilson expect to accomplish by the policy on which he is plainly risking a bloody and costly war with Mexico?

Suppose that the despotic Mexican president should yield to the theory of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan that he must retire from office?

Will wholesale murder and brigandage and the spirit of wanton revolution cease under a president forced upon Mexico by the United States?

The whole history of the Mexican people, even before the conquest by Cortes and all through the three hundred years of cruel Spanish domination and the sixty years of tumults, carnage and treasons that followed the separation from Spain and preceded the generation of peace under the iron rule of Porfirio Diaz, is an answer to the opalescent dream of real democratic and constitutional government in Mexico.

Are the brutal bandits who have been looting cities, towns and villages and murdering and torturing prisoners under the Carranzas and Zapatas more likely to govern the unhappy republic according to high moral standards than the stern president who now occupies Chapultepec castle, and who, at least, **has made a sturdy and partly successful effort, in spite of the continued hostility of the Wilson Administration, to restore order and protect life and property?**

The brief, futile and disastrous administration of the weak and sentimental Madero, who also called himself a "constitutionalist," should be an effective warning to all who indulge in the vain hope of a Mexico governed according to Anglo-Saxon principles.

And if President Huerta should refuse to retire from power? If the new Mexican Congress should declare the recent election null and void, and proceed, under the Mexican constitution, to elect Huerta to the presidency? What then?

**Will the United States become the ally of the bandit forces of the "constitutionalists" and turn Mexico into a general and interminable scene of slaughter and destruction, or will we resort to armed intervention,** punish Huerta for the murder of Madero at the cost of the blood of thousands of the best and bravest young men of our country, and invite the peril of national and international complications which no man can now foresee?

**Are we willing to pour out our blood and treasure, to darken our homes and further impoverish our people for the sake of a theory of government that we think the Mexicans should live up to?**

Thus far President Wilson has shrouded his present plans and policies in absolute mystery. He has refused to take the American people into his confidence.

**He has disregarded the official reports of our national representatives in Mexico, and has dealt with the situation through purely personal agents, carefully guarding from the public any adequate knowledge of what is going on behind the locked doors of his secretive administration.**

But with a considerable American army assembling on the Mexican frontier, with heavy American naval squadrons concentrating on the Mexican coast, the time has come when the people of the United States are entitled to know how far Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan propose to go in reforming the internal affairs of the Mexican people and setting up American moral and political standards for their guidance and government.

We must now deal with the facts as they are, rather than with moral generalizations. We are face to face with the Mexico of real life instead of the Mexico imagined in comfortable American libraries and studies.

The ugly, brutal realities of conditions in that country will not change simply because we do not like them.

In considering the horrible spectacle of wide-spread rapine and misery in Mexico to-day, it is well to remember that while theories of government are important, there must be actual government of some kind.

**The American government has made itself largely responsible in the eyes of the civilized world for the continuance of the appalling situation in Mexico, and the Wilson-Bryan policy of theory, secrecy and drift seems to have made matters even worse than ever.**

No one familiar with Mexican history and character can have any doubt that if Huerta should resign it will be only a year or two at most before another armed dictator will take his place in Mexico City.

The dead centuries bear witness to the inescapable and unvarying fact that the Mexican millions respect strength more than liberty, and that they will overwhelmingly and enthusiastically turn away from free, democratic Government to support and obey a military master.

Is it President Wilson's idea that the United States should permanently undertake responsibility for the government of such a people?—New York "Evening Mail."

## TREADWAY CRITICIZES WILSON.

(Special to The New York "Times.)

Stockbridge, Mass., Nov. 10.—Congressman Allen T. Treadway, Republican, of the First Massachusetts District, this afternoon criticized President Wilson's Mexican policy in an interview, in which he said:

"I feel that President Wilson has been extremely insistent with those in authority in Mexico that they should adopt his views and opinions. I fail to understand by what right our Government can insist upon who should be in control of the affairs of another nation. **We, as Americans, would, I am sure, resent being told by a foreign power that any man could or could not be President;** and, while we agree that the Mexicans have not so high a degree of intelligent citizenship as our people, it would seem that they should be allowed to select their own officials.

"I can hardly conceive any provocation which can justify open hostility with Mexico. I realize many of our citizens have large investments within its boundaries, which should either be protected or receive some form of recompense. If protection is impossible without war, let us as a nation liberally recompense these citizens for any loss they may sustain."

### DECRIES INTERFERENCE IN MEXICAN AFFAIRS.

(By Mexican Cable to the N. Y. "Herald.")

Buenos Ayres, Friday.—"La Prensa," editorially commenting on the Mexican situation, says it is convinced that Theodore Roosevelt disapproves of the Wilson policy, because neither he nor Mr. Taft attempted to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries.

"The international conflict has become a mere electoral problem," the paper says, "and turns about the candidacy of Huerta. Interference by the United States is not justified by international law nor by the Monroe Doctrine, and the matter is aggravated by the participation of the European Powers. Mexico is going through difficulties similar to those experienced by other countries now flourishing. Mexico twice won independence. Why not give her credit and let her settle her own affairs without foreign tutorship, which, perhaps, fosters anarchy?"

That the Mexican policy of the Wilson Administration was being closely watched by all Latin-American countries and had caused a recrudescence of a feeling of mistrust and antagonism has been repeatedly asserted by this periodical. The foregoing from one of the most influential newspapers in the Southern Continent is another proof of our assertion. It must be considered that "La Prensa" is one of the most enthusiastic advocates of a close friendship between the Latin-American countries and the United States. **The unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of a Latin-American State cannot but cause an adverse sentiment in all Latin-American people and redound to the detriment of our friendly relations with those people.**

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

# AN INTERNATIONAL PUZZLE

It is a fair question, then, and a rather important one, as to what authority President Wilson thinks to himself that he has for his demand, presented in the Mexican capital last Sunday, that the de facto head of the Mexican Government get out and disappear, and take all his official associates and friends with him.

Let us assume for a moment that President Wilson designs, if and when General Huerta catches up his grip and vamooses, to place Venustiano Carranza in charge of the executive business of Mexico. This Carranza has worked himself to a front place among those who have opposed the de facto Mexican Government. He claims, we believe, to have physical control in one Mexican state, and he has adherents, temporary or otherwise, in other states of that country. His men have plundered wherever they could, have burned or blown up with dynamite a good deal of private and public property, and have killed in cold blood a goodly number of those unfortunate Mexicans who have fallen into their hands and power as prisoners. As an effective instrument in the hands of President Wilson for giving to the Mexican people an orderly and settled Government this Venustiano Carranza stands on a lower level than General Huerta, who is a trained soldier and has always handled trained troops; and in the matter of an election to the office of President of Mexico both Huerta and this Carranza stand upon an identical level. Neither has been elected to that office by even such electoral methods as were in use under Porfirio Diaz. **Huerta did, however, get the Constitutional assent of the Mexican Congress doing business at that time to his assumption of power as the Provisional President, so that if mere Constitutional forms are the main thing, as President Wilson seems to hold, Huerta has a Constitutional qualification that Carranza lacks.** For there is no shred or tatter of Constitutional authority about the power that Carranza holds. He has never been before the Mexican people as a Presidential candidate, but has picked up all the authority that he has by main force and brutal and bloody violence. The brutal and bloody violence of Carranza's men is not thereby conjectured, as it is in the secret and backstairs reports brought to President Wilson in regard to Huerta's relation to the death of Francisco Madero, but is of current report in the day's news and from many different localities. Carranza has accepted silently, and no doubt gratefully, the authority slowly built up for him by these robberies and murders, and they constitute the sole basis of all the Constitutional merit or quality that he possesses. Upon what ground does President Wilson explain to himself his preference for Carranza over Huerta as the man competent enough and clean enough to establish upon a stable foundation orderly and responsible Government in Mexico?

If there is a choice between these two men, it is certainly in favor of Huerta. He has the courts and the army of Mexico on his side; he had the Congress of Mexico on his side— a Congress carefully picked out and elected by Gustav Madero—until sedition made it a common enemy of the de facto Government and public order! He has maintained in personal safety very nearly every foreigner residing in Mexico, no matter what his nationality may be, and is prepared to make due reparation in the very few and isolated instances where his public protection has failed; **he is not a visionary man, but a practical man;** his intelligence is not very large, but he knows most of the important things, and knows them well; **he is no sham, but a real man;** he means well, and unquestionably is using his best knowledge to secure a stable Government for Mexico; **and he is not afraid.** Why President Wilson and the infallible Bryan should set out, on their own hook and with no known authority except from themselves, to pick upon and peck at Huerta, to hold him up here and scold him there, to torment him with silly proposals and threaten him with demands that are frivolous unless backed up by the army and navy of the United States in fighting trim, **is the greatest international puzzle of these times.** We wonder how President Wilson explains and justifies it all to himself. — Hartford (Conn.) "Daily Courant."

### DOOMED TO FAILURE.

The idea that President Wilson entertains that he can bring about peace in the neighboring Republic by moral suasion is the wildest sort of a dream. The trouble in Mexico is purely and simply a struggle for office and the plunder attached to the control of the Government. The Mexican Constitution is a very plausible instrument on paper, but nobody, not even Madero, ever permitted it to stand in the way of his schemes. Until the masses have become better educated the rule of a strong hand is essential in Mexico. Porfirio Diaz was a dictator, and in some respects a despot, but he was a great executive, and under his rule Mexico progressed and prospered as it never progressed or prospered before or is likely to do again, until some man of similar character and force is elevated to the Mexican presidency.

Provisional President Huerta has adopted some of Diaz's methods. If his removal would pacify the country, the United States, backed by the powers, could, no doubt, force him to retire. The more difficult problem would be to fill his place. Certainly none of the men who have been mentioned as presidential possibilities meet the requirements of the situation. Any man attempting to rule Mexico along strict constitutional lines would be doomed to failure from the start, hence an effort in that direction under pressure by the United States would be labor wasted.—New Orleans "Picayune."

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That (Huerta's) position is one which has already been seen by many Americans. It is, in brief, that even if the United States could find international law to demand of Huerta, that he vacate his office at once, and leave no successor, Huerta can find no Mexican law to warrant such action on his part.

This will, doubtless, be the substance of the answer returned to Washington. The new Mexican Congress is to be convened on Monday, according to advice from the Mexican capital. On the same day, Washington dispatches say, Mr. Wilson is to take more decided action against the Huerta Government. Mr. Wilson's programme, as reported from the first, and without denial from any quarter, considers the Mexican Congress a negligible factor in the case. Whether this contempt of the Mexican Congress grows out of his contempt of Mexico, or out of his experiences with Congressmen in general, would be an interesting question.—Washington "Star."

### A STUPID MISTAKE.

Just here is where President Wilson is making a stupid mistake. With a schoolmaster's narrowness of practical understanding he insists upon impossible conditions. He finds in the Mexican constitution a document modeled largely after our own fundamental law, embodying a definite scheme of representative Government; and he can not be persuaded that this scheme may not be enforced in Mexico precisely as in Massachusetts or Nebraska. He can not understand that the Mexican constitution in no sense reflects Mexican standards of life; that it is no product of Mexican conceptions or aspirations; that it is an artificial thing set up in disregard of local conditions and designed for no other purpose than to serve the aims and plans of autocracy. With his finger on the text, blind to anything but the text, deaf to instruction, he insists with foolish persistence upon the letter of the constitution. President Wilson ought to understand that the paramount need in Mexico is for some man strong enough to dominate the situation precisely as Porfirio Diaz dominated it for so many years. He ought to see that the one effort within half a century to sustain the Mexican Government upon an ideal basis—that of the late President Madero—came to naught. He ought to see that the immediate hope of tranquility and order in Mexico lies in giving Huerta a free hand.

The theory of the British Government in the present situation is that it is no business of the outside world to supervise the internal affairs of Mexico. Whatever Government may be able to sustain itself and to enforce order and security England is willing to accept. Her concern is primarily for the interest of her investors and for the maintenance of conditions under which they may pursue their business under existing contracts and without molestation. Therefore England has recognized Huerta and has so timed the terms and conditions of her communications with him as to rebuke the United States. Very frankly England accepts the theory that the United States as a near neighbor of Mexico has certain prior rights and certain responsibilities, but she does not hold herself bound to a course of supine neglect of her own interest because President Wilson under a whimsical theory declines either to fish or cut bait.

The position of England is practically that of Germany. The Imperial Government likewise regards Huerta as a man proper to be dealt with and does not take it upon herself to look too closely or scrupulously into the sources of his authority. In brief the European idea is that the powers obviously in Huerta's hands entitle him to consideration as the de facto head of Mexico and they are treating him accordingly.—San Francisco "Argonaut."

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### FROM DESPOTISM TO BRIGANDAGE.

Is it good common sense, to say nothing of morality, to talk of an American national policy intended to arm and encourage the hordes of Mexican bandits who, as "constitutionalists," have been murdering, burning and plundering their wretched country for so many months?

Are we to become the moral allies of assassins and robbers, and assist in widening the scene of massacre and pillage, in order to vindicate the opinion of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan that the despotic Huerta is unfit to be president of Mexico?

The horrible story of the operations of the so-called "constitutionalists," much of which has been unprintable, should warn the American people of the sort of government Mexico is likely to have under the Carranzas and Zapatas.—New York "Evening Mail."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### THE MEXICAN MENACE.

It has been reported that President Wilson has ordered Huerta to resign and not to appoint Blanquet or any other member of his official family in his place as provisional President.

Suppose President Huerta should refuse to obey the order, if it has been issued, what does President Wilson propose that the United States shall do about it? Suppose that Huerta should obey the order. By whom will his successor be elected or appointed and who shall designate such successor?

It is to be feared that President Wilson will either make the United States ridiculous by making a demand which he will make no attempt to enforce, or by attempting to enforce it will precipitate a war with Mexico that will cost us thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of treasure. Anybody familiar with the Mexican character knows that if we send an army into Mexico to aid Carranza or to depose Huerta, we might indeed bring harmony and alliance between contending Mexican factions, but it would be an alliance of all Mexicans against the invading "gringoes."

**Unless President Wilson backs squarely out of his unwarranted and indefensible position—which he probably won't do, for to admit himself to be wrong would inflict indescribable anguish upon his self-sufficient soul—unless he should conclude that the chancellors of all the great powers of Europe probably know as much about the law of nations and the usages of diplomacy as he does, he may precipitate this nation into a war with Mexico.**

If such should be the case, "The Times" will necessarily support the war policy of the Administration, for its motto has ever been "our country, may she be always right; but right or wrong, our country." In such dire event it could only hope that the commanders chosen to conduct military operations would be selected for their military as well as their "moral" efficiency. — Los Angeles "Times."

### EAGER FOR LOOT.

(Special Cable Despatch to the New York "Sun.")

London, Nov. 10.—The Mexico City correspondent of the "Times" cables this morning that on returning to the capital after several weeks in the northern States he found that Americans as well as Englishmen in Mexico City are unanimous in the belief that the policy of the United States is dangerous to the interests of foreigners.

He adds that foreigners feel that the only explanation of the "meddling and muddling" by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan is that the United States wishes to force a war.

"President Wilson," the correspondent says, "obstinately disregarded the urgent representations made by persons intimately acquainted with the character of the Mexicans about the disastrous effect of the United States policy on foreign enterprises in Mexico."

The correspondent contends that it is impossible for Gen. Huerta, who commands the confidence of the army, to desert his post unless he can find a successor able to handle the difficult situation with firmness and courage.

The report that Huerta is about to resign in favor of Lascurain is generally discredited.

The correspondent of the "Times" admits that many of the revolutionary leaders are men of high character, but he says they are utterly unable to control the local commanders, who are eager only for loot.

# NOT TOO LATE

Many of the sincerest friends of the President do not think he has had full information as to the actual conditions in Mexico, and this they say without the least reflection upon the really sensible conduct of John Lind since he was sent to the front.

The President's policy, so far as he has any policy, had been determined upon before Mr. Lind was dispatched to the City of Mexico, and there he has been engaged almost wholly with his negotiations through O'Shaughnessey with the Government of Huerta and with little or no adequate means of estimating the strength of the revolutionists or the sentiment of the people. He could not, in the very difficult circumstances in which he found himself, do more than describe conditions in the part of Mexico under the control of the Huerta Government, which seems, in fact, to be the only organized Government in that country.

The main American objection to Huerta is that he has blood on his hands —the blood of Madero—and that he is not the constitutional President because he was not duly elected by the people. It does not prove anything, of course, to say that Madero also had blood on his hands as President of Mexico as the leader of a bloody but successful revolution against the established order

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If the United States should go into Mexico to restore constitutional Government and should hold an election, who would vote at that election? Seventy-five per cent. of the people of Mexico are Indians or half-breeds and wholly ignorant of the suffrage. The majority of the people belong to the peon class and they could not be allowed to vote without peril to the republic. The class of voters in the United States most nearly corresponding to the peons of Mexico are not allowed to vote in the States from which the President received his strongest support in the convention that nominated him.

Daniel H. Chamberlain, of Massachusetts, the last of the Reconstruction Governors of South Carolina, after years of testing the citizenship of the colored people of that State, in a very notable speech said. "The civilization of the Huguenot, the Cavalier and the Puritan is in peril," and abandoned the theory for which he had fought four years in the field and had afterward tried to work out in peace.

It would be worse than folly to try the same thing in Mexico now, and if in holding elections in Mexico the United States should exclude the peons from the polls the peons would remain in the field as revolutionists, and if the peons should be permitted to vote and should place their own candidates in office, the better, property-holding people of Mexico would be compelled for their own protection to oppose the "constitutional Government" so established by American intervention.

It was noted yesterday by a careful observer of conditions in Mexico that since the present revolution began all the outrages upon person and property in that distressed country had been committed, not by the Huerta Government, but by the revolutionists; that the only parts of Mexico in which both person and property had been comparatively safe had been the parts where the Administration of Huerta had been recognized.

It is not too late for the Government at Washington to make further inquiry into the facts of the situation in Mexico. Probably the President might be willing to share the responsibility of this most important matter with the Congress, as Congress undoubtedly would be compelled to share the responsibility with him if this country should go to war, by having Congress authorize an investigation of Mexican conditions by a special commission composed of its least excitable and most level-headed men. Such a commission doubtless would be acceptable to both factions in Mexico and to the foreign Governments whose people are vitally interested in Mexican affairs. It could proceed with its work without offense to the dignity of the President and without reflecting upon the service of his special representatives. —J. C. H. in the Phila. "Public Ledger."

### STUPID AND UNTENABLE.

President Wilson's warning to Europe to keep hands off in Mexico is under all the circumstances gratuitous and foolish—and foolhardy. Europe desires nothing else so much as to keep free from any entanglement in the Mexican situation. But neither England, Germany, or France will for long sit still while Mr. Wilson pursues a hoyish and foolish course. Already in terms of studied diplomacy the United States Government has been informed that it may have a free hand in Mexico, but this is far from implying that the European countries directly in interest will sit idly by and see the investments of their citizens go to ruin. A time must soon come when the United States must either secure the interests of Europe or leave Europe, by consent of the United States or without it, to look to her own interests. This is the plain meaning of recent action on the part of England and Germany.

The logic of President Wilson's position is that he will oppose any authority in Mexico which may in the present state of affairs attain a sufficient power to assert and maintain itself. Since there can be no "full and free" expression of the "will of the people" there can be no government in Mexico. For if Huerta should fail whoever might succeed him would stand precisely in the same case. It is a situation where any authority possible to be established must rest upon arbitrary authority and positive force. If Mr. Wilson is to oppose any such authority then the practical effect of his course must be to sustain and continue the chaos which has ruled in the country this two years or more.

And this means that first or last—unless there shall come to him some inspiration of common sense—Mr. Wilson will involve the United States in an unnecessary, protracted, and costly war. Under this theory we must oppose Huerta, or whoever else may rise, by force in Mexico; likewise we must oppose whatever other power may undertake to compose the situation. We are, under the Wilsonian doctrine, to stand a veritable dog in the manger. And we can not so stand without involving ourselves in serious troubles either in Mexico itself or with some European power or combination of powers. If this policy is persisted in we shall have on our hands either an aggressive war in Mexico or a war with somebody else. Mr. Wilson's policy is at once stupid and untenable. It has no support in any principle or rule which commands the respect of intelligent men at home or elsewhere.—San Francisco "Argonaut."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

# THE SPIRIT OF THE SCHOOLMASTER

It is not surprising that the provisional president of Mexico, whose immediate resignation is demanded by President Wilson, has signified, as stated in an Associated Press dispatch, his purpose to remain in office until after the newly elected Mexican Congress is seated and has performed its constitutional function in canvassing the vote for president, and taking such action in choosing his successor as the constitution of Mexico may prescribe. Such a course of action is the obvious one for Huerta to take. The imperative mandate from Washington is aimed as much at the Mexican Congress as at him. It is aimed at the body of Mexican constitutional law, and at the entire system of Mexican Government. It is intended to suspend Governmental functions long operative under the laws of Mexico. With what it is proposed to displace them, is not yet disclosed. Nor is it necessary for Huerta's purpose that they should be. So far as disclosed, the mandate is that he retire and leave the office vacant. He is no longer the sole object of attack. The Washington Administration which denied the validity of the credentials given him by the last Mexican Congress is now denying, in advance, the right of the new Congress to issue credentials to any Mexican in the constitutional line of provisional succession, or to any Mexican under suspicion at Washington of not being opposed to the existing Government of his country. Mexico itself being now menaced, Huerta finds his opportunity to make common cause with all Mexicans against foreign usurpations.

This favorable change of position for Huerta seems to be clearly seen by Gen. Carranza, the leader of the constitutionalists. It is realized by him that, if what is now contemplated is pressed to the point of attempt, the revolution will be swallowed up in a popular movement for national assertion of national right. The zone of hostile feeling toward the United States must now be rapidly widening in Mexico. Senor Carranza sees such prospects as he has had, disappearing in a situation which could not have been better calculated to make of Victoriano Huerta a national hero. Gen. Carranza is constant in his urging against intervention, or any form of policy which may tend to war between the two countries. He insists that only a modified form of recognition of the belligerent rights of the revolutionists will bring a speedy solution of the problem through the triumph of the revolutionists' cause. The Administration at Washington, while claiming that the Huerta Government has not been representative of Mexican public opinion, has steadfastly refused any recognition of that part of Mexican opinion which is in organized protest against it. We have, while denying that Huerta has a dominant strength, refused to recognize such elements of strength as have been opposing him. Our entire policy has long tended toward the point we now seem to be reaching; that of asserting our own dictatorship in a setting aside of Mexican forms of procedure, and putting in place a makeshift of our own devising.

So repugnant is all of this to the American sense of freedom and fair play, and so widely at variance is it with our traditional continental policies, that it can not be long until public opinion makes itself felt at Washington. This country does not want a war with Mexico. We are tired of crediting Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan with peace motives. The situation is now past the point of considering motives. Let their motives be what they may, their policies are tending toward a war which, if it comes, will be one of the most unjustifiable in history. Their entire course has been one of persecution of one man, unconvicted of any crime under Mexican law. Acting at first under impulse and emotion the spirit of the schoolmaster to rule has led to complications and dangers unforeseen by them at the start, and warning of which has been ascribed by them to partisan malice.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### THE ROLE OF PROFESSOR.

The position which President Wilson is compelling this Government to assume toward Mexico is a complete reversal of that which Uncle Sam has heretofore been taking in dealing with foreign nations from Washington to Taft. It has been our boast that we never meddled in the government affairs of our sister nations and always protected the property and lives of Americans no matter where they were. In addition we have said that because we will not allow European nations to meddle in affairs on the American continent, Uncle Sam will protect the citizens of those countries. But now all is changed. President Wilson has abandoned this and his position toward Mexico when reduced to everyday language is simply this: "You may burn the American's property if you want to; you can rob him, kill his children, outrage his wife and finally torture and murder him in cold blood if you desire, and I'll not interfere; but you shall elect no man to office unless he measures up to my standard, and your form of government must be in harmony with my theories of political ethics." This is not overdrawn. All this is waved aside while President Wilson in his rôle of professor of international law says sternly to Mexico: "Come, recite your lesson in political economy."—"Town Topics."

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The question is whether the new ruler we would thus give a trial would be any better able than Madero or Huerta to restore order and bring business back to normal conditions. It is difficult to tell before he is tried whether a despot will be competent, and all save such jingling rainbow chasers as Mr. Bryan understand that for many years to come stable government in Mexico is simply a question of the competence and strength of its head.

Such is the situation to which the Wilson-Bryan policy of objection to Huerta because he didn't attain power by "popular election" has brought us. Those who like the situation will approve the policy as well conceived. Those who don't like the situation and see in it unpleasant possibilities will regret that the traditional policy of accepting accomplished facts in the Governments of other countries was not followed.—Chicago "Inter-Ocean."

### MADERO'S FAILURE.

"The action of Huerta in seizing the reins of government has never been understood in the United States," said Mr. Kerr, President of the Mexico Society of Chicago. "He has been looked upon as a traitor, a usurper and a murderer. What are the facts?

"Madero's administration had proved to be a failure. He had lost the sympathy and support of the people, whose complaints were becoming more bitter and more general every day. The government funds had been exhausted and its credit was becoming impaired. Demands for the retirement of Madero were heard on every hand. On the 14th of February, instead of heeding the demand of Congress that he resign, Madero sent out a false story that the United States marines were landing at Vera Cruz, thus hoping to arouse his people through fear of intervention to rally to his support.

"It is a curious thing that all parties have lost sight of the fact that a constitutional presidential term began on Dec. 1, 1910. This term, for which Porfirio Diaz was elected, continues for six years. Yet in spite of the Constitution, the law and the election, Madero, through force, secured the retirement of Diaz and the calling of a new formal election. Madero took the Presidency at a time not contemplated by the Constitution and announced that he would serve from October, 1911, for the full term of six years from that date."—Chicago "Inter-Ocean."

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### DR. WOOLSEY ON MEXICO.

New Haven, Nov. 9.—Dr. Theodore S. Woolsey, professor of international law at Yale, said to-night in discussing the Mexican situation that armed intervention was utterly inexpedient. He added:

"The question of intervention in the case of Mexico is really connected with the other question of the recognition of Huerta as a constitutional President.

"Our usage in such a case is to allow sufficient time to elapse to make sure that an incumbent is sufficiently backed by the will of the people to guarantee to us that he can carry out the obligations of his State.

"Thus Mr. Wilson is quite right in being slow to recognize Huerta. As soon as Huerta appears so firmly seated as to fulfil the requirements mentioned above he should be recognized, even if he is not a constitutional President or a virtuous man.

"Intervention is a denial of Mexican independence, which means the right to be let alone. It is largely a matter of policy to be excused only through the overwhelming necessity of self-defence.

"To intervene by force of arms if any other remedy is left untried is an error. To attempt intervention unless there is a promise of a successful issue to it is an error. Thus intervention, like revolution, to be justifiable must be successful.

"This is a simple statement of the general rules and of our usage governing recognition and intervention which everybody must apply to the facts for himself.

"Personally I should regard intervention as uncertain in its outcome, as a blow to our prosperity, as utterly inexpedient. In dealing with Mexico we need patience and then more patience. —New York "Sun."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### DRIFTING TOWARD WAR.

The impression is steadily gaining ground in Washington that the forcible intervention of the United States in Mexico is inevitable. It is explained by apologists for President Wilson that he has exhausted every peaceful means to bring about the retirement of Huerta, and having repudiated in advance the result of the Mexican elections, the voluntary effacement of Huerta can alone stay the drift towards war.

If this is the best that can be said in justification of President Wilson's course —and it is the best that is said—he has brought our relations with Mexico to such a point that the head of that republic must either efface himself at foreign dictation, or the President of this republic must admit his mistake and change his policy. It is held to be unlikely that President Wilson will confess his error of judgment by reversing himself; while men who know Huerta declare that he will never retire unless he is forced to. **What a deplorable outcome of a futile and foolish diplomacy!**

Let us assume in advance that our President is sincerely desirous of pacifying Mexico and preserving peace between the countries. Let us assume that he is wholly uninfluenced by any consideration so unworthy as that war would popularize his Administration. Conceding his good intentions and examining his policy on its merits we find him insisting that Mexico ought to have a government of a certain kind instead of the one she has. Having prejudiced the case and expressed himself with emphatic positiveness on the subject, he talks and acts as if he would sooner see the two countries drift into war than to abandon or modify his position. * * *

Even if the President's estimate of Huerta does him no injustice, does that fact confer on us the right to interfere? But the truth is that more than twenty Americans who have resided in Mexico for from six to thirty years have issued a statement that our Administration is misinformed, misled and miserably ignorant of the aims and character of Huerta, and the desires and needs of Mexico. **A war between these two countries would be unholy and calamitous; it ought to be unthinkable; and if it comes it will be due to the obstinate persistence of our Administration in a mistaken course.**—Rochester (N. Y.) "Post-Express."

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**A war with Mexico, even if right were on our side, might multiply a thousand fold the suffering and privation in that unhappy country; while a war "to save a face" and make good an amateurish innovation in diplomacy would embitter every State to the south of us in the two Americas and discredit us in the eyes of the world as a nation of pretenders whose practice falls short of its professions.**—Rochester (N. Y.) "Post Express."

### THE MISTAKE.

The mistake made by our government in the beginning was in not recognizing Huerta as the "de facto" ruler of Mexico, without inquiring into his personal or official character and the legality of his title. It was necessary to have somebody at the head of the Mexican Government to hold responsible but now there is none. And as to character, when has there been an honest constitutional election in Mexico?

We have nothing to do with the morals or the politics of the Mexican people. We demand that in our relations with their government there should be mutual order and fairness in our exchanges of commerce and that all associations and intercourse should be peaceful and amicable, and we should be ready at all times to resist injustice and resent wrong treatment of any sort.

**As it is we will make our diplomacy a ridiculous farce, possibly to end in a prolonged and bloody tragedy.**—New Orleans "Daily Picayune."

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### HAS THE ADMINISTRATION ANY POLICY TOWARD MEXICO?

There will be no objection to the President's disclaimer of a short time limit ultimatum to General Huerta. There will, on the contrary, be a general feeling of relief at the passing of an ominous prospect. For in the possible contingency of General Huerta's refusal such an ultimatum would confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war, **and this country does not want either.** If the Mexican problem can be satisfactorily disposed of without incurring such risks there will be cause for profound gratification and the nation will give ungrudging credit to whom it is due.

The question inevitably arises, however, whether this new turn of the kaleidoscope means prudence or something far less creditable; and **for that question the Administration has only itself to blame.** Although it has been the recipient of such patient courtesy and loyal support as few others have ever known, it has failed thus far to convince the country of the fact that it has a comprehensive and efficient grasp of the situation, or that it has toward Mexico a policy worthy of the traditions of American diplomacy. The country has not been able to rid itself of the idea that the Administration is or has been drifting, waiting for something to turn up and **looking upon some of the gravest responsibilities of government much as Mr. Bryan has seemed to look upon the socio-diplomatic exploitation of Mr. Pindell, of Peoria.**

It is said to be the resolute determination of the Administration that "Huerta must go." But has the Administration any definite plan for enforcing its mandate? Is it convinced, and can it convince this nation and the world that it has the moral and legal right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Mexico so far as to dictate who shall or at least who shall not be President in that country, and that it would be justified in going to war to enforce its decree? **If not, there is grave reason for doubting the wisdom of a policy which consists of declaiming unenforceable commands.** * * * —New York "Tribune."

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### WHY KEEP UP THE MEXICAN MYSTERY?

President Wilson owes it to the whole country to emerge from the secrecy of his Mexican policy and make a frank and authoritative statement of the situation.

It is an obvious outrage that the business of the nation should be depressed by persistent rumors and predictions of war if, as a matter of fact, there is no reasonable ground for these alarms.

**The people are entitled to know what is going on behind the doors at Washington.**

Has the Wilson Administration any plans for the immediate future of the Mexican question? Or is the government still drifting?

There should be no more mystery about the matter, and Mr. Wilson is making a serious mistake in treating this grave problem as a matter of personal policy when he should take the country into his confidence, present the facts as they are, and say what he thinks should be done if he things anything should be done.

If we are preparing for intervention in Mexico, direct or indirect, the country should have plain notice, so that it can prepare its affairs for the possible shocks of war. If not, President Wilson should say so over his signature.—New York "Evening Mail."

**No mere continuance of refusal to recognize the acts of Huerta or those who govern through the same arbitrary use of power will suffice.** The Administration faces the necessity for declaring a constructive policy, and not merely a negative one or one of annoying, but ineffective, interference. Something radically different from the attitude of the past will have to be announced, to induce the European governments, now awaiting word from Washington, to refrain from doing the perfectly obvious in their diplomacy, that of recognizing whatever government is in power and has the most potentiality for retaining it and restoring peace.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### MEXICO AS SHE IS.

To the Editor of the New York "Tribune":

In your People's Column of the 6th is a statement as regards the Mexican siuation by Mr. Samuel L. Parrish.

For his summing up of the status of the ordinary Mexican, the ratio between the intelligent and the ignorant, I can personally vouch from many professional trips to Mexico. It is the most accurate summing up of conditions in Mexico that I have ever seen anywhere. His inference that follows logically, that a free election is absolutely impossible, is the only one that can be drawn. His conclusion, that Huerta should have been recognized, can be only an opinion. Be that as it may, I heartily agree with him.

Personally I would be willing to sign my name to his article as it was published and without changing so much as a puctuation mark.

FRANK L. NASON.

West Haven, Conn., Nov. 6, 1913.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### "CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

President Wilson, commenting on the Mexican situation, observed that "all Government rests on the consent of the governed." The remark, intended as a rebuke to Huerta for refusing to resign, was really a timeworn truism, a schoolmaster's platitude. Like all proverbs and platitudes, it is superficially accurrate. It doesn't do to accept it too literally.

No Government yet ever enjoyed the consent of all the governed. If it rested on the consent of a bare majority, the people were in luck. The present Democratic Government draws its authority not from the wishes of the people, but through an unfortunate schism in the ranks of the Republicans. It has just passed a new tariff law, certainly not with the consent of California. And yet the interests of California are vitally affected for the worse by the reduced duty on oranges and lemons. Wilson's rule may be as oppressive in the Southwest as Huerta's power is in Northern Mexico. We acquiesce in the present Democratic regime because we have to. Many Mexicans are acepting Huerta for the same reason.

Government depends on the consent of the governed, but only as long as the Government is carried on with vigor, consistency and straight dealing. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of people in every country are governed without any "by your leave" or "with your permission." Our loyalty to our country leads us to accept many things that our natural inclinations don't consent to. In the last analysis Government rests on the "because-you-have to" of the governed. We have to accept the heavy burden imposed on our citrus industry. We do not in consequence demand the immediate removal of President Wilson because he is ruling without the consent of the governed.

**When a certain limit of endurance has been reached, the American people will vote Mr. Wilson back to his job as schoolmaster.** When a certain limit of endurance has been reached in Mexico, the people will unite to elect once more a President by popular ballot. As long as a majority refuse to be governed except by the sword (the present condition of Mexico), it is impossible for any central authority to receive the consent of the governed. There are too many men who would rather fight than vote.—Los Angeles "Times."

### CARRANZA FAVORED.

President Wilson looks not with disfavor upon the claims and pleas of Carranza, chieftain of the rebels fighting Huerta. His men have murdered and destroyed for months, but he kneels in supplication before the college chair that was moved into the White House last March. Mr. Wilson, so it is said, and perhaps there is truth in it since he personally receives reporters, will soon decide whether or not he will recognize Carranza. Perhaps at present he is looking up the rebel chieftain's moral status—if he doesn't smoke cigarettes and never beat up his wife the chance seems to be pretty good that the embargo on arms will be lifted.—Los Angeles "Times."

### IN GERMANY.

(Special Cable Despatch to the N. Y. "Sun.")

Berlin, Nov. 8.—The attitude of the German press is increasingly hostile toward the United States in the Mexican controversy.

Prof. Delbrueck, the famous historian and political writer, said to The "Sun" correspondent: "Who gave the United States the overlordship of the Western Hemisphere? By what right, moral or otherwise, does the United States interfere in Mexico and dictate who is to be President

"No right exists. There is no question but might, which is not changed by the fact that the people themselves and civilization in general probably will be served thereby. It is much as if Germany insisted that the Russians could not have Nicholas for the Czar because Jewish murders were committed and convicts are scourged with the knout in Siberia, under his administration. It is this broad principle of precedence, however humane, laid down in the Spanish War that is again arousing not only the German press and people, but England and France. The great Powers are jealous of one another. None has grown so rapidly or added so much territory to itself in the past century as the United States. Whether rightly or wrongly the impression prevails to-day that the fall of Diaz and the subsequent revolutions were financed and furthered by Americans for the purpose of clearing the way for intervention, a protectorate and annexation.

"The United States is laying down a principle which is bound to have a tremendous influence in shaping future history. We can readily understand President Wilson's reluctance to undertake what seems to be inevitable as long as be maintains his policy not to recognize Huerta or any one of the latter's party. The task which faces him is an enormous one and the world will watch his course with the keenest interest."

Count Reventlow, the famous naval critic and political representative of the Pan-Germanic League said to the correspondent of The "Sun":

"The German press cannot understand why Huerta, who has shown himself the strongest man in Mexico, cannot be left in office and have a fair opportunity to establish order. The impression prevails that the United States is responsible for the downfall of Gen. Porfirio Diaz and that it financed the subsequent revolutions to weaken Mexico and make intervention necessary and conquest easy. I do not say that this is my view, but it cannot be denied that it exists in the great portion of the German press.

"The anti-American sentiment, if you call it so, is further fed by the vacillating policy and apparent aimlessness of the American Government. If President Wilson cannot be persuaded to recognize Huerta then he should make known some definite policy regarding what America can and will do and immediately set to work to carry it out to the end. This would go far to restore confidence and good faith in the United States. As it is, President Wilson refuses to do what seems to Germans the only logical thing, namely, to recognize Huerta. Yet he does not say what his intentions are or how he expects to establish order and restore commerce."

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It was a mistake not to have recognized Huerta at the start as the de facto executive, just as other countries did. Had that course been taken there would have been a much better chance to put down the various revolutionary movements. Our mistaken idea that constitutional methods must be adhered to in a country where the people have not the remotest notion as to what constitutionalism and representative government mean, has greatly augmented the evil and may yet cost us much blood and treasure if intervention be undertaken.—New Orleans "Picayune."

### AMERICANS SAFE.

Joseph Wheless, an attorney, upon his return to St. Louis, last night after a business trip of six weeks through Southern Mexico, declared:

"I found bitter feeling against the United States on account of the policy of the Government, but in my opinion, the individual American, as an American, is not in any personal danger.

"I have been in Mexico ten times in the last three years, and am convinced that the Diaz type of Government is the only kind for that country.

"Between 1821 and 1876, Mexico had sixty different rulers, and then Diaz took charge and kept it more or less peaceful for thirty-two years.

"There are no political parties in Mexico, only personal parties, with groups following this or that leader."

Mr. Wheless lives at 6152 Washington avenue and maintains offices in Mexico. —St. Louis "Republic."

### MEXICO REFUGEES BLAME WILSON.

Among those who fled on the Esperanza were Hiram Hixon, his wife and their three children and Mr. and Mrs. John Collins and their four children. The homes of both families are in Philadelphia.

Hixon was the superintendent of La Aurora mine, near Teziutlan, in the Province of Puebla. Collins is an official of another mine in the same province. The two men said that before they fled from their posts bandits under Emiliano Zapata raided their mines, seized Dr. Mondet, an Englishman, and John Edwards, an English boy, beat them into insensibility and then decided to shoot the boy, who had refused to tell where silver was hidden.

Hixon said he believed there would be little trouble in Mexico if President Wilson had recognized Huerta long ago. Huerta, he said, could have restored law and order in Mexico. But the attitude of the United States, Hixon declared, encouraged anarchy in Mexico.

"Huerta could have borrowed money and united the Republic," he said.

"On October 20 a band of Zapatistas visited the mining camp. They tortured Dr. Mondet, an Englishman, and John Edwards, an English boy, and afterward took $500 and rifles and ammunition. Those bandits were about on a par with your New York gunmen and gangsters. They were not soldiers; they were merely robbers.

"Something drastic must be done in Mexico. President Wilson had the opportunity of his administration months ago, but refused to take it. If he had recognized Huerta all would now be peaceable in Mexico."—N. Y. "Evening Journal."

### DISAGREES WITH THE "WORLD."

To the Editor of the New York "World":

As an old reader of your paper, allow me to tell you frankly that your editorials on Mexico stand in ridiculousness next to the Wilson-Bryan policies. I do not think that one single American who knows Mexico will approve you. That would not matter if the policy of our Government had not already cost hundreds of Mexican lives and millions' worth of property, and did not promise to cost thousands of American lives. By placing yourself on a point where you can have no view of Mexico, and by talking about something you know nothing about, you merely make fools of ourselves and do harm to the other fellow.

CHAS. GRANDPIERRE.

Mount Vernon, N. Y., Nov. 7.

### WHAT NEXT?

When Special Representative John Lind was sent to Mexico to tell President Huerta as diplomatically as possible what he should and should not do, it was loudly proclaimed from Washington that all European Governments were in hearty accord with the Administration programme of diplomatic intervention, something new in American diplomacy, which had hitherto not intervened in Mexican political affairs. Under the developments of the situation this claim of sympathetic co-operation has gradually been changed to a frank admission of actual hostility on the part of European chancelleries to the American—or, more properly speaking the Wilson-Bryan—policy of meddling in such a way as to prolong strife and increase confusion, instead of bringing peace and orderly Government. It is possible the Administration believed the European Governments were in accord with it, but if so it was because of inexperience in diplomacy and ignorance of the courtesy and delicacy of expression which marks it. — St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### BLAMES PRESIDENT WILSON.

(Special to The New York "Times.")

ITHACA, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Dr. Andrew D. White, ex-Ambassador to Germany and Russia, who celebrated his eighty-first birthday Saturday, said to-day that he feared a war with Mexico and criticised President Wilson.

"President Wilson has got himself into a great difficulty by saying what he could do and would not do in case certain things happened," said Dr. White. "Although the South American countries may seem in accord with our measures they really are unfavorable to the policy which the United States has adopted toward the Central American countries."

### ASKS POWERS TO PROTEST.

(By Cable to the N. Y. "Tribune.")

Paris, Nov. 9.—The "Temps," commenting on Mexico, says:

"Taking the government from Huerta and intrusting it to Carranza would be going from Scylla to Charibdis.

"The European powers, whose interests are identical on the question of Mexico, should make it understood at Washington that humanity has nothing to gain by the armed intervention of the United States. This would mean danger to all foreigners, interminable guerilla warfare and still greater sacrifices on the part of European interests.

"As for putting the power into the hands of such Constitutionalists as Henry Lane Wilson describes the result would be worse anarchy than at present."

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The aggressive attitude of our Government toward Mexico has no justification whatsoever, and such is the prevailing sentiment in each and every one of the Latin-American countries in which, because of lack of tact in our statesmen, a feeling of dislike and misconfidence toward the United States is growing stronger every minute.

Why should the United States gratuitously encroach on the right of a defenceless Latin-American country guilty of no other sin than that of having inadvertently fallen a prey to the underhand work of American intrigues?

If our Executive, who seems to be moved by thought of the highest political morals, means to be sincere and fair, why not, with all the means within his reach, start an investigation to ascertain the causes that brought about the fall of Porfirio Diaz and with it the fatal end of an era of forty years of peace and prosperity? If such an investigation is made and made diligently and in good faith, it will be shown that the Diazes, the Maderos and the Huertas have merely been actors in the drama, and that the playwrights are to be found on this side of the Rio Grande.

If we not only encourage revolutions in Latin-American countries, but even go so far as to facilitate the means to start them, I believe that we have no right to raise a voice of protest at this time against the conditions that prevail in Mexico.

JOHN F. BRISTOL.

New York City, Nov. 8, 1913, in the N. Y. "Herald."

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: It is a well-known fact that American bullets and supplies of all kinds from this side of the frontier keep up the flames of revolution, and for this reason all persons in Mexico who see their property destroyed from day to day—natives and foreigners alike—most earnestly desire that the American Government take energetic steps to stop, within its territory, this traffic in arms and supplies of war.

It is a well-known fact that a new modification of the Monroe Doctrine as propounded by Mr. Roosevelt declared that "Chronic Disorder" in any of the countries of this hemisphere would justify intervention by the United States. The grave danger of this new doctrine is at once apparent, for who shall determine when a state of "chronic disorder" exists? And what if the "chronic disorder" be fomented from within the territory of the United States? When a situation which might demand intervention according to the above doctrine is of such easy production, who shall blame the countries that lie to the south if they continue suspicious of their powerful neighbor of the north?

It is a well-known fact that ever since 1910 Mexican revolutions have been hatched within the United States, and the revolutionary factions have had no difficulty in securing arms and ammunition in any quantity, thus proving my assertion that the neutrality laws are not properly enforced. If the United States really desires, entirely from moral and altruistic motive, to promote the good of the Mexican people, they will secure it best by complying with the duty of effectually enforcing neutrality rather than offering to perform something for other nations which cannot be performed.

Baltimore, Md. C. METUSA.

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### THE PROFESSOR IN MEXICO.

Sir: What is it that the dear professor wants in Mexico Will some one kindly enlighten me as to what earthly business it is of his to meddle in the affairs of another nation?

His schoolboy tactics have gone far enough. Do the people of the United States intend to sit quietly by and allow this accidental President to force a war upon them without one word of protest? But for Wilson's self-sufficiency and obstinacy all this trouble could have been avoided. There are those who may think his high sounding words have a ring of sincerity, but his actions prove to the contrary.

There are many who know Mexico and Mexicans, but it is a well known fact that Wilson will listen to no one whose opinions do not agree with his. He accepts the views of one John Lind in preference to those of Americans who have spent from ten to thirty years in the Mexican Republic.

Now, I, as an American, ask: "Who is behind Wilson?"

The members of the rebel junta can get what they want to Wilson and in the press. The Madero family are striving to regain power. Meetings have been frequent right in this city between the Maderos and the rebel advisers. Our so-called neutrality laws are a farce, and our border patrol as good as nothing.

What is Wilson's object All this talk about the morality part is bosh. Does he want Zapata? Or, perhaps, he has a leaning towards the bandit Villa as President of Mexico. The whole Mexican affair is a disgrace to this country. Are we to be forced into a war to sacrifice the lives of thousands of Americans to satisfy the egotism of a one-idea man who has not the courage to retire from an untenable position?

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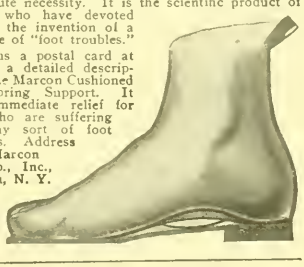

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# "MEXICO"

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## THE WAR THAT IS.

What organized opposition exists against the government of President Huerta is in Washington, D. C. Its instigators have the ear of the Administration. The Administration holds the key to the press of the country. And the press of the country forms the opinion of the majority of the people. The inspired stories that come from Washington discrediting or attempting to discredit the Mexican Government, and suggesting day after day and week after week American support of rebellion, are designed to keep the whole Mexican situation in a turmoil out of which it is hoped finally that the Maderist group who brought all this trouble to Mexico may again find a way to power with American assistance and for the benefit of Big Interests in this country.

President Wilson may not be a conscious party to this colossal conspiracy to wreck a country if necessary to gain the mercenary ends of the conspirators. Secretary Bryan may not be a conscious party to the conspiracy. **But conspiracy there is and the attitude and the acts of the Administration officials fit in perfectly with its purposes.**

It does not require more than ordinary perspicacity to see that the object of this daily agitation against the Mexican Government is to prevent it from getting financial assistance. In every way possible the conspirators must give the world the impression that there is and can be no stability in the Huerta Government. Every necessary executive move of the Mexican President must be branded as the intolerable action of a bloodthirsty dictator. Every looting of a Mexican town by bands of brigands must be hailed as a glorious victory for the Constitution. Every obstacle must be put in the way of Huerta's plans to restore peace, and then he must be viciously attacked for inability to do it. The political schemes of ambitious men must be supported and encouraged to embarass Huerta and then he must be condemned for taking forceful measures to block their plots.

**There is a war against Mexico fought daily in Washington, D. C.** It is a vindictive war without quarter. It is a war called Moral Suasion, but in reality Immoral Pressure. Its leaders do not come out into the open to fight. They work underground. Their ammunition is the written falsehood. Their commissariat is furnished by Big Interests. Their war balloons are canards to shape public opinion. **Their artillery is Money.**

And to think that the flower of American young manhood may be called upon to continue this unholy war. That while those who have instigated it and inspired its motives will sit back and complacently watch others fight the real battle, thousands of American soldiers will have their bodies punctured and torn with bullets and shrapnel; thousands of American homes will mourn the loss of father, son or husband. War is worse than what General Sherman called it. And we are headed for just that as sure as the tides.

If there is to be war with Mexico, American troops and the American people will not be fighting for a national ideal, for a humanitarian cause, or for national expansion and development. They will be fighting for:

**The personal temperament and theories of President Wilson.**

**The incompetence, or worse, of Secretary Bryan.**

**The gumshoe activities of an ex-reverend, William Bayard Hale.**

**The Mexican interests of Senator Fall, of New Mexico.**

**The Mexican interests of the Phelps-Dodge Company.**

**The Mexican property of William Randolph Hearst.**

**The interests of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, now the Pierce Oil Corporation.**

**The Madero family and clique.**

If the people of the United States can see anything inspiring in making war on a weaker nation for such persons and purposes, then history has not written true the honor, character, justice and fairness of the American people.

There would be nothing glorious in such a war. In the years to follow, when the truth of the present situation would be clear, Americans would hang their heads in shame, to think that they had attempted to destroy a friendly neighboring nation on such small and sordid grounds.

The Washington Administration has already gone to much unwarranted limits in seeking to justify its entirely wrong Mexican policy that war may be inevitable, now that the nation is committed and the impression given that a backdown by President Wilson would be humiliating to the country. But it is a shame that our Mexican relations should have been determined by an intolerant and self-opinionated mind and at the mercy of a shifty politician for whom the salary of Secretary of State was not sufficient.

## A WORD OF WARNING.

Husky, virile youth squares its shoulders and thrusts out a jaw of defiance to the forces of life and death. The knowledge of growing power is impatient of restraint. Physical expansion and muscular development are reflected in a spirit of rough-and-ready egotism. The weakness of others is a matter of either indifference or irritation. The cup of experience is sipped with a satisfied smacking of full red lips. Those who have drunk to the dregs smile cynically at the satisfaction, but youth shoves them aside.

Ours is a youthful nation, with all the virility and expansiveness of youthful health. We feel strong enough to fight and conquer the whole world. We are conscious of our might among nations, the might not so much of standing armies as of natural resources. Drunk with the inspiration of health and strength, it is not unlikely that we may lose sight of the limitations of physical life. We may forget that there are finer and more lasting values than the value of power. That the standard of might must in the end give way to the standard of right. That as we set our standard before the world so shall the world deal with us.

If the spirit of might above right shall prevail in our nation, if we determine to impose by force our arbitrary demands on weaker nations, is it not possible that the other strong nations of the world, shoved about and jostled in our bull-like charge, might retaliate in kind? If we should, for instance, because we have the power, destroy or attempt to destroy the nationality of Mexico, could we in reason expect any different treatment in the future from any stronger nation or coalition of nations? Force breeds force. Fire must be fought with fire.

Fortunately for civilization and the ideals of mankind there is a spirit of peace and justice inspiring the motives of men and nations that is more powerful than the law of might. We owe it to the progress of civilization and to our happy future to manifest this spirit today in our dealings with Mexico.

## MOVING PICTURES.

In moving pictures the Mexican is invariably represented as a skulking, treacherous "greaser." There are bad and vicious Mexicans just as there are bad and vicious of every race. But is it fair to depict a whole people in the terms of its lowest element? The hardest thing in the world to destroy is a national or racial prejudice, and such prejudices often cause the misunderstandings that lead to unnecessary war The moving pictures of knife-wielding Mexicans and fiction characters of a similar type have done and are doing much to perpetuate an absolutely unjust popular conception of the Mexican native.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## The Man Behind the Gun

Z—z—z—z—z—ping! The bullet flies to its human target and the dull impact is heard across the Rio Grande. The machine guns reap their swath of human grain. The dull, pounding roar of heavy artillery beats sickeningly against the ear drums and the work and life of man topple. Bodies are torn by lead and blown to atoms by bursting shells. Cities and towns are looted, and drunken hordes set back a nation centuries of civilization. Crowning all the saturnalia of savagery, women and girls are ravished, the virtues of life are flung into the dung-heap of human passion.

While a man in Washington plots and smiles.

Plots! Plots to be a figure in history, the alpaca-coated Commoner who rose from the hysteria of Boy Orator of the Platte to the dignity of the Circus Sawdust, the companion of yodlers, the enemy of wealth who publicly invited contributions to his store, the interpreter of the Prince of Peace who has brought an honorable nation to the verge of a dishonorable war.

Plots to be a subtle diplomat, the man whose subtleties of brain have been read and analyzed in the laboratories of far subtler chemists of finance, and found so elemental that for the joy of the game they would prefer a more difficult, more complex solution of acid intention and oily hypocrisy.

Plots, maybe, without admitting the plot to himself, most futile and dangerous of plotters, for his ignorance of his own intentions is a buffer against his jelly conscience, but does not deceive the searchers of motives.

Plots politically, banking on the superficial tolerance of a people absorbed in the daily round of work and affairs, half-amused at the mountebank, half-indifferent to his mouthings.

Plots against his chief, a man of little faith, and makes him believe that a crime against another nation is a virtue if it holds a political party together.

Plots to hold power with the bitterness of a man who has been denied power for many years, a beggar on horseback.

Plots, simple fool, because a woman in widow's weeds has convinced him that thousands of American lives are as nothing to a clever woman's alleged wrongs.

Smiles on the world and whispers: "Peace be with you!"

Plots in his heart and traps us in war.

Ping! The bullet flies to its human target. The machine gun reaps it swath of human grain. Women are ravished.

While a man in Washington plots and smiles.

## DEARLY BELOVED OF

# BRYAN

While a shudder of horror has reverberated from El Paso to the remotest corners of the Northern Continent at the wanton murders of Juarez, peace-preaching Bryan must have yodled with delight at the outcome of his "constitutional" Mexican policies.

It would be difficult to tell who was the more surprised at this general feeling of revulsion, whether Bryan or one of his beloved rebel leaders, Pancho Villa. For both knew that the Juarez murders were as childish pranks compared to the orgies of blood and rapine in which the rebels have revelled for many months.

Why, Bryan must have volumes of reports describing his proteges' deeds. Violation of hundreds of young women, among them two American girls, torturing of prisoners and innocent non-combatants, wanton murders, indescribable horrors, all of these has been known to the staunch friend of the "constitutionalist" cause!

But the sickening muffled sounds of shots mowing down innocent lives were within hearing of an American town and the fact that the so-called rebels are nothing but savage bandits was finally brought home to the people of this country.

And yet we learn only eleven men were reported killed in Juarez and they were not even tortured.

Now read the following carefully:

> El enemigo tuvo las siguientes: Levantados en el campo, 72 muertos y 4 heridos que pasaron al hospital; COLORADOS ejecutados de conformidad con el Decreto que pone en vigor la Ley de 25 de Enero de 1862, doscientos treinta y siete; prisioneros federales mandados poner en libertad, (12) doce, habiéndose perdonado la vida a los que pertenecían al Cuerpo de artillería, que causaron alta en las fuerzas de mi mando.
>
> En completa disersión y en

TRANSLATION.

The enemy suffered the following losses:

Found on the field 72 dead and 4 wounded who went to the hospital. REDS executed according to the decree that invalidates the law of January 25, 1862, TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY SEVEN. Twelve of the federal prisoners were given their liberty and their lives were spared because pertaining to the artillery corps. They were incorporated to the forces at my command.

The foregoing is part of a report made by Villa to his supreme chief, Carranza, after Villa had surprised a much superior force, a small detachment of the Federal Auxiliary Corps under Terrazas, at San Andres, State of Chihuahua. This report was printed by constitutionalist newspapers on the border for the edification of their followers with the prowess of one of their generals, the infamous Pancho Villa.

The REDS is the name given by rebels to the Federals. Bear in mind that the engagement referred to here was one of the minor engagements of the revolution and that the number of prisoners who met the same fate was much larger at Torreon.

Also that the murdering of prisoners is the least manifestation of the rebels' savagery. For the killing of wounded prisoners and the assaulting of women and young girls before their husbands or fathers who are forced to look on are—we believe—and here we don't know whether Bryan agrees with us—more to be condemned than the murdering of prisoners.

Bryan's bandit friends have embarrassed him shockingly. It was very unkind of Pancho Villa and his horde to swoop down in the dead of night on Juarez, where the El Pasoans from across the river could see in the flesh the patriots whom the Great Commoner has taken to his bosom. The daily records of the State Department bore ample evidence of the viciousness and the

(Continued on next page.)

# WAR UNLESS——

It is war. You can't get away from it. It is not conceivable that any nation would dare intervene in the affairs of another sovereign nation, as we have done in Mexico, unless with the intention to back the interference with arms. An Eastern tenderfoot who would go into a Western mining camp, walk up to a two-gun man and tell him the cut of his face was not a la Eastern mode, is chockfull of wisdom in comparison with the head of a nation who takes the same attitude toward the head of another nation—**unless he's ready with the quick drop and the hair-trigger.**

Of course when it's a question of fight this country is going to fight—and fight straight and true to the finish.

But do we want to fight? Ask anybody you know about this Mexican affair and the chances are a hundred to one that he does not believe that there will be war and, what is more to the point, he does not see any reason why there should be war.

There will be war and there should not be war. There will be war as the logical result of our intervention in Mexico. **We have intervened.** We have intervened in Mexico from the day that John Lind was sent down there with impossible proposals to a government that this country did not even recognize. We presumed to dictate to that government what it should and what it should not do. Maybe President Wilson and Secretary Bryan thought that the mere expression of their will would make any government bow, any ruler tremble. Maybe they did. Maybe they didn't. **Maybe they just didn't know what they were doing.** It was said at that time that John Bassett Moore, the State Department's authority on international law, tried to call a halt. If he did, he was overridden, anyhow, and John Lind and William Bayard Hale were on their way to shape the destiny of nations.

**And they shaped it beautifully**—with the assistance of the Great Commoner, maudlin over the death of two Mexicans.

Shaped it so that there is seemingly no retreat for the great and powerful United States of America from an inglorious war with a smaller nation that may be won at a tremendous cost of life and saddle the country with a staggering debt for years to come.

A child with the spirit of patriotism could have told Wilson, Bryan, Lind and Hale that to demand the elimination of Huerta as President of Mexico would have no other effect but to strengthen him in his position and his determination not to accede to so dictatorial a proposition. There must be some patriotism in Mexico. We are not the only people with national ideals—and prejudices. If any nation in the world, any ten nations, with land and naval forces that in combination could sweep this country off the map, presumed to dictate to our President or our Congress or our people what they should or should not do in the manner assumed by President Wilson toward the only Government of Mexico, would we yield, would we abjectly surrender our nationality, our sovereignty, our independence as a nation?

How can we expect anything else in Mexico? Why, even Carranza the other day rejected American mediation, knowing the temper of the Mexican people.

**Huerta's attitude toward the Washington Administration, instead of being a cause of war, should win our admiration for his manhood, his patriotism, his national spirit. He's a foe worthy of better steel than Bryan is using against him. "Financial blockade." "Starving him out!" Pouf! There are men and there are men.**

---

**The Administration's Mexican policy is a "peace policy."**

* * *

**Strange that the logical end of it should be war.**

* * *

**There must have been some hitch.**

* * *

**Why doesn't Bryan go down to Juarez now while Villa's bandits are there, deliver a Cross of Gold speech, and appeal to them in the name of the Prince of Peace to drop their arms and cease their butcheries?**

## DEARLY BELOVED---Continued

criminality of the band, its leader and their performances. Bryan knew of the deeds of pillage and rapine in Durango, Torreon and Gomez Palacio. He could press a button on his desk and within a few minutes have in front of him facts about Villa and his savage crew that would bring the blush of shame to the face of a wife-beater.

**Bryan knew but the people of the United States did not know except in a vague way.**

For have they not been told from Washington that these allies of Carranza were patriots fighting like heroes for the constitution of their native land and against the usurpation of power by a bloodthirsty dictator? Then, inconsiderate wretches, they spoil the Administration's house of cards by coming so close to the American border that their savagery and cold-blooded villainy have been borne on the winds of the south as a stench to the nostrils of the people of the United States. And the revelation has played hob with the nice little game of William Bayard Hale, personal representative of President Wilson, parleying with Carranza not many miles away.

These are sorry days for the Administration leaders and agents who have explained or attempted to explain the President's attitude toward the Government of Mexico as one of deep, abiding morality. Why didn't that terrible Pancho Villa remain in the interior? Then the people of the United States could still be fooled and their sympathy aroused by calumnies and lies about Huerta and beautiful accounts of the self-sacrificing patriotism of the rebels.

It is noticable that the pro-Administration newspapers have done their best to ignore, belittle or condone the Juarez savagery, but the brutal truth is so obvious that their efforts have been in vain. Here are some of the sights and facts observed by the New York "Sun's" special correspondent:

Throughout Saturday rifles and pistols barked at short intervals and late Federal defenders of the border town crumpled up one by one in little silent heaps, while the present rebel possessors of the border port walked away to a nearby cantina for refreshment and to reload or hunt anew for some man against whom they bore a grudge or suspected of disloyalty to the Constitutionalist cause.

* * *

With Villa no prisoner is tried before he is executed. Villa either orders his execution as calmly and quickly as if he were ordering his horse saddled, or some subordinate decides that the execution is proper and carries it out.

Many of the executions last night were performed by one man, not by a firing squad. The victim was merely taken from the prison by a rebel soldier and in a few minutes a shot would be heard, the rebel soldier would return and the result was known wthout an investigation.

This method "littered the streets considerably," as one of the rebel officers admitted this morning.

* * *

Corpses of men executed on Saturday by the rebels are still lying uncovered in Juarez tonight. Twenty-seven bodies were hauled out in one wagon this morning to the little cemetery on the hill overlooking the town, but were not buried. To-night the rain is falling on them. The official explanation was that they were bodies of Federal defenders of the city who had been discovered in isolated fortifications. To the query of how bodies happened to be in the streets the rebel officers merely gave the usual Mexican answer—a shrug of the shoulders.

* * *

Mexicans interested in maintaining relations that are tolerable between El Paso and Juarez have persuaded Villa that it is not wise to bring any more of his mountaineers and plainsmen into the border town. The shops, the restaurants and the civilization of El Paso, it is feared, would prove too strong for the undisciplined rebel army and international complications might result.

Villa has ordered the others to remain south; he has told them that Chihuahua will be taken next and that then they will come into their own. Then there will be more prisoners to execute, more bull fights, more fiesta games and no prying foreigners to comment.

* * *

The body of Col. Enrique Portillo, Federal commander, executed yesterday, was stripped of trousers and shoes to-day by a rebel who needed them. He wore them to the bull fight.

**And these are our dear Constitutionalists.**

---

The Administration's Mexican policy is not supported by a united press and public, as the pages of adverse public opinion in this issue of MEXICO testify.

# Lest We Forget

Best thing in the world for Mexico that the El Paso people got a chance to see the Villa cutthroats and outlaws at close range.

* * *

It may put an end to this barbarous suggestion that we give them United States support.

* * *

Why doesn't Bryan go down to Juarez and look his bandit friends over?

* * *

We dare you, Mr. Secretary. Slip into Juarez unannounced and in disguise. When you have concluded your observations we shall agree with everything you say and publish it in MEXICO.

* * *

Seems that some Texas Senator did go across the Rio Grande the other day and tell Villa to "cut out the rough stuff"; that it was making a bad impression in the United States. The Senator's idea being that the impression created here is the important thing, not the brutal fact.

* * *

One Washington correspondent wires his paper that President Wilson is going to make a "clean breast" of this Mexican matter—when it's all settled.

* * *

We wonder.

* * *

The "Texas Republic" suggests facetiously that Colonel E. M. House, the Invisible Presence, should have been sent as President Wilson's confidential agent to Mexico to treat with Huerta. "Astrologer, necromancer, legerdemainist and all-round weird political magician that he is, a few of Ed's hypnotic passes before the deep-set eyes of the Dictator might have made a tractable mortal of him."

* * *

Oh, he's a genius, that fellow.

* * *

Huerta will resign. Huerta defies. Huerta will resign in 24 hours. Huerta defiant. Huerta must go. Huerta refuses to go. Huerta asked to give in to United States. Huerta gives in. Huerta doesn't give in—he does—he doesn't—he does—doesn't—does—doesn't—did—didn't—Katydid—Katydidn't.

* * *

This is what you call a Policy of Moral Suasion.

* * *

How long, O Lord, how long?

* * *

Conditions in Mexico are admittedly intolerable. Whence came the match that put the flame to the dry brush? From this side of the border. Who was and is in the best position to put out the conflagration? Huerta. Have we helped him? No, we have added fuel to the flames.

* * *

And they call that morality. Muchmaligned morality. There is such a thing as morality. There may be very little of it in the men fighting down in Mexico, but there's mighty less in the men egging on the fight from this country.

* * *

To those who know the true conditions in Mexico the moves of the Administration have not seemed to be blunders. It is inconceivable to them that sane men could make such blunders. On the contrary they have appeared to be deliberate, diabolical steps in a plan to destroy Mexico.

* * *

If the Administration has really blundered, then somebody else has done the planning and the Administration has been only an instrument.

* * *

There's a Master Mind—and it doesn't think "morality above expediency," either.

It was reported in Washington last week that when Huerta got out, new plans for the future of Mexico would be taken up in their proper order. But first Huerta must get out.

* * *

He must—must he?

* * *

Too bad he isn't a scary schoolboy who doesn't want to take home a poor report to his father.

* * *

Instead of a rugged old soldier, who has lived close to the crowd, who knows his people and every inch of his country like a book and does not theorize about things he does not know.

* * *

After Huerta—what?

* * *

No answer to that—but that blind, vindictive, unreasoning dislike for an individual must be satisfied, if the heavens fall.

* * *

They won't.

* * *

Unreasonable—no, worse than that, perverse.

# WHERE DID HE GET IT?

Americans who have lived in Mexico and know Mexico have come to us and said: "We have tried to tell the people in Washington what we know about conditions in Mexico. We certainly ought to know better than John Lind, of Minnesota, and ex-reverend William Bayard Hale. We have tried to see President Wilson and put our experience at his service and give him our opinion. We have been told that he would not see anybody about Mexico. We have gone to Bryan and met with nothing but insults when he learned that we had anything at stake in Mexico. It is outrageous. It is intolerable. Has an American with interests in another country no rights at all here? Is a man who knows actual facts to be passed up for imbecile theorists? What does it all mean? There are facts, there are conditions, there are things that we and we alone are in a position to tell about. Why is our information not wanted? Why are our motives questioned? Why is our advice not considered? Would it hurt to at least get the benefit of our experience, to listen to what we have to say, whether or not our conclusions were accepted? Have we no senses? Can we not see with our eyes, touch with our hands, hear with our ears? It must be either an embargo on knowledge or a conspiracy against truth. What is it?

God knows! What is it? Whatever it is, it can not be right, for right does not shun the light. The best we can name it is colossal egotism, but it is not reasonable to stop at that. The most colossal egotism would take delight in getting all the light possible on any question and then acting its own way. And it is a palpable fact that the Washington Administration does shun the light on this whole Mexican matter. Why? Why? Beware the shunners of light. Men have been in Mexico for years and have hesitated to give an offhand opinion of the condition, ailments, and likely cure of the country. Its problems are terribly complex—racial, international, political, economical, industrial. The Taft Administration had some inkling of the complexity and it is generally known that Mr. Taft volunteered to give Mr. Wilson the benefit of his experience and knowledge of the Mexican problem before turning it over to him. But Mr. Wilson was immersed in Jersey politics at the time and declined to be bothered with so alien a matter. But within a week or two after he took office he had the whole thing down pat. He knew it all. His mind was made up. He didn't want to learn anything more. There was nothing more to it.

Now, it is pertinent to ask where did he get this sudden information? What was the source of this omniscience which has tied the hands of the country from the beginning of the Administration and led it into pitfalls of international relations and may lead us into war?

Where did he get it?

# WASHYGRAMS

Roberto Pesquiera, a Sonora millionaire, son of one of the largest landowners in Sonora, is a new addition to the members of the rebel junta in Washington. When in New York Mr. Pesquiera stops at the Saint Regis. According to his own statements he is a fervent advocate of the Socialistic principles of the Madero revolution, one of them being that of division of large estates among the Indians and peons of Mexico. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Pesquiera favors the division of his enemies' lands and, like Madero, refuses to part with his own.

In a very amusing interview given to the New York "American" a few days ago he purported to demonstrate how Mexico's ills were due to the oil interests represented by Lord Cowdray. The interview is couched almost in the identical terms used by Captain Sherby Hopkins in Mexico during the summer of 1911 when he was there commissioned by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company "to make it hot" for the rival British company. The young millionaire who is fighting—in Washington—for the uplifting of his poor compatriots was well coached by the mentor Don Sherby. There is little doubt that indirectly at least the oil interests of Lord Cowdray have caused great harm in Mexico, for their breaking into the monopoly held by the Pierce interests marked the beginning of Mexico's troubles.

The young patrician apostle of the Mexican Constitution failed to disclose, however, what part the oil interests which supported Madero and are now supporting his—Pesquiera's—associates took in the starting of all these troubles. Poor Mexico, how much better off she would be if she were not so rich!

---

The news that Huerta has procured a loan through Pearson & Son, the great English firm of which Lord Cowdray is the head, is received with irritation here. If the report is true, Huerta has been given a new lease of life. Until now he has been financially embarrassed to a grave degree.

Agents of the Constitutionalists who reside in Washington say that the report of the loan is not true, that is was inspired by Huerta and that Huerta is actually nearing the end of his rope.—Washington Despatch.

Huerta's rope must be of a new kind, automatically stretching, for he has been reaching the end ever since last March, according to the self-styled constitutionalists.

---

The only Peace Association that has taken any interest at all in Mexican troubles is the International Peace Forum. And that through the old sychophant ex-Rev. Tupper, who is advocating as a peace measure the supplying of arms and ammunition to savage bandits and looters!

There could be no greater mistake than to assume that the Washington Government is giving its support to the Standard Oil or the Pierce interests as a primary consideration. It is doing nothing of the kind; it is merely taking the position that is dictated in part by the attitude of the British government, and in part—much the larger part, too—by considerations of simple humanity and honest concern for the people of Mexico.

It is very plain that Cowdray's establishment as the permanent financial dictatorship of Mexico would be inimical to the United States. This country cannot afford to see a vast concern like this, backed by and allied with the British government, come into domination of Mexico. We should be in danger of having a very real conflict over such a usurpation. The possibility of such a happening is not so remote as might be imagined. Indeed, while the general public discusses Mexico in terms of Carranza and Huerta, and Orozco, and Zapata, and Felix Diaz, and the rest of the pawns down there, the world of big affairs and inside views talks it in terms of naval power, of oil empire, of Cowdray, Pierce, Standard, and the real big things that stand behind and pull strings.—Judson C. Welliver, in Washington "Times."

Welliver ought to know how the strings are pulled. As a Munsey newspaper man he has in his humble way helped to pull some of them. Of course the Administration is not interested primarily in giving its support to the Standard Oil or the Pierce interests. Considerations of simple humanity and honest concern for the people of Mexico are the big factors. Oh, Welliver! Oh, Munsey.

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The acme of cynicism and unfairness has been reached by those partisan newspapers that now try to find a good reason for the non-recognition of the Huerta Government in the fact that President Huerta has not yet restored complete order in Mexico.

It is the consensus of opinion of all foreigners in Mexico, and all who know Mexico, that progress toward the establishment of peace has been hindered by non-recognition. Also by the material help which the rebels have found on this side of the Rio Grande and mainly by the support which the attitude of the Washington Administration toward the central government has given to all lawless elements in Mexico.

To a people with sporting blood and to lovers of fair play this must appear as the most contemptible phase of the Mexican muddle. If you put two men in the ring after having fed one with bear meat and starved the other would you villify the latter for not giving a knock-out blow to his adversary in the first round?

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While two ex-reverends, Hale and Tupper, are the most active figures in the Mexican muddle at present, very few real reverends have taken the trouble to look into the sufferings of a neighbor. Still fewer have given public signs of interest in the Mexican turmoil. It is so easy to say: "Love thy neighbor."

## SAME OLD WASHINGTON BUNK.

"Peace is assured in Mexico."

"President Wilson has made up his mind Huerta must go."

"The Monroe Doctrine has been reaffirmed."

"President Wilson has definitely made up his mind that Blanquet will not be recognized by the American Government."

"John Lind will repeat the admonitions previously given to General Huerta."

"Constitutional government must be established in Mexico."

"The embargo on the importation of arms and munitions of war into Mexico will be lifted."

"President Wilson is preparing to recognize the Constitutionalists in the pacification of Mexico."

Gentle reader, such is the news from Washington regarding the Mexican situation that has been printed forty times, is printed every day in the press dispatches that come out of Washington, and which will doubtless continue to be the bunk imposed upon the public for many days to come.

And the public is growing most weary of the Mexican subject. The newspapers are compelled to print this bunk daily, because it constitutes the bulk of their news dispatches, but there is not a conscientious editor in the entire country who does not groan in spirit daily, figuratively tear his hair and indulge in expletives when he is compelled to edit and hand out to the public with such unvarying regularity the same old bunk that is served out from Washington and elsewhere on the Mexican situation.

Some day, perhaps, there will be an end to all this, but we have indulged in such hope for more than three years, and grim-visaged war yet rages in ununhappy Mexico.—El Paso "Times."

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## SPEAKING OF VOTES.

Among the flying rumors from below the Rio Grande is one that Huerta will call a new election, when he gets to it, and try to get a vote out big enough to disarm criticism at Washington. It is possible to regard this announcement as an expedient to gain time; but if he holds the election it ought not to be very difficult to make as good a vote showing as is made in many of our Southern States. The congressmen from the South are getting wary of late years, and no longer append the vote cast in their districts to their biographies in the Congressional directory. It provoked flippant remark when it appeared that a half dozen representatives from Mississippi, for example, were chosen at elections in which only ten or twelve thousand votes were cast in all their districts put together. Exact figures are therefore not at hand, yet the whole state of Florida, with a population of 752,619, cast only 40,896 votes last year on all three tickets for congressman at large, while 40,418 votes were cast in one congressional district of Monroe county, the thirty-eighth, which elected the Hon. Thomas B. Dunn. Perhaps the Mexican states which are fairly pacified can do as well as Florida, if Huerta sends out his spell-binders in a special effort to get out the vote.—Rochester "Post-Express.

## SHALLOW MINDS.

In dealing with countries and peoples, whose national moral sense expressed in their governmental activities do not average high, historic experience has taught us that if one thing is more certain than another it is this—that moral appeals are futile unless backed by military force and a courage and ability to use it as a last resort. The recent history of the Balkan States is an acute modern instance of this truth; and because the appeals and threats of Europe were known to be insincere and merely words and script the case of the Balkan Kingdoms is worse to-day than when they rushed to arms to rend Turkey. Wilson-Bryan diplomacy in Mexico is on all fours with that of the Powers in the Balkans, except that Europe is too sophisticated to play the Pharisee or to imagine a dictator can be disarmed and destroyed by a platitude. **President Wilson was never more essentially and wearisomely the pedagogue than in this Mexican affair and the incarnate shallowness and inefficiency of Bryan diplomacy could not be more poignantly illustrated.** Between the two they have made the United States the laughing stock of the world. To announce grandiloquently the super-moral policy of non-intervention may have delighted the Chautauquas and women's clubs; but to supplement it by the constant clatter of a neighborhood scold was neither dignified nor diplomatic. To refuse recognition to Huerta was entirely within the President's power; to hope to drive a dictator from a power he had waded through blood to secure was sheer poppycock. Backing and filling, threatening and moralizing, have brought neither peace to Mexico nor security to American life and property; they have made conditions worse; and with Europe growing impatient, the policy of weakness and pharisaism has brought us perilously near trouble of a grievous kind. **The Wilson diplomacy in Mexico would be pathetic were it not so mischievous, and the sooner the President elects to fish or cut bait the better for the peace of Mexico and the welfare of the unfortunate Americans now in that troubled land.**—"Truth."

## NAILING THEM.

The announcement that a diplomatic reception would be given by Senora Huerta, wife of the Provisional President, at Chapultepec Castle tomorrow, gave rise to a story to-day that Gen. Huerta had taken up his residence there. It was explained that Senora Huerta has decided to hold the reception at the Castle because of the inadequate accommodations of the private home of the Huertas in Liverpool street.

Chapultepec Castle is the official residence of the Mexican President. Since the late President Madero vacated the historic place it has been undergoing renovation at the hands of painters and decorators.

And the papers cried out in big scareheads: "**Huerta Barricades Himself in the Fortress of Chapultepec, Fearing Death.**" And there you are! The people are too intelligent nowadays to fall for such bunk, but the pity is that some of them do.

**Henry Lane Wilson can afford to chuckle at his swift vindication. But, then, Henry Lane is only a practical man. He is not actuated by the high moral motives that induce Bryan to "starve out" the Mexican Government, and send his agents to parley with the chiefs of the Northern bandits.**

# A BEAUTIFUL DREAM

The beautiful dream of the Washington idealists seems to be the establishment of an American protectorate over the countries from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal, **without resort to arms,** without taking one inch of territory **by conquest.**

It is a dream worthy of the dreamers. It is dreaming run mad. It is a drunken orgy of a dream.

It has this practical feature: **It contemplates putting in power in the countries below the Rio Grande particular groups of men who are favorable to the purposes of the Administration, which will uphold them against possible revolutions, and favorable to the wishes of American bankers, who will sustain them financially, on exceedingly good terms.**

It is this practical feature that shows our Washington idealists, though their heads may be in the clouds, have their feet planted in the sticky clay of politics and the shifting sands of High Finance.

Therefore the countries from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal are not going to accept the beautiful scheme on a dream basis. They are going to look into the sordid facts behind and within the dream, the political and financial rarebit that inspired the nightmare, as it were.

Any very nice young college graduate, athrill with the tremendous possibilities of life and aching to achieve great things on a magnificent scale, might embody such a dream in his graduating essay. His parents and admiring friends would be proud of the young man's massive intellect and would applaud vociferously. But, strangely, that same intellectual young man would be laughed at by the world of Things That Are. If he persisted in a belief in the feasibility of his dream and tried to put it into practice the chances are that a committee of his friends would soon be appointed to take care of him.

It is not conceivable that the Administration will go or be permitted to go to that extent, but it might be timely now to point out some of the **Things That Are** whose strident voices will cry out "Halt!"

The Things That Are say that this country cannot control the countries from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal **without resort to arms** and that such resort to arms will be **conquest.**

The Things That Are may be generally and broadly classified as follows:

The character of the Latin-American races.

The distrust of American motives in Latin-American countries.

The interests, jealousy and opposition of foreign nations.

It need not be contended that against all these the dream of American control from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal may become a fact. The mistake and the danger lie in the self-deception of believing for a moment that it can become a fact **without war and without conquest.**

We have at this moment a virtual protectorate over Nicaragua. We have put in power in that country and are maintaining in power by the presence of marines a government by a group of men who are just as unscrupulous and just as grafting as any group that has ever shaped the destinies of a Latin-American republic. The majority of the people of that country do not want the government that has been forced upon them by the United States. The spirit of revolution is deep in the bosom of the people and it is only a question of time when it will burst into flame. Then if this country wants to maintain its protectorate it must put down the revolution by **resort to arms,** must deny the people of Nicaragua the right to choose their own government, thus denying them the liberty both we and they hold so dear. **And that is conquest.**

We have attempted to establish such a protectorate in Mexico by demanding that a certain group of men in power should get out so that we may put in power a group favorable to certain American interests, and presumably willing to accept the dictation of Washington. The result is that even the members of the very group to which we have shown favor, knowing that they could never answer to the Mexican people for the surrender of Mexican nationality, have at least for effect repudiated the connection with and the assistance of the United States. And the present government of Mexico is ready and willing to fight, with a united people, against the aggression of the United States and United States interests. **If we want control over Mexico we shall have to fight for it and our control will be won by conquest.**

The character of the people of Latin-American countries is based on race, history and traditions that are alien to the Anglo-Saxon. It is against the very fibre of their being to submit even within reason to a conquest disguised as benevolent assimilation. There is a peculiarly keen and not-to-be-deceived logic in the workings of the Latin-American mind that easily sees beneath the surface of real purpose. They cherish liberty even above political freedom. Their liberty has been dearly won and it would be dearly sold.

The Latin-American distrust of American motives is not without grave reasons, as even Americans will admit. Our friendship with the Guatemala dictator, our interference in Nicaragua, our present course toward Mexico, not to speak

(Continued on next page.)

A BEAUTIFUL DREAM.—Continued.

of the results of the Spanish-American War or even to mention the bold and unprincipled Panama grab, have combined to make us eat our words of disinterested friendship. This distrust is growing daily, as it becomes more and more obvious that there is a destiny shaping our ends that bodes ill for the preservation of the independence of the Central American republics, threatens war with Mexico, and hovers vaguely even over South America. Whether or not the distrust is justified is apart from the fact that the distrust exists, and we seem to be doing everything in our power to add fuel to the fire. **We can overcome that distrust in only two ways, by letting our dream dissolve in the mists of morning or by conquest.**

The interests, jealousy and opposition of foreign nations we may profess not to fear. But that is the spirit of braggart youth, not of wise statesmanship. The opening of the Panama Canal and its relation to the trade of the world puts upon the United States Government the tremendous responsibility of shaping its course in reference to the wonderful new commercial developments that are sure to follow, on a line of honorable competition with foreign nations, rather than on a greedy purpose to grab everything. It stands to reason that foreign nations will welcome competition but will not submit to American monopoly. And if we seek to establish American monopoly by stealing the independence of Central American nations we shall have to fight for it. And that means resort to arms and it may not mean conquest. The interrelations of nations and trade among nations are so complex today that while it is permissible for any nation to seek advantages over others in a competitive spirit, the attempt of any one to take an unfair advantage of the others is met and must be met with reprisals that may mean war.

Taking all these Things That Are into consideration, it would seem that the Administration's dream is in the nature of a schoolboy's graduation effort. If the Administration really wants to commit this country to war and conquest it could do so in no better way than in an amateurish attempt to put such a dream into practice.

Stick to books, you dreamers.

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Oh, yes, John Lind. He has entered into the peevish spirit of his mission, it would seem. Never, never, would he set foot in Mexico City again, he told the correspondents, if the Mexican Congress convened.

* * *

The Mexican Congress has convened.

* * *

Too bad, John. Wish you better luck when you are sent over to London to close up the Houses of Parliament.

# A Challenge to Lind—Repeated

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: As my job depends on the concealment of my identity, I have had to use a nom-de-plume. Yet I would be willing to lose my job if Mr. Lind would take up my challenge. And eight years' residence in bandit-infested Durango gives me the right to talk and a sincere love for Mexico and Mexicans prompts the halting phrase. If you care to publish my letter, please feel free to do so. Sincerely,

_____.

[Name and address withheld by request, but if Mr. Lind wants to accept the writer's challenge we shall be pleased to inform him as to the challenger.—Editor's Note.]

THE LETTER

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: How do you think posterity will judge the actions of our misguided President and his satellite, the Secretary of State, when the pitiless limelight of sound analytical reasoning is turned upon the events of the past week—as far as the relations between the United States and Mexican Governments are concerned? What a tremendous revelation will be given of the degree to which the diplomatic usages of centuries can be overturned by the bungling of men essentially politicians. How the diplomats of Europe must be amused at each new evidence of "Grand Stand Diplomacy."

I thought the United States a free country. Yet I see a club held over the country's press, because in no other way can the absolute lack of fair dealing towards Huerta be explained. News paper men are fair-minded when given free rein, and yet hardly a paper publishes the Huerta side of the case. The British government is accused of aiding the cause of Lord Cowdray, but it is not intimated that the insistence with which Wilson and Bryan harp on the elimination of Huerta is due to orders dictated by the Rockefeller interests. Yet Sir Edward Grey has no international reputation as a party man, nor is his fame based on his political acumen. Has Bryan any other grounds upon which to base his claim to eminence? Is it not known that Standard Oil preferred Wilson to Roosevelt? And does not the pitiful exposure of the proposed deal in Russian Ambassadors show that the present Administration intends to reward its helpers?

And to assist in paying off political obligations this country is to be plunged in war. Seas of blood spilled, billions of dollars squandered, and the prestige of the United States for fair dealing and honesty in its international relationships forever destroyed.

It is maddening to those of us who have been in the thick of the fight in Mexico, to see the trend of events. By what argument President Wilson can justify his callous, cold-blooded refusal to listen to those of us who have suffered, yea and bled, passes our comprehension. What possible knowledge can "Confidential Agent Lind" have of conditions in Mexico? He has never been farther than from Vera Cruz to the capital. Can it be that he is afraid to enter the really revolutionary States? Is he unwilling to trust himself to the tender mercies of Pancho Villa, Zapata or Contreras? I can readily see the wisdom displayed in not taking chances. It would be the height of folly to risk insult or injury at the hands of the men the United States government is meditating recognizing.

**Now, Mr. Lind, here is a proposition for you. Drop your title of "Confidential Agent" and go with me to Durango, to Torreon, to Chihuahua, as plain Americans. No frills, no flurries. We'll take our chances together to pay our own expenses, and after such a journey, when you have been able to judge for yourself, at first hand, I will abide by your decision and O. K. any report you may make to the Government. Are you game, Mr. Lind?** Will you risk it with me? We'll be in the same boat 'Y nos tocara' la misma suerte." Then make your report and every criticism would be stilled. It would be some itinerary, Mr. Lind, and no lack of excitement, and who knows, if we emerge scot-free, you may have a year's term as Ambassador to Russia. If we escape scot free! You may have my name and bona-fides on application to the editor of MEXICO.

Your sincerely,
PEACE IN MEXCIO.

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The Administration has repudiated Huerta, therefore Huerta must go. For it is inconceivable in the scheme of things that the United States could take so advanced a stand relative to affairs in its very dooryard and then fail to maintain that stand. This Government frowned on the manner of Huerta's coming, it objected to his course after he came, it insists on his departure. Thus are Huerta's passports to the realm of the down-and-out filled in for him in advance—Denver "Times."

Even if the Administration has made a mistake that mistake must not be admitted. Because the Administration insists Huerta must go he must go. Even if it means war. If that is national honor there is something wrong about national honor.

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JAPANESE IN REBEL ARMY ASSAULTING CHIHUAHUA.

El Paso, Tex., Nov. 9.—Fighting men from Japan were with General Villa's rebel army before Chihuahua. From the centre of the city the Japanese could be seen plainly, operating machine guns in the trenches at Europea Hill.

Colonel Aldres de Lujon, grand nephew of General Luiz Terrazas, and one of the bravest of General Marcelo Caraveo's officers, was killed while going to the rescue of a detachment of 12 sharpshooters, who were cut off from the right wing and were being cut to pieces by the Japanese-manned machine guns.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

# THE MONROE DOCTRINE

(Pertinent Suggestions from Dr. Hiram Bingham's "The Monroe Doctrine—An Obsolete Shibboleth."

Undoubtedly our neighbors feel that they must do something to counteract that well-known willingness of the American people to find good and sufficient reasons for interfering and intervening; for example, for relieving Mexico of Texas and California, for taking Porto Rico from Spain, for sending armies into Cuba, for taking Guantanamo Bay, for handling the customs receipts of Santo Domingo, for taking a strip of territory which (South Americans believe) belongs to the Republic of Colombia, for sending troops into Nicaragua, and for mobilizing an army on the Mexican frontier. (In regard to the latter point, it may be stated in passing that it is not the custom for South American nations to mobilize an army on a neighbor's frontier merely because that country is engaged in civil war or revolution.)

Is it any wonder that the talk of alliances is in the air? Are we to continue holding to the Monroe Doctrine despite all warning?

Is it worth our while to heed the "writing on the wall"?

Is it not true that it is the present tendency of the Monroe Doctrine to claim that the United States is to do whatever seems to the United States good and proper as far as the western hemisphere is concerned? Is there not a dangerous tendency in our country to believe so far in our own rectitude, that we may be excused from any restrictions either in the law of nations, or in our treaty obligations, that seem unjust, trivial, or inconvenient, notwithstanding the established practices of civilized nations? Our attitude on the Panama tolls question, our former disregard of treaty rights with China, our hesitation at passing Mr. Taft's carefully considered arbitration treaties, and our willingness to read into or read out of existing treaties whatever seems to us right and proper, have aroused deep-seated suspicion in our Southern neighbors which it seems to me we should endeavor to eradicate if we have our own highest good at heart.

Are we not too much in the state of mind of Citizen Fix-it, who was more concerned with suppressing the noisy quarrels of his neighbors than with quietly solving his own domestic difficulties? Could we see ourselves as our Southern neighbors see us in the columns of their daily press, where the emphasis is still on the prevalence of murder in the United States, the astonishing continuance of lynching, the freedom from punishment of a majority of those who commit murder, our growing disregard of the rights of others, bomb outrages, strikes, riots, labor difficulties—could we see these things with their eyes, we should realize how bitterly they resent our assumed right to intervene when they misbehave themselves, or when a local revolution becomes particularly noisy.

* * *

The old adage, that actions speak louder than words, is perhaps more true in Latin America than in the United States. A racial custom of saying pleasant things tends toward a suspicion of the sincerity of pleasant things when said. But there can be no doubt about actions. Latin-American statesmen smiled and applauded when Secretary Root, in the Pan-American Congress at Rio Janeiro, said: "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together."

* * *

To this fine appeal a Peruvian diplomat replies: "* * * The art of oratory is lavish with a fraternal idealism, but strong wills enforce their imperialistic ambitions. Although fully attentive to the fair-sounding promises of the North, the statesmen of the South refuse to believe in the friendship of the Yankees."

* * *

There is another side to the question: some of the defenders of the Monroe Doctrine state quite frankly that they are selfish, and that from the selfish point of view, the Monroe Doctrine should at all costs be maintained. They argue that our foreign commerce would suffer were Europe permitted to have a free hand in South America. Even on this very point it seems to me that they make a serious mistake.

You can seldom sell goods to a man who dislikes you except when you have something which is far better or cheaper than he can get anywhere else. Furthermore, if he distrusts you, he is not going to judge your goods fairly, or to view the world's market with an unprejudiced eye. This can scarcely be denied. Every one knows that a friendly smile or cordial greeting and the maintenance of friendly relations are essential to "holding one's customers." Accordingly, it seems that even from this selfish point of view, which some Americans are willing to take, it is absolutely against our own interests to maintain this elder-brother-with-the-stick policy, which typifies the new Monroe Doctrine.

International trade is largely a matter of sentiment, and the Monroe Doctrine does not sell any American-made goods.

Furthermore, Germany is getting around the Monroe Doctrine, and is actually making a peaceful conquest of South America which will injure us just as much as if we had allowed her to make a military conquest of the Southern republics. She is winning South American friendship, and has planted colonies, one of which, in southern Brazil, has three hundred and fifty thousand people in it—as large a population as that of Vermont, and nearly as large as that of Montana. She is taking pains to educate her young business men in the Spanish language, and to send them out equipped to capture Spanish American trade. We have a saying that "Trade follows the flag." Germany has magnificent steamers, flying the German flag, giving fortnightly service to every important port in South America—ports where the American flag is practically never seen. She has her banks and business houses which have branches in the interior cities. By their means she is able to keep track of American commerce, to know what we are doing, and at what rates. Laughing in her sleeve at the Monroe Doctrine as an antiquated policy, which only makes it easier for her to do a safe business, Germany is engaged in the peaceful conquest of Spanish America.

To be sure, we are not standing still, and we are fighting for the same trade that she is, but our soldiers are handicapped by the presence of the very Doctrine that was intended to strengthen our position in the New World. Is this worth while?

The continuance of adherence to the Monroe Doctrine offers opportunities to scheming statesmen to distract public opinion from the necessity of concentrated attention at home, by arousing mingled feelings of jingoism and self-importance in attempting to correct the errors of our neighbors.

If we persist in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, we shall find that its legitimate, rational, and logical growth will lead us to an increasing number of large expenditures, where American treasure and American blood will be sacrificed in efforts to remove the mote from our neighbor's eye while overlooking the beam in our own.

It is for us to face the question fairly, and to determine whether it is worth while to continue any longer on a road which leads to such great expenditures, and which means the loss of international friendships.

# FORCING WAR

If President Wilson were surreptitiously trying to force Mexico into a declaration of war against the United States he would meddle with the affairs of that government, interfere with its administrative efforts to establish order, and encourage Carranza and his rebels to continue their depredations. All of those things he has done and is doing, seemingly for want of better judgment rather than for an ulterior motive.

President Wilson apparently needs some one to inform him that he was not elected to be ruler of Mexico, or to dictate to that country. But blindly, stupidly, aggressively he is harassing Huerta with impossible demands, and threatening him with furnishing assistance to Carranza. If President Wilson lifts the embargo on arms and violates the neutrality laws of the nations for the benefit of the rebels, as his personal representative, William Bayard Hale, has stated would be done if Carranza would make certain promises, then Huerta or his regime may declare war and force this country into an imbroglio that will quickly involve Germany, England, France—and Japan.

This is all speculation; but Huerta or his crowd would have nothing to lose and everything to gain by such an act. He could not hope to defeat this nation, but he could hope to humiliate President Wilson for violating the neutrality law, and he could hope to entangle the United States in international complications, especially with Japan. Huerta is too well known as an audacious, hazard-taking dictator to expect that after scorning Mr. Wilson's preachments and impositions he would not pull down the temple of the world's peace with the chance of bettering himself rather than tamely allow the United States to aid his enemies with the foreknowledge of disaster.

The American people are learning that the man who has trained himself in the schoolroom to make beautiful speeches, who has modulated his theories to win public approval, lacks the judgment and balance of a statesman. He has shown himself to be a petulant schoolmaster who is piqued because the leader of a foreign government does not obey instructions, and for punishment proposes to break this nation's oath and aid a mob of rebels who are willing to make promises!

When President Wilson demanded the protection of American lives and American property in Mexico he touched the limits of his authority with that country. He has no more right to prescribe whom they shall have for President, Dictator or Emperor than he has to tell the King of England what His Majesty shall eat for breakfast. President Wilson objects to Huerta because his morals and policies do not suit. If Mr. Wilson is more interested in the morals and policies of Mexico's leader—whether it is Huerta or any one else—than he is in the dignity of this nation, than he is in sanctity of the neutrality laws, he is unworthy of the high honor received from the hands of the American public.

Reports emanating almost hourly from Mexico say that Huerta has fled, that he has defied the United States, or that he has done something else. If he goes, someone will take his place, and what is done in Mexico—outside of the protection of American lives and property—is no official concern of the United States, and especially is it shamefully degrading the dignity of this nation to have "special representatives" of the President practically slapped in the face for meddling with affairs that are none of their business and only because they are obeying instructions of the nation's highest official.

It would seem to one surveying even casually the great legislative and financial problems now existing in this country that Mr. Wilson would have sufficient material to occupy his attention without tampering with the Mexican situation, without making a series of moves and threats, which, if not discontinued, will drive Mexico into some desperate action that must inevitably lead to war. And war with Mexico would be a terrible thing. Our armies could easily enough fight their way through from place to place, but the guerrilla fighting would continue year after year until in impotent shame we would execrate the folly that led us into it.

Have the French in Algeria not learned a lesson in fighting an inferior country by which we could profit? Was not the dreadful humiliation of England in the Transvaal sufficient to show the miserableness of a useless war? Have we so soon forgotten the tragedies of our occupation in the Philippines, where the savages laid low hundreds and thousands of loyal and brave Americans? Then above all things should we avoid a war with a country for no more of a reason than that the morals of its President do not meet with the approval of our President!—Los Angeles "Times."

## UNENDING WAR EXPENSES.

Those who are advocating forcible intervention in Mexico should remember that there seems to be no end to the expenses of a war. They go on to indeterminate years in the future. The commissioner of pensions reports that while the last surviving pensioner of the war of 1812 died eight years ago, there are still 199 widows of soldiers of that war in receipt of pensions. It will be seen that we are paying the costs of a war that occurred 100 years ago. If we invaded Mexico, 100 years from now the people would still be taxed to pay the expenses of that invasion, and they would be much greater than those of the small war of 1812, for a far greater number of troops would be engaged in it.

The civil war closed fifty years ago, and the commissioner reports that on July 1 last there were on the rolls no fewer than 462,379 civil war pensioners. The list included, according to the report, more than one-fifth of the men who served in the army or navy during that struggle.

The people will support every effort to settle the Mexican difficulty without war. A man who amuses himself with mathematical calculations recently announced that if slavery had been abolished by paying $10,000 for every slave, the country would have saved millions, besides the loss of life and the destruction of property, and he was in favor of buying up all the dictators and revolutionary leaders and settling the question in that way, as the cost would not be one-tenth that of war.—Omaha "World Herald."

## NOT A QUESTION OF PERSONALITY.

But isn't President Wilson giving too much prominence to the personal element in the Mexican situation?

To make positive assertions about the Administration's policy is impossible for the simple and compelling reason that the public is not permitted to know what the policy is.

However, there is the persistent report, which has not been contradicted, that insistence at Washington is centered upon the refusal to recognize Huerta, and upon the corollary thereof, the demand that Huerta shall resign.

Criticism of this attitude must be conditioned upon the accuracy of the report. If it is true that President Wilson has adopted an essentially anti-Huerta policy, then he is blundering.

This Government has nothing to do with or about Huerta, the man. It has to do with the Republic of Mexico. The name and the character of the man who is its president are not this Government's concern. Its only business about Mexico is to use what influence it can hope to make effective, to bring about restoration of orderly government.

This Government may properly refuse to recognize any Mexican government which is continuously unable to suppress rebellion and restore and maintain order, for that reason; not because the man at the head of it is Huerta or any other man whom President Wilson does not like.

Even yet, if through some turn of affairs in his favor Huerta should become able to restore peace and order and to establish his Government on a sound basis, it would be the duty of the Administration at Washington to give his Government recognition.

It is conditions in Mexico, not persons, that are properly a subject of attention from the Government of the United States. There is no moral question involved in the Administration's Mexican problem.

If President Wilson has in his mind the personality of Huerta confused with the Government of Mexico, then there is a radical defect in his policy, whatever that policy may be.—Albany "Evening Journal."

"The mills of the gods grind slowly." "The glacial movement." "The Chautauqua glide." Down in Washington the Administration policy is variously labeled. We like the glacial movement best. It sounds so much like a strawberry ice-cream soda. What will you have, Willie? Grape juice, with a straw, please.

* * *

How about that "informative memorandum" that President Wilson promised to give out to a waiting world?

* * *

It was sidetracked. Maybe it was spiked.

* * *

Who did the sidetracking and who did the spiking?

* * *

The waiting world would like to know that, too.

* * *

Clever jingo trick to try to make it appear that England was against the United States. But England didn't fall for this amateurish move.

* * *

England is with the United States in anything that's reasonable. But we can't blame England for thinking that Wilson and Bryan are unreasonable about Mexico.

* * *

A pretty big proportion of the American people feel the same way.

* * *

Some of these days they are going to shout it from the housetops.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East West and All Angles.

## A DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF THE MEXICAN PROBLEM.

The Herald has received the following statement on the Mexican situation from a Democratic member of Congess, whose name it is not at liberty to reveal at present, but for whose prominence it can vouch. From the Herald's point of view it is an excellent presentation of the facts:

In my judgment the administration has not handled the Mexican problem with consummate skill. Indeed, it put it plainly, I think that blunder after blunder has been committed. I have thought all along that the thing to do was to recognize the government de facto, for, in my opinion, it offered the speediest and only possible way of getting business and order re-established. The administration thought differently and the result is chaos, murder, arson and other crimes which can hardly be mentioned in polite correspondence.

**The bandits who masquerade under the name of "Constitutionalists" have caught the sympathy of the President and Mr. Bryan by the employment of that word, and these two gentlemen have come to believe that this particular bunch of bandits stands for pure democracy and honest government.** As a matter of fact, there is no cohesion among the opponents of the government of Mexico and they would be in almost immediate open insurrection against the government of Carranza if he were able to establish one. These various organizations that are in the field against the government only have one thought in common, and that is hostility to an established government. Personally I have no interest in either party and I am only concerned to see something done which will make life and property reasonably safe in Mexico and which will get by this crisis without involving the United States. Neither party is worthy from our point of view, but perhaps the leaders on either side are about as good as Mexico can produce at the present time.

The fundamental error in Mexico is that the people have essayed a form of government for which they have no real sympathy and which they do not comprehend.Mexico has never been anything but a republic in name and cannot be until the people are made over. The thing which most concerns me now is to see the Uuited States avoid any greater intimacy with Mexico and the Mexicans than we have had and, above all, to see that no man in the uniform of our government goes south of the Rio Grande on a hostile mission. **All Mexico, all Latin America, is suspicious and apprehensive,** and the situation must be handled with extreme skill if we are to avoid developing more hostility than now exists; and enough of it already exists to make it almost impossible for us to build up a satisfactory trade with those countries. They expect that we mean to absorb their territory and sovereignty; and although the President protests that such is not the purpose of our country, he can no more control sentiment in that direction, once a war is on, than he could dam the Mississippi by tossing into the bed of that stream a few bags of sand.

It is rumored that Mexico has asked France to mediate between that country and the United States, which, to put it another way, means arbitration or adjustment by a third and impartial country. Now the President and the secretary of state are both on record for arbitration of all international disputes. This is one, and if not adjusted promptly by mediation, will, I am afraid, lead us into war. —Boston "Herald."

## IS MEXICO TO BE TURNED OVER TO THE BANDITS?

But suppose the Huerta government is forced into bankruptcy and collapses because it has no funds to pay its troops?

What is to take the place of the army that is now preserving order and protecting life and property throughout the principal parts of Mexico?

Will the United States undertake to furnish its own troops to police such immense areas as must be exposed to lawlessness, pillage and massacre if Huerta's army breaks up, or are we to turn things over to the roving hordes of bandits who make up such a large part of Carranza's forces?

For months the newspapers, even those most opposed to the despotic rule of Huerta, have been filled with horrifying reports of the murders, lootings, torturings and other barbarities committed by the so-called "Constitutionalists."

And now it is announced that while our government is attemptng to crush Huerta and destroy his army by forcing the Mexican government into complete bankruptcy, President Wilson is secretly conferring with Carranza through his "personal representative," William Bayard Hale, a newspaper correspondent made notorious by abusing the confidence of the German emperor.

What does it all mean?

Have we turned our backs on a man charged with responsibility for the political assassination of two men, Madero and Suarez, **to deal with men responsible for the murder of hundreds, for wholesale and systematized robbery, for the deliberate torturing of prisoners, and for the looting and burning of towns?** —New York "Evening Mail."

## AMERICAN BLOOD.

We certainly ought not to have war over this issue. It is not worth while. The application of an idealistic code of government to the republic of Mexico would not yield in results any return on the prodigious cost in American blood and treasure. We ought not to annex, or absorb, any part of Mexico—the Hearst newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding. We ought instead to content ourselves with tasks of economic adjustment here at home without adding more perplexing ones which would come to us from south of the Rio Grande.—Boston "Herald."

## THE MEXICAN CRISIS.

Political intervention by the United States in Mexico has been a fait accompli ever since the Washington Government followed up its refusal to recognize Huerta by notification that neither he nor any one of his immediate followers were regarded by Washington as eligible candidates. Refusal of recognition pending an honest election was ours to give or withhold under international law. Insistence upon an honest election is wholly proper in view of our obligations under the Monroe Doctrine but the hasty commitment against the right of the Mexican people to vote for Huerta or any other candidate can be justified neither under international law nor any Pan-American doctrine. **The result of the Administration's course has brought this Government to the brink of armed intervention and the President is mightily worried over the outlook to-day.**

Sunday conferences with individual members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations sufficed only to relieve irritation developing at the Capitol at the apparent unwillingness of the President to take the Senate into his confidence regarding this critical foreign problem. They developed no constructive programme upon which the White House can act. Suggestions that the belligerency of Carranza and the so-called Constitutional army be recognized and the embargo against their importation of arms and ammunition be lifted do not emanate from the President. This course is urged by those Democratic senators who look upon intervention as the inevitable result and cherish the hope that as a price of our services in restoring order across the border the peninsula of Southern California and one or more States in Northern Mexico may be added to the United States. President Wilson in his Mobile speech repudiated any such intention on the part of the White House, but this has not blasted the hopes of the jingo senators.

Recognition of the belligerency of the brigands under the name of "Constitutionalists" who are laying waste the western part of Mexico and destroying foreign life and property **would make the United States indirectly responsible for the terrible cost of life certain to follow.** We hope President Wilson has the courage to reject any such proposal. It would violate the spirit of his Latin American policy and would align Europe against the United States in Mexico. London, Berlin and Paris would feel compelled to lend their moral support and indirectly their financial assistance to the Huerta government while the United States would be backing the Carranza faction. The result in the event of Carranza's ultimate triumph would be a duplication of our experience with Aguinaldo in the Philippines. **The day of law and order in Mexico would be indefinitely postponed and the day of destruction of life and property indefinitely prolonged.**—Boston "Transcript."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### INDIRECTION OBJECTIONABLE.

Much as we would dislike to see the United States intervene in Mexico we would much rather see it done in a regular than in an irregular way. When Colombia refused to accept the sum offered by the United States for the Panama canal concession our country would have acted in a much more honorable way if it had invaded Columbia and taken the canal zone by force than it did when it stirred up revolution and took what it wanted.

If without any demand on Huerta we raised the embargo on arms it would be very different from raising it after a demand has been made and refused. In the first case we would have merely stood aside and let the strongest win. Our position would not have been different from that of the nations of Europe and we could have accepted the result whatever it might have been as gracefully as they could.

As matters stand when we lift the embargo on arms we can accept but one result and yet we can't be sure that the war in progress in Mexico will end with that result. We are not sure the Constitutionalists would win. If they failed the result would be Huerta in power stronger than ever and still to be reckoned with, still with the demand that he abdicate, a demand to be enforced by direct action under greater difficulties than ever or ignominiously abandoned.

We do not think a great nation can afford to make a demand and then have some one else to enforce it. Nor do we think that either a great nation or a small one any more than an individual can afford to do anything by indirection that it can do directly. If it is wrong to do a thing directly, it is doubly wrong to do it by indirection for indirection carries with it a suspicion of treachery, hypocrisy and cowardice.
—Jacksonville "Times Union."

### "STOP; LOOK; LISTEN!"

But what if Huerta sticks, as he is most likely to do? Are we called upon to go to war, to waste the blood of our sons, to pour out treasure for the sake of driving a dictator out of office, villain though he be? Are we to fight a united Mexico —as it surely would be, with Huerta as hero—to quell another nation's internal disturbances? There would be in such a war nothing of the moral quality of rescuing Cuba from Spain. The return would be too little for the appalling price.

They say that the best railroad crossing warning ever devised was: "Stop; Look; Listen." It may well be noted by the Administration at this particular juncture.—Boston "Post."

### THE TEST OF A MAN.

Each hour that the present situation continues the menace becomes greater. What is the President going to do about it? Has he any Mexican policy anyway, beyond trusting to virtues that do not exist and waiting weakly for something to turn up? Does he not understand that he has got the country into this mess and that it is he who must get it out? And he must get it out without shedding any of its soldiers' blood and without furnishing arms to Mexican revolutionists with which to shed their countrymen's blood.

The schoolmaster has come to his first real testing as a man, and he is visibly flustered.—Providence "Tribune."

Mexico! The American people usually stand with their President in his attitude toward foreign powers. But there are many who think that President Wilson's method of dealing with the Mexican problem is a great blunder. It is all very well to talk, as the President does, about being governed by morality instead of by expediency, but must not the morality of our acts be governed by their consequences? This is the question frankly asked by one of the most thoughtful readers of "Leslie's." He adds: "If the President's acts are creating the necessity for this government to enter Mexico to protect property and life and to attempt to set up a government to our President's liking, at the expense of thousands or tens of thousands of American lives and hundreds of millions of money, are not these acts supremely immoral? No other government adopts this rule, which is not 'Is there a government established in Mexico?' but is 'Ought the established government to be supported?' What could be more futile than to insist that there shall be an election in Mexico which shall express the will of the people? It is insisting upon the impossible; it is idealism gone mad." Letters from other readers incline to the same view. It is a humiliating situation, and it grows worse every day.—"Leslie's Weekly."

### THE AFFAIR MEXICAN.

As to the outcome of the mess in Mexico, the man in the street is in as good a position to guess as the man in the newspaper office. They have access to the same means of information, the difference being that the newspaper man is under obligation to try to keep track of things and form some opinion, while the man in the street need not bother himself at all if he does not wish to.

And the man in the street is in the more agreeable situation.

But the fact is that our ill-timed officiousness in butting into what is only very indirectly our business is quite likely, if persisted in, to get the man in the street into trouble.

Until recently the Mexican situation has been an almost negligible factor in the financial situation, but it is rapidly becoming quite important.

If the President and Congress go to war, it will be with Mexico and not with any special faction of Mexicans, for the Mexicans will rally round the strong man of the hour, whoever he is, and he seems to be Huerta.

The guess at this writing is that Huerta will absolutely refuse to be dictated to as to any matter whatever by the Washington Government, and that his reply, when formulated, will be the diplomatic form of telling President Wilson to "go to."

And if that should be the case, President Wilson must back squarely down or ask Congress to declare war. And if it be war, it will be war, not with Huerta, but with Mexico.

That will change the status. Mexico as a belligerent can borrow according to its credit, and there is no reason why its credit should not be as good in Paris as that of the Balkan States, all of which during the recent war got money for necessities by paying for it.

The United States, also, will have to borrow, and if it does it will pay more for money than it has paid for many years.

That will be so much added to the existing strain on the investment market, and make it so much the more difficult for railroads and municipalities to borrow. And there is where comes in the concern of the man in the street.

Meanwhile the assassins are at work and every assassin who attacks Huerta and fails to "get" him adds so much to his popular strength. The trouble seems to be spreading, as General Diaz was attacked and wounded in Havana and is to be clapped into jail for becoming a victim. It would seem that President Wilson had enough to do in Cuba without taking on Mexico besides. —San Francisco "Chronicle."

### SCUTTLE AND DRIFT.

To any one at all acquainted with Mexico and its people the present attitude of the Washington Administration cannot be viewed with anything short of amazement. The population of Mexico is about fourteen millions. Of this number something over two millions are of the white race, mostly of Spanish descent. Many of them as highly educated and cultivated as can anywhere be found, together with a sprinkling of white foreigners numbering, perhaps, until President Wilson's recent warning, fifty thousand. The remaining eleven or twelve millions are nearly equally divided between the pure-blooded Indians and the people of mixed blood, the latter somewhat outnumbering the former. As the great mass of the people are ignorant and illiterate peons, living from hand to mouth on starvation wages, anything in the nature of an intelligent public opinion is practically unknown.

When, therefore, we now hear any of our fellow-citizens enunciating in rounded periods certain abstract principles of liberty, including the commonplaces of "consent of the governed" and "free and fair elections," and other similar phrases, a feeling of combined sadness and apprehension is engendered by the thought that people in positions of responsibility and power, however high-minded and pure their motives, should be so deceived as to actual conditions as to permit their governmental acts to be controlled by such sentimentality.

The fact is that Huerta, in his recent manifesto to the assembled diplomats in the City of Mexico, simply stated a self-evident proposition when he said that Mexican political conditions are such that the government of the nation must necessarily rest with the few, or, in other words, with an oligarchy dominated by a single powerful personality. Now, it so happens that the individual who, at the present moment, comes nearest to representing such a personality, is Victoriano Huerta, or whomsoever he may conclude to nominate as his successor, Constitution or no Constitution.

The position assumed by the Washington Cabinet has been to place us in a false position from the very beginning, and, humiliating as the confession of failure must necessarily be, it is respectfully submitted that the only manly thing for our government now to do, though even at the eleventh hour, is to recognize that facts are stern and awkward things that must be boldly met, and that the proper solution of the present difficulty is to recognize Huerta, or his nominee, as the de facto President or Dictator (in crises names are unimportant) of Mexico upon whom will rest the international responsibility for bringing order out of chaos.

Should conditions in Mexico not then improve, and an ultimate necessity for our intervention arise, I think it may be safely stated that a vast majority of the limited number of people in the United States at all familar with Mexican conditions would be of the very decided opinion that the best had been done, and that no different course of action could have prevented intervention.

But whatever our future relations with Mexico are to be, the American people should sternly recognize that the scuttle and drift policy has run its course, and that something definite must now be done.—Samuel L. Parrish in New York "Evening Post."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Any outside interference in the internal politics of a country is both unjustifiable and dangerous, and is naturally resisted to the last by any free people as it is an attempt to rob them of their cherished independence which they have won only by the greatest sacrifices.

There is no justification for American interference in Mexico, because the property loss is an inconsiderable per cent. of the total amount invested there, and can be compensated for by the Mexican Government, which has never been accused of being remiss in making settlements of this kind. Personal security is also cared for by ample guarantees. What then is the motive for attacking the sovereignty of the Mexican nation?

In the past the United States has insisted that the motive for separating Cuba from Spain, Panama from Colombia, etc., etc., was purely humanitarian, and burning with a holy love for the welfare of their neighbors they promoted revolutions in small Latin countries and imposed their will upon the presidents.

The Mexicans desire to work out their own problems, and if the question were to be voted on, not a single soul would cast his vote for American intervention. All Mexicans desire to follow the tradition of their race, the customs of their forefathers and even the stormy path which must lead sooner or later to a government of the people for the people.

Mr. Woodrow Wilson could do no better than follow his own declaration that the rights of a weak people would be respected equally as those of the strong.

It must be remembered that the landing of the first foreign soldier on Mexican soil, with hostile intent, would be the signal for a united and terrible resistance, and it would be well for the interventionists desiring to make an attempt on the sovereignty of Mexico under guise of morality or humanity to count the cost well before embarking on their piratical enterprise.

Baltimore, Md. C. U. M.

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: It was to be expected that official Washington would be, as always, against the one strong man capable of solving the difficult problems confronting his country if only allowed a reasonable chance. But no, the meddlesome interference of the Hale-Wilson-Bryan combination is again very much in evidence, complicating matters and doubly increasing the difficulties confronting the only legal government Mexico has, besides openly encouraging its enemies. The methods of the Executive may not be exactly in harmony with milk-and-water ethics, but they are inspired by a thorough knowledge of his countrymen and of the immediate needs of the situation.

With all due respect to President Wilson and resting in the assurance of his undoubted honesty of purpose, there seems to be no question that he has been hypnotized by the term "Constitutionalist" and that all his opinions of the situation in Mexico have been colored by the reports emanating from rebel sources. Even the snoopy Dr. Hale's "confidences" were undoubtedly tinted with the same brush. It looks very much as if Mr. Wilson were being used as the unconscious catspaw of that faction who wish to see Mexico demoralized, without money, and at the mercy of the grafters and "plunderbund" who would then divide up the spoils. Heaven send that the scales may be lifted from the eyes that apparently will not see and that an impartial and unprejudiced policy may result that will give "fair play" to this beautiful but unhappy country.

Yours truly,
A RESIDENT OF MEXICO.

Mexico City, Mexico.

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: After an absence, I have just returned to town and came across your issue of November 8th. It is splendid, magnificent work you are attempting. However, you have a hard job fighting self-sufficient ignorance and fanatic stubbornness as exemplified by the heads of our Administration.

It seems that the lovers of justice and the dreamers of Pan-Americanism will have to wait until the time when prejudice will have worn itself out, or when (and it will not be many years until then) Latin Americans will feel strong enough to show their teeth and to tell us to go to the——other place with all our bosh of mentorship over weaker sisters, Monroe Doctrine and such like.

What right have we got to teach others, anyhow?

Thanks to Wilson's "morals above expediency" Mexico is yet in trouble. North of the Isthmus, there are, possibly, two or three countries badly governed, but in the whole of South America, there is not one single country with municipal, state or federal governments as full of graft and of red tape, and as little efficient as ours. That's a strong statement, but I am willing to back it up with facts.

Really, if South Americans were as badly governed as we govern ourselves, they would again start revolutions, a habit which they have lost, but which we would be well to gain. We would do well if we would gain only one thing thereby: put "men" of courage and energy—of the type of Huerta—at the head of our affairs, instead of the smiling, smooth-shaved scoundrels who overrun our politics and whose principal business is buying and selling votes, or, as sole other alternative, half crazy reformers who capture the ignorant mass of voters with plausible slogans and dreamy promises.

We all have every reason to be proud of our great country, but, at present, we have good reasons to be ashamed of the way the men at the head of our Government direct our international affairs.

Mount Vernon, N. Y. C. G.

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"When President Madero was elected he promised a great deal—the people are always ready to follow any man who will promise enough, and he set forth that he would at once solve the land question and secure higher wages for laborers. In fact, I remember that the day after his election, the workmen who had been getting 50 cents a day, demanded $1 for the same work—they believed that it would all happen in the twinkling of an eye.

"Nothing did happen except that Madero went in with a full treasury and soon the country had no money. He became intensely unpopular and more especially his brothers, who were held responsible for the looting of the treasury.

"Then President Madero himself was a dreamy weakling; his wife was a spiritualistic medium and he thought he acted under divine guidance, and hence took no advice. He had previously been for some time in a sanitarium and was entirely incompetent.

"The crisis came when General Felix Diaz had the streets of Mexico City swept with the machine guns from the arsenal, and Madero, in spite of all advice, kept pouring troops into the narrow street to be slaughtered.

"Several officers remonstrated with him and these he killed with his own hand. There is no doubt of that, and it was for that he was executed.

"I do not defend Huerta, but he was the victim of circumstances and took the presidency because he was the strongest available man and the country needed a strong man.

"That was the time that the United States could have saved the situation by informing Huerta that he must at once hold an election and make the dictatorship purely provisional. That would have avoided trouble, and Henry Lane Wilson, the ambassador who was retired, knew it.—Interview with Rev. John Howland, D.D., in Boston "Post."


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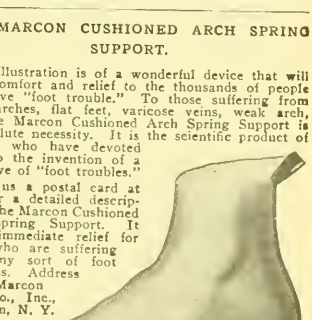

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There is just one thing that stands between this country's honor and an unjust war with Mexico. That is a providential revelation of the littleness and the irresponsibility of motive in the men who have made such a thing possible. It will be a blessing to humanity if, before our nation commits itself irrevocably to a course for which we will suffer a hundredfold, somebody with real honor and decency of heart will give to the people tangible evidence of the mental workings of the Washington Administration. The press of the country has done its level best to throw a glamour of good intention and humane purpose about the policy that has proved so pernicious and futile. Friendly shoulders of solid men have tried to bolster up the shaky moves of insincerity and incompetence. Loyalty and optimism have stood back to back to the end that the country should not be humiliated. The masterpiece of loyalty will now come from the man who patriotically will save the Administration and the people by showing that among the few men who have shaped the Mexican mistake Pindell politics and petty prejudice were all-powerful. It is unbelievable that a nation shall be plunged into war because of such. There must be some Pindell letters in this Mexican imbroglio. Let them come to light. They stand between us and war.

---

The wonder is that the pure-minded Administration officials have even listened to the suggestion of arming rebels and bandits to fight for the Administration's "policy."

* * *

Since when have Americans hired mercenary Hessians to do their fighting for them? Times have changed.

* * *

To talk silver-tongued peace at so much per talk, collected at the gate, and hire thugs to fight is not inconsistent—in Washington.

## WHY RECOGNITION COUNTS.

The Government of Mexico desires United States recognition not so much because with such recognition it could the more readily float a foreign loan, but simply as an assurance of good faith on the part of the United States that rebellions will not be started, fostered, and financially supported by American interests. That's what recognition really means and why so much importance is attached to it, especially by the other Powers. They know that if the United States would say "hands off" to the American inciters of rebellion and prevent the sending of arms and munitions of war across the border peace would be restored to Mexico in short order and easily maintained. Failure of the United States Government to recognize the Mexican Government is interpreted as encouragement of further rebellion for the interests of certain American individuals and corporations.

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## THINGS THAT "CANNOT BE DISCUSSED."

The Latin-American policy announced in the first days of the Administration.

The proposition of a Nicaragua protectorate embodying an understanding with American bankers.

The genesis of the decision not to recognize Huerta.

The sending of John Lind to Mexico instead of a man who knew the country and the language.

The offer of money to the Huerta Government through American bankers if Lind's propositions were accepted.

The financial blockade of the Mexican Government.

The exact standing of William Bayard Hale.

The connections between the Carrancistas and the Pierce Oil Corporation.

The connection between Hale and the Carrancistas and the Maderos—and the Pierce interests.

The connection between the Carrancista headquarters, or junta, in Washington and the State Department.

The Associated Press story of an ultimatum to Huerta, which story was "released" on Election Day, New Jersey and Massachusetts elections being in doubt.

The inexpressible grief at the imprisonment of seditious Mexican deputies and apparent indifference to the suffering of Americans at the hands of bandit, so-called "Constitutionalists."

The official feeding of the press with rumors and insinuations designed to discredit the Huerta Government.

Bryan's insulting attitude toward Americans in Mexico.

The immorality of the very suggestion to arm the rebels and bandits of the type that have disgraced civilization at Juarez, within sight of El Paso.

## "FRIENDSHIP."

Every now and then certain newspapers in their mad endeavor to justify the unprecedented Mexican policy of the Administration announce with raucous glee that on account of the financial blockade thrown around him by the United States, President Huerta will not be able to pay his army and that in that event his fall is certain. Has it ever occurred to the intelligent defenders of the Moral-Financial Suasion "policy" that if the soldiers of the Mexican regular army are not paid there will be one hundred thousand men out of employment who, by all the instincts of self-preservation, will have to live off the country. That would be piling horror on horror and would mean anarchy in Mexico such as the world has never experienced. It takes an idealist and moralist of the Bryan type to contemplate such a spectacle with calm assurance. Nobody with a heart or the least love for his fellows would think of bringing about such a condition. It is enough to make the blood of man boil to listen to the criminally insane mouthings of these moralists. They are not only morally but materially responsible for the continuance of lawlessness in Mexico, and their every move from day to day could not be better designed to turn Mexico into a shambles. How they can salve their conscience, sleep in peace or look their fellow men straight in the eye, is more than can be understood by any American who has had visual knowledge of the results of their "friendship" for Mexico.

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## MAPS IN COLORS.

The development of the oil industry in Mexico is one of the marvels of the times and promises to be even more wonderful in the future. To meet the demand of the moment and supply a growing necessity, Mr. N. Paulsen, civil engineer, with headquarters in Tampico, Tamps., Mexico, has after two years of work and constant revision, prepared a "General Map of the Mexican Gulf Coast Oil Fields," which should be in the hands of every one connected with or interested in the Mexican oil industry.

The map is made in five sheets on a scale of 1-100,000. It has been compiled from some 300 detail maps of the Mexican Gulf Coast from Soto La Marina, Tamaulipas, to Papantla, Vera Cruz, and based upon the Mexican Government maps. It shows the land holdings in color combinations of over forty oil and agricultural companies, also development work, such as drilling camps, pipe-lines, railroads, etc. Most of the oil men on the ground have one or more copies of Mr. Paulsen's maps.

The color arrangement, with a key on each sheet to the meaning of the colors, is the best feature of the map. The subscription price to the map is extremely reasonable, considering the tremendous amount of work involved in its preparation and up-to-date revision. For further information as to this map, our readers who are interested should address Mr. N. Paulsen, Civil Engineer, Station O, Box 72, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## THE DULLTRUTH

The most deplorable phase of the Mexican situation is revealed in the appalling extent to which the American press has gone in the publication of falsehoods. We refer particularly to "news matter" either sent by news agencies and special correspondents or concocted in the editorial rooms of the newspapers.

This perversion of truth in regard to Mexican affairs is due to various causes: often to orders given by the owners, whose interests and connections make it advisable for them to help in the campaign of misrepresentation being conducted against Mexico, sometimes to ignorance on the part of editors and at other times to the able work of press agents employed by the interests which are fostering the advance of anarchy in the southern republic.

The average American newspaper man —reporter or editor—is honest and anxious to be square with himself and with the readers. But his convictions cannot always guide his work, because usually he has to obey orders from higher up. In the majority of newspapers the business office has the last say as to the editorial policy and the business office must yield to the pressure brought to bear by advertisers or enforce the orders given by the publisher.

In many cases the publication of a mixture of truth and falsehoods, that is, of half-truths—which are the most powerful means of misrepresentation and much more dangerous than plain, unadulterated lies—is due to the distorted conception which newspaper men in this country have formed as to the value of news.

Unfortunately all American newspaper men have been trained to believe that "news" is any tale relating to something out of the ordinary, anything that will startle or stagger the reader and produce emotions. Bare truth does not always produce "sensations," and is often extremely dull. The average newspaper man probably would be greatly surprised if told that he is a confirmed prevaricator and that prevaricating is his daily task. Truth, if dull, must be embellished, adorned and frequently distorted to

(Continued on next page.)

## Striking a Gusher in OIL

The story of the oil war in Mexico is well known to most Americans who have lived in Mexico during the last ten years but not so to the American public in general. Yet in newspaper parlance this is the "real story" behind the whole Mexican trouble.

The ability of the American interests involved in this oil war to twist the publication of facts to their advantage is shown in the attempt of many American newspapers to make it appear as if the present struggle were being carried on to prevent the Mexican Government from giving to British interests a monopoly of the oil industry in Mexico.

The facts, however, in brief are these:

The Waters-Pierce Oil Company, formerly a subsidiary of the Standard Oil, enjoyed a practical monopoly of the oil trade in Mexico for many years. When the Doheny interests entered the field the Waters-Pierce Company attempted to prevent their success by acquiring control of the Mexican Central Railway. It also laid plans to acquire a practical monopoly of Mexican railroads, so as to control the means of transportation and freight rates.

The Diaz Government perceived that if the Pierce interests were allowed to carry out their plans Mexico would become an adjunct of those interests and dependent upon the strongest and most ruthless of American Trusts. It was then that the Diaz Government conceived the plan to merge the principal Mexican railroads under government control and to give such concessions to British interests as to break the dangerous influence of the Pierce interests.

The so-called Cowdray interests began exploring Mexican oil fields in 1900, but it was not until 1906—or about the time that the Government completed successfully the railroad merger—that the Aguila Oil Company, of the Cowdray interests, entered the field as a producer and a trader of oil in Mexico. This marked the end of the virtual monopoly held by the Waters-Pierce Company and a competitive war ensued with a consequent loss of many millions to both sides.

The Diaz Government, decayed and weakened from within, was about to crumble when the Madero movement began. A thorough understanding was soon reached between members of the Madero family and the Pierce interests.

Sherby Hopkins, a Washington attorney for the Pierce Company, became the go-between and assumed the role of adviser to the Madero junta established in Washington at the time.

The Madero revolution was successful and Sherby Hopkins received fifty thousand dollars in gold from the Madero Government in payment of his services. He also went to Mexico and assisted Gustavo Madero in his campaign against the Aguila Oil Company. The concessions given by the Diaz Government to the British interests were similar to the concessions given to other companies, with the exception that they allowed the British company the right to explore national lands.

The Madero Government, although it had promised to do so, did not dare revoke the concession enjoyed by the British interests and was abiding a more propitious time when public opinion in Mexico should be more favorable to restoring a practical monopoly to the Pierce interests. Madero fell before that time arrived.

The Huerta Government has not given nor has it been asked to give any concession to the Cowdray interests, which in fact hold no monopoly as there are more than thirty different companies, including the Pierce Company and the Standard Oil, producing and marketing oil in Mexico.

Sherby Hopkins continues to be the adviser of the rebel junta in Washington and the press agent of the Cowdray interests whose concessions have not been revoked. The relations between the Pierce interests and the Madero family continue to be of the friendliest.

## THE DULL TRUTH---Continued

cause a thrill, and most publishers still believe that papers will not sell unless the reader gets a thrill every time he glances at them.

The most important requisite for anything to be published in a newspaper is that it should be a "good story." This is the creed instilled into every newspaper tyro. A newspaper writer is flattered the most when he is told that he has written a "good story" or a "good yarn" and truth is not necessary to a "good story." In fact, it often spoils it. There is something very significant about the term "story," which in newspaper language indicates anything from a short police news item to an article of fiction.

The forces impelling the effort to mould public opinion by means of the press are moved by many complex and sometimes conflicting motives.

The conquest of Mexico; the establishment of a protectorate over Mexico; absolute political and commercial control of Mexico by Americans; the establishment of a government subservient to certain American interests with the consequent control of the oil industry; commercial and political intrigues, imperialistic tendencies and the natural aggressive attitude of a young, strong nation like this; the feeling of loyalty which prompts many Americans to uphold the policy of the Administration however wrong that may be;—all these and many more are the various motives behind this attempt to mould American public opinion by misrepresentation of facts, magnifying of unimportant events and minimizing of important ones.

A large volume could easily be filled if a minute analysis were to be made of the work done by the press in treating the Mexican situation. We shall limit ourselves here to pointing out some of the most glaring phases of this work.

That concerning the oil war we shall state briefly in another column as it has now been made clear that the war for control of the Mexican oil industry is the most powerful factor of the turmoil to which the unfortunate Mexican republic has been prey for the last three years.

One of the most common means used to impress the public with the progress of the rebellion in Mexico is that of magnifying and repeating day after day spurious or actual victories of the rebels. Thus the fall of Culiacan has been published at least twenty times since last September and has not been confirmed as yet. The capture of Ciudad Victoria has been made part of the most sensational headlines for nearly two weeks. The supposed plight of Tuxpam has been asserted for many days until the official report of Admiral Fletcher stated that the country around Tuxpam was quiet and that neither the city nor the oil fields in the vicinity were in any danger. But while the news of danger had been given great prominence, the report of Admiral Fletcher was usually tucked away in an inside page half hidden between other news items.

The fact that the Mexican Government had bought arms from a Japanese firm was published broadcast time after time and made to appear as implying a sort of alliance between the Mexican Government and Japan. The purchase of these arms dates from last April, but it has been used as news from time to time until last week.

On the other hand, the fact that many Japanese have fought with the bands headed by Villa and other rebel leaders has been barely mentioned and no importance whatever given to this quite significant fact.

The reports sent from special correspondents in Mexico City are often rewritten in the editorial rooms of the newspapers to suit the policy of the publishers or the conception of the editor in regard to a "good Mexican story."

A friend of ours just returned from Mexico City told us a few days ago how a New York newspaper which has a long established news service to many other newspapers in the United States invariably alters and "stuffs" the news sent out by its correspondent in Mexico City. This correspondent is almost in despair and expects to be deported at any moment on account of the enormous number of lies contained in the dispatches under the Mexico City headline, as in Mexico City these lies are believed to be of his own manufacture.

The Philadelphia "Public Ledger" a few days ago published a dispatch supposedly from Mexico City asserting that the Mexican Government had evolved a publicity scheme consisting of paying the salary of Mexicans who have obtained positions as correspondents of New York newspapers. Now, every newspaper man knows that no New York newspaper has a Mexican correspondent, but this little piece of news was published by so serious a paper as the "Ledger" and probably given credence by most of its readers. The fact is that the Mexican Government in our opinion should evolve some kind of publicity scheme as its enemies have done, but so far it has refrained from doing so.

Another instance of malicious intent to convey the wrong impression is found in the publication of photographs supposed to represent certain men prominent in Mexican affairs, when they were in fact photographs of men of an entirely different position. Thus, for instance a photograph of a Mexican bandit was labelled Gamboa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that of another bandit wearing a long beard, was labelled Blanquet, Minister of War, while a photograph of a Mexican general in full gala uniform was labelled Candido Aguilar, leader of a band of rebels.

Likewise cartoons and maps of Mexico purporting to show the territory controlled by the rebels have been published everywhere for the last six months all showing how the rebels were closing in on Mexico City.

For more than six months it has also been affirmed that the Huerta Government controlled only Mexico City and the federal district and yet every skirmish fought on the border has been given great prominence as indicating the weakening of the Government. If the Huerta Government controlled only the federal district, what difference would be made by an insignificant engagement fought at Juarez, for instance, two thousand miles away? Again, huge headlines have announced almost every day for the last five months that the Huerta Government defies the United States! Every move made by that government has been represented as a defiance of the United States, so as to inflame public opinion. As a matter of fact, not once has the Huerta Government shown itself aggressive or defiant. It simply refused to accede to demands which no government in the world would have accepted and for which Huerta was praised even by Carranzista newspapers.

Because Huerta went to a bull fight unguarded, all newspapers at once proceeded to consider that as an extraordinary instance after having stated that Huerta had taken refuge in the "Fortress" of Chapultepec Castle! Any one that has been in Mexico knows that Chapultepec is a palace, but not a fort, and that General Huerta goes everywhere unguarded.

Last—in this number—we shall point to the publication in the New York "Sun" of supposed orders sent by the Huerta Government to the Governors of the various States to see that the elections were conducted in a way to "keep Huerta in power." The "Sun" published the facsimile of a printed sheet in Spanish which of course gave it the appearance of being genuine and conclusive proof.

It must be clear, of course, that such orders, if existing, would not have been printed but sent verbally, as was done by the Diaz and Madero Governments. It was an easy matter for Huerta's enemies to write those orders and have them printed. The "Sun" did not investigate before publishing the supposed orders, but the N. Y. "Times" queried its correspondent as to the authenticity of those orders and the "Times" correspondent answered that no one could find any proof that the orders were authentic and that it was generally believed the printed sheets had been circulated by enemies of the Government.

The Washington "Post," reporting the lecture of ex-Ambassador Wilson at the Belasco Theatre in Washington, stated that the numerous audience was composed mainly of Latin-Americans, while in fact it was composed largely of prominent men in political and army circles in Washington.

# ON MORAL GROUNDS

We object on moral grounds to the Administration's attitude toward Mexico.

We affirm that on moral grounds it should receive the condemnation of an enlightened people.

We predict that on moral grounds it will be branded in history as a policy of perverse injustice and cold-blooded indifference to human rights and human suffering.

We base this objection, affirmation and prediction on the following facts that are within the knowledge of even the superficial reader of the daily newspapers.

1.—The placing of greater emphasis on antagonism toward one man than on the real settlement of a suffering people's problems.

2.—By that antagonism helping to ruin a nation, the vast majority of whose people want only peace.

3.—By that antagonism and by moral support giving encouragement to bands of outlaws, bandits and desperadoes, who loot, blackmail and ravish as part of the day's work.

4.—By expressing, according to undenied newspaper reports, personal satisfaction at the temporary successes of the bandits against the forces of law and order.

5.—By instituting a financial blockade, a starving-out process, which although aimed at one man, has brought great loss and suffering to a whole nation.

6.—By watching like a vulture the weakness and struggles of a sick people, and not lifting a hand to help.

7.—By permitting the press of the country to misrepresent the true conditions in Mexico and our relations toward them, when suppressed private advices and State Department reports are truly informing.

No one has suggested for a moment how the elimination of President Huerta is to solve the problems of Mexico. Suppose that Huerta was eliminated, what then? If Carranza became President, would Villa, flushed with his lawless career, submit, or would he continue against Carranza as against Huerta? Would Zapata, Contreras, Genevieve de la O., Aguilar, any one of a score of bandit chiefs, lay down his arms and dismiss his looting followers at the mere say-so of any of his fellows? The last state of Mexico would be worse than the first, with all these chiefs fighting with added zest for power, having seen that such rebellion was once successful.

There is this important feature always to be remembered: Any President of Mexico even suspected of being American-made would not last any longer than the time necessary to start an uprising against him. The Mexican people prize their national sovereignty even above political liberty. So it follows that by pursuing a personally antagonistic policy toward President Huerta, the Wilson Administration is acting immorally, as this attitude is only further complicating Mexico's problems of the present and the future.

It must be understood that of the 15,000,000 or more Mexicans the vast majority are law-abiding, peaceable people. The men in arms, the bands who are roving the country, do not total more than a few thousands. They are men who do not want to work, who are naturally averse to the demands of civilized life, and who find it profitable and easy to live off the country. Some few of their leaders are more intelligent, but at best their object is the acquisition of personal power and prestige. Rich and poor of the overriden sections of Mexico are the prey of these bands. It is this great mass of peaceable, decent people who must suffer, who do suffer from all the trouble that has been visited on Mexico from within since Madero lit the torch of rebellion and from without by the attitude of the Wilson Administration. This attitude has effectually interfered with the Mexican Government's program of pacification, to which it was committed for the good of all Mexico. Is it moral to place a financial blockade around and starve out a whole people through suspicion, distrust or dislike of one man? It is immoral even to think so.

The women of Mexico are in terror of the bandit hordes. They flee from the towns where Villa's men are expected to come. Villa's name is a very household word with which to frighten children. Brutality and lust are his only masters. We have had recent evidence of his cruel, merciless treatment of prisoners. And yet Administration officials were recently quoted in the newspapers —and the quotation was not denied—as being rather inclined to excuse the Villa summary executions as being a sort of necessary fringe of disloyalty, or some other such academic, heartless generality. And now the Administration is quoted—and the quotation is not denied—as "taking heart" at the reported success of Villa's freebooters. Great God! Is this morality? How about the hundreds of violated women in all parts of Mexico? Is the President "taking heart" at their plight? How about the murdered at Villa's hands? Is the President "taking heart" at their death? It is absolutely beyond belief to any respectable person in Mexico or to any American who has lived there and come in contact with these outlaws.

And yet the Administration lets the impression go out to the people of the United States that it is working for peace in Mexico, when every day it is adding to the flame of war. Lets the impression go forth that the elimination of Huerta would bring peace, when there is nothing to indicate that it would help in the slightest to do so. Lets the impression go forth that the men in arms against the Government of Mexico are animated by high principles, when it has every evidence to show that their highest principle is loot. Lets the impression be spread broadcast that it is friendly toward the people of Mexico, when it is obvious to any one who knows Mexico that she never had a worse enemy. Helps to create the impression that it is animated solely by considerations of morality instead of expediency, but does not explain that its professed morality is remarkably expedient for certain less "moral" American interests.

And the Administration hovers over Mexico like a vulture watching its dying prey struggling across the desert. Licks its chops like a tiger in pleasurable foretaste of the enemy's fall. Smiles gleefully when it gets news of the added difficulties of the Mexican situation. The whole thing is almost ghoulishly immoral. It is un-American. It is unhuman. It is uncanny.

And it may happen that the blood and treasure of the American people will suffer for the sin. Crowning immorality of all!

## VILLA.

Francisco Villa, or Pancho as he is familiarly called, is an ex-bandit of Chihuahua. He is little more than half Indian, with only the smattering of an education, but he possesses great fighting ability and personal magnetism which enables him to raise an army for any purpose he may have. He is about 36 years old and has a record of homicides which would make the best record of an American "killer" look very short indeed. So far as can be learned, none of these murders followed a personal encounter with any individual.

For the last five years of the Diaz regime Villa was a proscribed bandit, under sentence of death, living out in the Chihuahua mountains and deserts and subsisting from robbery and pillage. There is no doubt of his bloodthirstyness any more than there is a doubt about his skill in evading the rurales Diaz sent after him. At the head of a small band of men, always well mounted, with a thorough knowledge of the country, the trails and waterholes, he could never be caught.

When Madero revolted against Diaz, Villa made his peace with him. His little band, speedily augmented, became a good sized army and American soldier adventurers helped him to bring about some semblance of discipline. Villa became a Madero lieutenant and was with his chief when Juarez was taken. He did not do much fighting at that time, it is said, but he had a fine body of men, perfectly willing to take any loot that might be transportable.—New York "Sun."

# THE WHISPERING MYSTERY

## By James Creelman

Washington, Nov. 22.—With Huerta and his Congress ignoring President Wilson and his "personal representative," Mr. Lind, and with Carranza, the rebel leader, contemptuously turning his back on the President's other "personal representative," Mr. Hale, the whispering mystery of the White House and the State Department increases.

**Meantime the systematic destruction of Mexico by scattered armies and roving hordes of robbers and murderers, led by jingling whiskerandos with the cry of "liberty" ever on their lips, goes on without interruption.**

No one now dares to discuss this aspect of the Mexican question in the White House or the State Department.

"Property" and "business" are forbidden words.

Mr. Wilson is coldly sarcastic. Mr. Bryan privately rages and denounces American business men in Mexico as "prostitutes" who lose all reverence for American institutions when they cross the Rio Grande.

The general attitude of the President and Secretary of State seems to be that all Americans who are engaged in business in foreign countries are probably unscrupulous adventurers who deserve little consideration.

Meantime the ghastly realities of the Mexican situation are beginning to show themselves.

The strange atmosphere of repression in Washington, the singular unwillingness of the leaders of all parties to talk publicly, is not so much the result of confidence in the extraordinary and secretive course pursued by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan.

**The present silence is rather due to a feeling that the Wilson Administration has actually, though thus far bloodlessly, intervened in the domestic affairs of Mexico and that the United States has been committed to a policy from which it is now too late to withdraw without a grave loss of national influence.**

Having deliberately engaged in the work of breaking down and destroying the Huerta government by sheer bankruptcy, the Wilson Administration is giving powerful aid to Carranza and Zapata and the multitudes of bandits who are slaying and pilfering as "constitutionalists."

That the support given to the rebels and their bandit allies is indirect makes it none the less real and effective.

**American intervention in Mexico is an accomplished fact, although a shot has not yet been fired.**

Two and a half months ago the Mexican financial envoy in Europe received official notice that the French government had asked certain French bankers to withdraw from a loan they had agreed to make to the Huerta government on the ground that the United States had undertaken to force Huerta to obey President Wilson's demand for his retirement by cutting off his financial supplies.

Who does President Wilson intend to recognize in Huerta's place?

Has the United States turned away from the present Mexican government because it is despotic and "founded on blood" to accept the rule of Carranza, whose followers have engaged wholesale, and without rebuke, in murder, robbery and arson?

The silence of the White House and the State Department is due to the fact that the Wilson Administration, having blindly and stubbornly forced the present situation, persistently ignoring the reports and opinions of our diplomatic and consular representatives in Mexico, and deliberately opposing the policy of all other great nations, has apparently no policy for the future.

Nothing is said because there is nothing to say.

The downfall of Huerta will be a personal vindication of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan.

There the great plan, wrought out in the blood and misery of a neighboring people, seems to end. The rest is a blind gamble.

The truth is that it was the intention of President Taft to recognize the Huerta government. Secretary of State Knox asked the ad interim government to agree to the settlement of certain outstanding and troublesome matters pending between the two countries as a precedent to formal recognition of President Huerta.

But the Mexican foreign office insisted on raising a number of hair-splitting, technical objections, which greatly delayed the negotiations.

**Secretary Knox makes no secret of the fact that the Taft Administration had decided to extend the full national recognition to the new Mexican government as soon as these questions were disposed of.**

Had it not been for the dilatory tactics of the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, the Huerta government would have been recognized, the bankers of the world would have gladly furnished the money needed to reorganize and increase the Mexican army and by this time there would be comparative peace and order where all is bloodshed, pillage and destruction.

Before these preliminary questions could be settled the Wilson Administration came into power and, although every other great nation in the world had recognized Huerta, President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, without consultation with their predecessors or with the experienced experts of the State Department, and spurning the reports of our ambassador and consuls as unworthy of consideration, deliberately brought on the present perilous situation by refusing to recognize the Mexican government because it was "founded on blood" and not the result of a free election.

### What About Carranza?

Having refused to recognize Huerta's authority as a power "founded on blood," can President Wilson recognize a Carranza government, stained as it will be with blood and brigandage?

Ever since the present struggle began the news dispatches have borne almost daily witness to the sturdy efforts of the Huerta administration to protect life and property everywhere.

Responsible men of all shades of opinion, even those who insist that Huerta should retire from office, bear witness that wherever his authority extends persons and property alike are safe.

On the other hand, the story of the operations of the "constitutionalist" forces has been a ghastly history filled with scenes of wanton slaughter and destruction.

All through these dreadful months the American newspapers reporting the work of the men who hail Carranza as their representative and chief have told of the butchery of prisoners; the looting and burning of towns and villages; the barbarous torture of helpless men and women; the pillage of railroad trains and banks; the holding of rich civilians for ransom—every kind of murder, robbery and blackmail that the most savage ingenuity could invent.

**The frightful story of the cold-blooded looting of Durango, a city of more than 31,000 inhabitants, by Carranza's forces was reported by the American consul general, but suppressed by the State Department.**

**Carranza's officers agreed in advance, in order to secure the assistance of Gen. Urbino and his ferocious bandits, that the city should be looted from end to end.**

Even while President Wilson's "personal representative," Mr. Hale, a former newspaper correspondent, was dealing with Carranza and his "cabinet" at Nogales, Carranza's men, under Pancho Villa, captured Juarez, within sight and sound of American soil, and murdered unarmed prisoners, killing sick men in their beds.

**And while the President was still conferring with Carranza on the frontier, there was a battle fought by his men at Victoria, followed by a deliberate massacre.**

All reports agree that when Huerta's army, seeing that it was useless to fight any longer, sent out an officer with a white altar cloth as a flag of truce, Carranza's representative refused to receive him, saying, "we want no prisoners; they are a burden."

### Rebels Gave No Quarter.

This savage utterance was followed by slaughter without quarter.

Nor has Carranza given the slightest evidence that he disapproves of the barbarities committed by his troops.

As a matter of fact, it is not so long since Carranza's own brother went with his followers to a mine owned by a foreigner and demanded $5,000 from the mine manager, threatening to destroy the place if the blackmail was not paid.

The manager said that he had no money, whereupon Carranza destroyed half the property. Meantime the manager succeeded in getting the $5,000 and paid it to the ruffian, who promptly destroyed the rest of the property.

### Washington Informed.

News of the brutal, and sometimes fiendish conduct of the rebel forces has been received in Washington from responsible sources throughout the war-smitten parts of Mexico. The official representatives of many governments have expressed their fear of what will happen if the Huerta government falls and the predatory hordes who call themselves "constitutionalists" are allowed to seize Mexico.

How can President Wilson, who refuses, on high moral grounds, to deal with a "government founded on blood," recognize any government set up by Carranza?

If Mr. Wilson refuses to accept either a Huerta government or a Carranza government, what does he propose to do to secure peace and protection to health and property in Mexico?

President Wilson and Secretary Bryan sitting in their libraries and contemplating the beauty of liberty safeguarded by law and justice, cannot change the inevitable events which are approaching. The United States has intruded its power into the affairs of the Mexican people. What is done cannot be recalled. —N. Y. "Evening Mail."

### WHO SERVES AND WAITS.

Villa has been buying everything he could order from El Paso this week for his army, but merchants to-night say that when they presented their bills they were told to come "manana," and few of them have seen any real money. One El Paso firm is said to have sold Villa $16,000 worth of clothing and shoes without receiving any pay.

Certainly the El Paso merchants will be delighted to contribute such a small sum to the cause of "constitutionalism" (in Mexico) which the citizens of their liberty-loving (in Mexico) city have so long supported. But if there should be any merchant in El Paso so basely devoid of love for the Mexican Constitution and so devoid of moral principles as to be unwilling to give clothing and shoes without receiving pay, let him present his bill to Hale or Bryan. Undoubtedly one of these two money-abhorring Mexican Constitution-loving gentlemen will be only too glad to pay the bill and yet be thankful for the opportunity to serve that greatest of all Mexican patriots, Pancho Villa or, as they would say, General Villa.

### IF

It has been affirmed by some whose sympathies were with the Mexican rebels because of their claim that they are fighting for the Constitution that Mexico, after all, is learning through bloodshed a political lesson, fighting its way out of political darkness into the light of democracy.

If revolutions could ever have dragged the Mexican people out into the light, the Mexicans would be the most enlightened people in the world to-day and theirs the most democratic of all democracies.

Very few Americans know anything of Mexican history, the most ignorant, unfortunately, being those who with the greatest cocksureness discourse and write about Mexico in the daily press.

### A PROTESTING AMERICAN.

The conduct of the Administration in handling the Mexican situation can only be characterized as amateur, ignorant and blundering.

The unofficial outgivings from the Administration have been self-contradictory, misleading and calculated to do more harm than good. Every move has been of such a character as to cause distrust, suspicion or anger in every Latin-American country in Central and South America. Sending a man like Lind, with the cool assumption that he was to negotiate with a Government that we did not "recognize," was impudent enough, but when followed by a message that compliance would result in financial favors it became most insulting.

The wretched, humiliating request to our nationals to leave Mexico has already been forgotten.

Then there is this perpetual talk of "intervention," of overseeing their elections, of policing their territory. The idea that our soldiers and marines could shoot down the poorly-paid soldiers or peons of a neighboring country which has done us no harm except to ask us to mind our own business! And then this talk of our arming or supplying arms to the rebels or bandits whose outrages have been reported equal to those in Bulgaria! It is time that the American people called a halt on the whole transaction.—Joseph D. Holmes in Boston "Evening Transcript."

# LEST WE FORGET

We shall have to fight in the open some day. Meanwhile we shall have made the whole world our enemy.

* * *

A hypocritical bully is never loved.

* * *

It looks as if the fight would start in Mexico.

* * *

God knows where it will end.

* * *

A war fomented and encouraged by rapacious American oil interests, ably assisted by two amateur diplomats spouting fine moral phrases.

* * *

Spouting peace talk.

* * *

And acting cockily and truculently toward the rest of the world.

* * *

Proposing competition and a "new freedom."

* * *

Joining hands with the Octopus to wipe out competition in Latin-American countries.

* * *

Banging the Money Trust over the head to satisfy public opinion here.

* * *

Playing the game of the Money Trust in Latin-America.

* * *

The fight has been brought out into the open at last.

* * *

The fight of the oil interests.

* * *

Strange that the Administration should be fighting shoulder to shoulder with the American octopus.

* * *

And the State Department is its obliging agent.

* * *

With all this talk of morality a blind.

* * *

The smell of oil is in the air and it isn't a very nice smell for the Administration to have on its democratic clothes.

* * *

We have not forgotten the Archbold letters.

* * *

Of course the Administration will continue to insist that it is fighting for grand principles of right and justice, democracy, constitutionalism and humanity.

* * *

Which is precisely what the oil interests want the Administration to say. Nothing could please them better.

* * *

It's perfectly fine to have a respectable front for nefarious intrigues.

Respectability is an admirable weapon for the individuals who have assisted the Administration in making up its mind about Mexico.

* * *

Who is paying the Villas, Aguilars and Zapatas? Where are they getting their arms and ammunition?

* * *

Look into that, O Blind or Perverse Administration—and talk morality never again.

* * *

At least not to Mexico.

* * *

Keep it for home consumption. It is needed.

* * *

Huerta is an innocent, prattling child in comparison with some of the men behind this oil war.

* * *

It is a terrible thing for any Latin-American government to grant concessions—unless your friends get the concessions.

* * *

Morality! Buncombe for the Chautauquas.

* * *

Villa, one of the worst bandits in the history of Mexico, is pedestaled and gushed over by American newspapers, while Huerta, always a soldier and defender of law and order, is condemned, maligned, lied about, insulted and libeled. Get at the source of this organized injustice and you will have solved the Mexican problem as far as this country is concerned.

* * *

Must we stand for the methods used by American interests and their friends in Washington simply because we are Americans?

* * *

That's not patriotism. That's simply being made a fool of.

* * *

Well, the whole sordid story will come out some day soon.

* * *

Watch!

### DREAMS.

Villa's officers declared to-night that when he left Juarez with his men this afternoon he declared that this battle would settle whether Huerta or the Constitutionalists are to rule Mexico.

What they really meant was that the battle would decide whether Huerta or Villa would rule Mexico. How a battle at Juarez can decide the whole thing is rather difficult to perceive, but in any case Villa must be already certain of recognition if he is getting ready to occupy Chapultepec.

# PLAYING THE GAME

Another incident affording much interest to the observer and student of intrigues and by-plays against the Government of Mexico has been the taking aboard an American battleship of two Maderos and two of their relatives. The "escape" was engineered by Lind, according to press reports, and when the two Maderos were "safe" on board they declared that nothing could save Mexico but God and one added: "Yes, but with the help of the United States!" The comedy was fairly well staged. But it does not deceive any one who knows the Maderos and their connections. This invocation to the United States to assist God to save Mexico was not very well accepted by Mexicans. The interesting part, however, of this grandstand play—which will be used by some man like Senator Fall in asserting solemnly that Mexicans themselves are demanding intervention—consists in the effect which the Maderos sought to produce in this country by their "hairbreadth escape!"

They had been released on bail—a small amount—and were awaiting trial, after having been imprisoned several days in San Juan de Ullua. If there had been a reason why they should have feared for their lives they would not have been released on bail.

But it was necessary to create again the impression that a reign of terror exists under the Huerta Government, and so they were induced to take refuge on board an American ship!

It is not the first time that this game has been played.

More than one Mexican who has not been able to blackmail the Huerta Government into making him at least Vice-President of Mexico, has left that country informing the four winds that he was forced to leave because his life was in danger. In fact, every scoundrel and outlaw that has come to the United States is a "political refugee"!

More than one Mexican belonging to the Madero group has voluntarily "disappeared," so that the news could be published in this country that the Huerta Government had done away with him. The case of Bordel Mangel served to reveal this sort of dark-cellar machiavellic play. He reappeared. There are many Mexicans who believe and many who assert that the incident of Belisario Dominguez—the Senator who made a speech attacking Huerta and then disappeared—was nothing but a well-staged comedy for the special benefit of the American public. The writing of the will, the private letter saying that he could not find a printer who would print his speech—which could not be true—the request that each of his friends make five copies and ask in his turn five friends to do the same—his dramatic speech and finally his complete disappearance—all this is firmly believed to have been part of a cleverly carried out plan, which included the subsequent threat of the Maderist members of Congress to meet in the revolutionary camp if ample protection were not guaranteed them by the government.

Dominguez is living in Oaxaca, it is asserted by some, in Cuba by others. In any case the fact is that his body has not been found.

It is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with the men who made up the Madero clique to realize the depth and tortuous ways of their intrigues. But American newspapers are so easily "taken in" that these Maderists would think it a shame not to avail themselves of this fact!

In regard to the action of John Lind, of whom it is difficult to say whether he was deceived or an actor in the comedy, the following may prove illuminating:

(Special Cable to New York "American.")

Vera Cruz, Nov. 22.—Mayor Lagos said to the New York "American" correspondent to-day:

"I am surprised and incensed at the action taken both by Mr. Lind and Consul Canada in assisting the Maderos and their party in eluding our laws. These men were taken from Ulua prison, where they had received the best of attention at the request of General Huerta and placed on very light bonds and given the city as limits of freedom.

"If these men are guilty, then we have been thwarted in taking action against them. We had reason to believe they were attempting to elude the law and the military commander, through me, ordered that they appear before him so that he could communicate verbally a matter direct from the President. They were not to be molested in any way beyond a notification.

"I did have special men keeping watch on them. It was my duty. They were my charges. It is impossible for me to believe that the people of the great United States, a high respecter of laws, will sanction and look with favor upon a representative of Mr. Wilson to act as smuggler and guard of our delinquents.

"Our armed weakness avoided a clash, the prudence of our military commander avoided a clash. We all know the awfulness of results had we attempted to make good our rights. It would have been a match in the magazine.

"Instead of these gentlemen trying to avoid trouble, they seem to be hunting a cause to be able to destroy us, as well they and we know they can."

Some Americans view the incident as far-fetched and believe it will have a complicating effect.

## MR. BRYAN'S DIPLOMACY.

In denying a report originating in the City of Mexico that the United States Government had made a protest against the despatch by Great Britain of warships to Mexican waters, Secretary Bryan heatedly condemns the publication because the report was not first verified, and he adds:

"Surely in international affairs there ought to be a patriotic desire to promote friendly relations with other nations, and these cannot be promoted by the reckless publication of false statements in regard to the acts of public officials."

The State Department has done so many novel and peculiar things and procured so many queer appointments since March 4 that the matinal question is, What will it do next? In the time of Mr. Hay or Mr. Root a protest against a foreign Government's despatch of warships to disturbed Mexico to rescue its imperilled citizens would have been inconceivable, but not so under Mr. Bryan's conduct of the State Department. Almost anything reported in the nature of a new departure, however singular, finds credence now. The present State Department seems to be forging precedents and making over international law with pervervid zeal and a blind faith in its resources.

While Mr. Bryan should be commended when he deplores the effect of such a report as he denies upon our friendly relations with Great Britain, it may be said in the kindliest spirit that less mystery and a little more candor on his part would contribute powerfully to a better understanding of the purposes of the State Department in the present complexity in Mexico.—New York "Sun."

## A PARALLEL CASE.

When one looks at the America of to-day, even though the view be but a superficial one, with its insane worship of money and vulgar ostentation, its mismanagement and incapacity in high places, its hurry to get rich quickly at all costs, its bribery and corruption, its low standard of ideas and morals, its trusts and corporations which strangle its commercial life like the limbs of an octopus, its tainted justice, its scandal-loving press, its scamped and jerry-built cities, its packed State Legislatures, its many social problems which it seems quite incapable of solving; when one looks at all this and sees how far it has fallen short of the fair promise of less than a century and a half ago, and when one sees how little hope there is for the future, then, indeed, one may be inclined to agree with Bernard Shaw in his contention that America, being incapable of managing her own affairs, should be placed in statu pupillari once more and handed over to an international commission of Europeans. * * *

Instead of being pointed to as an example, it is almost more to the point whether she should not return to the swaddling clothes and the nursery.

The above is from a vicious attack on the United States and its institutions quoted from a recent book by Alan Raleigh, an English writer. He draws a perfectly hopeless picture of us and our future. If half that he says were true, we should immediately retire from the center of the stage. But the fact is that we are just a litle bit more optimistic about our country and its affairs than the Englishman. There is similar misunderstanding and misinformation, superficial observation and malicious exaggeration in the Washington Administration's expressions on Mexico. We can afford to smile amusedly at the Britisher's ravings, for we know they cannot hurt us, but the very life of Mexico as a nation is at stake as a result of just such ignorance and perversion of facts.

## A SHAMEFUL CRIME.

Let us still hope that war is impossible, for it would be a sad and shameful crime. But if we are not drifting towards inevitable intervention, the mistaken course of our administration has certainly impaired for years to come our amicable relations with Mexico and weakened our influence with all Latin America. President Wilson may be said to have paved Mexico with good intentions, but good intentions and bad judgment are a very unfortunate combination.—Rochester "Post-Express."

Villa went out in the desert to see. To see what? To see whether his American friends had smuggled across the line the guns and ammunition he needed. They had—and he returned to Juarez with his precious guns and a story about a defeat of the Federals which has not been borne out. Oh, it's a great comedy for some, but a terrible tragedy for Mexico!

* * *

If we wouldn't talk morality so much. If we weren't such hypocrites. If we only fought in the open like men.

# The Latest Phase of the Mexican Situation

By Henry Lane Wilson, Former United States Ambassador to Mexico, in the "Independent."

Few nations of the world are better protected against foreign aggression than the United States. To the east the Atlantic will ever be a barrier against European aggression. To the west 5,000 miles of untrodden depths of the Pacific constitute our safety against the menace of the so-called yellow peril. To the north is a great people of the same origin and with language, customs and civilization similar to our own. While union with Canada may never come about, there neither is nor will be any reason for fear from that quarter. To the south of the Rio Grande there is, however, a real international problem which it behooves the American people to study and the true nature of which should be understood by those clothed with official responsibility, that the power of this great Government may not be used unjustly nor in adventurous political sallies carrying us away from the political traditions of one hundred and thirty years and involving us in responsibilities the assumption of which must inevitably lead to the extension of our territorial limits at the expense of weaker and more indolent nations.

The revolution against the government of General Porfirio Diaz and the subsequent revolution against the government of Madero, with all their accompanying tragedies, mysteries, the destruction of vast material interests, and the great sacrifice of human lives, have passed into a history which is written though not yet public.

In the month of August the President dispatched Mr. John Lind, of Minnesota, as his personal representative to Mexico with certain instructions which were to constitute the basis of the representations which he was expected to make to the Mexican Government. Mr. Lind's designation for this important mission, without official character and without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, which shares with the President the responsibility for the conduct of our foreign relations, was an irregularity and an example of that kind of personal government which has not been looked upon with favor in the United States in the past and which was highly offensive, irritating and humiliating to the Mexican nation, which as a sovereign Power cannot but regard such lapses from established precedents in dealing with her as indicative of small respect and regard.

Mr. Lind's instructions, in brief, were as follows:

I. To indicate to General Huerta that this Government would not recognize him as Provisional President.

II. That a constitutional presidential election must be held and that General Huerta must not be a candidate to succeed himself.

Mr. Lind's mission was doomed to failure for three reasons:

I. His dispatch thither without formal diplomatic character was an act of offensive intervention in the affairs of a friendly nation.

II. His mission was personally offensive to the Provisional President of Mexico. Huerta was told that he was unfit to be president and asked to give his consent and adherence to the opinion.

III. The demand that a constitutional presidential election be held was and is impossible of fulfilment because the machinery for a constitutional election does not exist in Mexico, and 80 per cent. of the population have no idea whatsoever of the obligations of citizenship or of the nature of constitutional government. Let it be clearly remembered that 80 per cent. of the population of Mexico is Indian and unable to read or write. The implanting of democratic institutions in soil like this is obviously a thing impossible of accomplishment. One might as well expect the Statue of Liberty to stand if built upon quicksands as to hope for good results from an attempt to plant an altruistic and democratic republic by mere ipse dixit among people having such largely preponderant elements of ignorance and unfitness. The engrafting of our ideas, institutions and customs, which prosper only under the restraints which spring from a high degree of civilization, upon the Mexican people, without having prepared them by education and training for their responsibilities, is a task so absolutely impossible of accomplishment and its processes so likely to be attended with a continuation of disorder, bloodshed and crime, that those clothed with authority might well take the time to study the lesson, which has been taught for a thousand years, that in the conduct of foreign relations idealism is a dangerous element, and that morals and expediency are always or nearly always identical. There never has been a free election in Mexico and there never will be until a strong and vigorous Government like that of General Diaz shall set about the task of educating and elevating the masses, supported by the sympathy and advice of civilized Powers, which, instead of attempting to set up an altruistic republic, shall furnish those effective aids which may lead to a system of universal education, the implanting of sound political ideas, and a patriotism which will be something higher and nobler than hatred of the foreigner.

The truth of this is borne out by Mexico's history for a hundred years; during all that long period of time no free election has taken place and no machinery has existed for a constitutional election. The total of the votes cast for other presidents prior to Madero may be considered as negligible, and he only received 18,989 votes in a population of 15,000,000. The establishment of democratic institutions in Mexico is not, therefore, a conceivable possibility at the present time. This opinion—and it is not simply an opinion, but a statement of absolute fact—was and is shared by all my diplomatic colleagues in Mexico, by members of the American and all other foreign colonies, by all religious and other foreign organizations in Mexico, and by all that portion of Mexican public opinion which may be described as sane, honest and patriotic.

Face to face with these conditions, what is the position of our present Administration? To one who has closely watched the trend of events it would appear that it is confronted either with the necessity of immediately recognizing the government which shall succeed that of General Huerta, and of entering into diplomatic relations with it, or of intervening by armed force—as it already has in other ways in the political affairs of that republic. The gravity of this latter step, if it is taken, must not be underestimated, because it will mean the assertion of a virtual lordship of imperialistic character, not only over Mexico, but likewise over all of Latin America to the Isthmus of Panama. Whatever government shall be set up in Mexico under our auspices will exist just so long as we have fleets and armies there to protect it, and no longer. Our military forces having been withdrawn, the national ill-will will speedily wreak itself on a hated gringo government imposed by a foreign power. This ready made republic, imported from our shores, having been destroyed, we must either admit our folly and wear sackcloth and ashes or return and return again to reestablish the form of government which we think ought to be suited to our neighbors and ought to be loved by them because it is suited to us and loved by us. Out of what appeared originally to very many honest Americans, therefore, to be the expression of a proper resentment against a government set up by violence will be developed an outward movement of imperialism hateful to the great majority of American public opinion, and which will not only make us directly responsible to the world for Latin America to the Isthmus of Panama, but will also, if the Administration is true to the principles which it has enunciated, place the obligation upon us of passing upon the titles of republics like Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru, where governments are frequently ushered into power through violent revolutionary methods.

It might be well to make it clear at this point, in order that public opinion may not be led astray by false alarms, that the nations of Europe as they were and are represented in the diplomatic corps at Mexico are not conspiring against the interests of the American Government. On the contrary, these governments and their diplomatic agents would gladly see our Government take the lead in any sane and sound policy which will bring about the restoration of order in Mexico and prevent the further effusion of blood. The European nations frankly recognize that they have no political interests in Mexico. Their sole interests is in the development of their trade relations with Mexico.

I know our President to be a man of lofty ideals and high purpose, but he has an erroneous conception—and I say it with all respect—of what our policy toward Latin America ought to be, and he has been and is following the guidance of sophisticated rhetoricians or amateur agents delving in fields of whose soil they have not the most elemental knowledge, and whose rashness and folly are placing heavy burdens, not only on this country, but on the thousands of our unfortunate countrymen whose lives and property are placed in hazard.

The policy of the Administration toward Mexico has been accepted neither by Mexico nor by any other nation, and has reached an impasse. I could wish that it might be otherwise, and that any policy which can bring peace to that unhappy country, to that unfortunate people and to our own splendid but unfortunate nationals living there, might succeed, and I should be highly gratified as an American to see the Administration, instead of venturing out on the dangerous sea of imperialism—though not intending to trim its sails in that direction—modify some of the unhealthy attributes of the Monroe Doctrine which have come to the surface during the last fifteen years.

# NAILING THEM

### "IMPARTIALITY."

In the policy of President Wilson toward Mexico "La Prensa" sees "a denial of the principles of equality," and by way of specifications Buenos Ayres is told that the President "gives arms to the rebels" and "openly backs one Mexican party against another."

This will be news to the American people and news to General Carranza.

The truth is the President is not giving arms to the rebels, despite very strong pressure brought to bear in favor of lifting the present embargo against the export of arms to the northern rebels. That embargo is still on, and whatever may be President Wilson's personal views as to the "righteousness" of the cause of one party or the other in Mexico the attitude of the Government of the United States has been of impartial non-recognition.

There has been no "interference" in Mexico to which the other Latin-American republics can object, nor is there likely to be any "interference" that those governments will not approve.—New York "Herald."

The "Herald" is as well informed as "La Prensa." But in this question "La Presna" deals with actual facts, with the pith of the question while the "Herald" chooses to deal only with the empty shells. Of course the President is not giving personally arms to the rebels or is not giving official sanction to the smuggling of arms across the border, but every one here and abroad knows that the embargo on arms is a farce and that the rebels receive about as many arms as they want.

And it cannot be adduced that the Federal authorities are powerless to prevent the commerce in arms, because during the Taft Administration, at the time of the Orozco rebellion it was clearly shown that the embargo on arms could be effectively enforced.

The Pickwickian editorialist of the "Herald" affirms that the attitude of the United States has been one of impartial non-recognition! Evidently the "Herald" has a very low estimate of the intelligence of its readers. Is it not taking sides to ask General Huerta not to be a candidate at any future elections and not to make the same request of Carranza? By the way, we should like the "Herald" to tell us from what military academy Carranza was graduated and how he came to the title of General which the "Herald" bestows upon him?

But again is it not taking sides to refuse to receive or listen to any one offering evidence in favor of the Mexican Government, while anything from the rebel junta is eagerly accepted, especially by Bryan? All Washington knows that Bryan has refused to listen to any one advocating support for the Mexican Government, while he has given as long a hearing as they have wished to members of the Madero family and to Maderist agents.

Mr. Bryan's face lights up with unfeigned delight when Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas begins one of his frequent interviews with a: "Mr. Secretary, I had a very interesting talk with Mr. Escudero this morning." "Yes? Yes? What did he say?" eagerly inquires Bryan.

Is it not taking sides to throw official doors open to Sherby Hopkins, the representative of the rebel junta and of the Pierce Oil interests in Mexico, while those same doors are closed to any one wishing to speak for the Government?

Is it not taking sides to encourage morally brigandage and looting, while on the other hand the efforts of the Government to protect its citizens' lives and property are thwarted?

Well, it takes the colossal hypocrisy of the "Herald" to state as cool as a cucumber that the Wilson Administration has not interfered and has not taken sides in Mexico.

That "Herald" editorialist is a smooth writer, but then the rescue of the Volturno's passengers has forcibly recalled to our mind that oil is a wonderful "smoother."

### WHO SHALL SAVE MEXICO?

Who shall save Mexico? asks the New York "Times," and then goes on to say that there seems to be no patriotism in Mexico, and adds:

Yet there must be thousands of law-abiding Mexicans in the professional classes, among the merchants of the capital and Guadalajara and Monterey, the manufacturers of Orizaba, who have given much sober thought to the reawakening of the old revolutionary spirit in their country and the havoc it has caused since Porfirio Diaz fled. These men have some idea of a way out of the difficulty. They must favor some plan for the restoration of peace, and it is not credible that they believe that any lasting benefit to their nation can come from either the Dictator who kills men who question his political actions or the murderous brigands of the North. What do they expect to happen? What do they hope for? These are the really important Mexican questions.

Certainly the fate of Mexico is in the hands of its patriotic and intelligent middle class.

If the writer of the foregoing had lived in Mexico for a reasonable length of time, and had made a conscientious study of conditions and men, there would be no necessity for his asking these questions.

He would know that the thousands of law-abiding Mexicans whom he mentions here do believe that lasting benefit to their nation can come from upholding the Government of General Huerta. That although many of them may not entertain any personal sympathy for the Provisional President, yet in common with others they believe that only by upholding a Government which represents law and order can the nation be saved.

That these men, constituting the most solid and patriotic element of Mexico, know that peace must be conquered by force and maintained by justice and necessary reforms. They know that no government can bring about any reforms until peace is reestablished and order restored. Even General Huerta's political opponents recognize the fact that he has the ability and the strength to accomplish this and that he is one of the very few men fitted for the task.

His ability and strength have been amply demonstrated in the last ten months, during which time he has made a valiant struggle not only against the forces of disorder but also against the tremendous pressure brought to bear by the government of this country.

They also know that the elimination of Huerta does not mean peace, but anarchy, and that the yielding of Huerta to the tactless and unwarranted demands of this Government would mean the surrender of Mexican sovereignty. Evidently the editorial writer of the "Times" has little understanding of the position of the Huerta Government and the actual conditions in Mexico. Likewise he shows a lamentable igorance of Mexican history and character.

If it had not been for the demands of the United States and the most vicious campaign on the part of the American press against General Huerta, perhaps he would be out of the presidency by this time. But both the Government and the press of this country have forced him into a position in which he is upheld by the very Mexicans mentioned by the writer.

### NO PUPPET.

In so far as Carranza is pro-American while Huerta is distinctly anti-American, the change of incumbents might be mildly beneficial to us, even without the thorough pacification of the country which is needed. Predilections at Washington, which run, it would seem, to any one rather than Huerta, would also be gratified.—N. Y. Evening "Sun."

The statement that Huerta is distinctly anti-American is not borne out by the assertion of Americans in Mexico. That Huerta should resent the interference of the United States Government is quite natural.

He cannot force his friendship upon a government that has steadily refused to recognize his Government and that has been responsible for the protraction of internecine strife in a neighboring country. If other countries have shown greater appreciation of the difficult circumstances and problems confronting the Mexican Government and have shown their friendship by giving their moral support to that government, it is not the fault of Huerta but that of the United States.

Provisional President Huerta and his supporters undoubtedly would welcome the friendship of the United States Government, but this has not been forthcoming. Meanwhile the Huerta Government has demonstrated its friendship for the American people by affording all possible protection to Americans in Mexico and to American property. There have been no complaints on this score. The only Americans who are not friendly to the Huerta Government—and they are very few—are the representatives of those interests that have little hope of moulding President Huerta into their puppet, to favor their interests to the exclusion of all others, whether American or European.

**Read "MEXICO"**
ONCE A WEEK
AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East West and All Angles.

## WHO ARE BACK OF IT?

One of the most amazing things about the confused and mysterious Mexican policy of the Wilson Administration is the persistent and apparently organized effort to introduce the conflict between the giant oil interests of Great Britain and the United States into the situation.

At the center of governmental power sits President Wilson, calm, secretive and conscientious. But all about him one senses a struggle of mighty private financial interests, with the ultimate control of the countlessly rich oil fields of Mexico as the prize in view.

Lord Cowdray and his Pearson syndicate represent the British effort to secure a Mexican oil monopoly.

**But the utmost care is taken to conceal the identity of the American oil magnates who are directing the attacks on the British interests.**

It may be tremendously important for the United States to oppose a monopoly of oil fields so near the Panama Canal by the subjects of the greatest naval power in the world at a time when oil is rapidly being substituted for coal as the motive power of war vessels.

**But it is even more important just now to know whether the vast power of American oil interests, which have also been seeking for monopolies in Mexico, is secretly and without President Wilson's knowledge exercising an influence upon the attitude of the American government that, at a critical moment, may launch the nation into a great and unnecessary war.**

The truth is that the Mexican land ownership laws were changed several years ago in order to meet and prevent the control of the Mexican oil fields by the Standard Oil Company.

It was provided that no owner of oil lands could sell or transfer them without the consent of the Mexican government.

It may be that this restriction on the sale of land was the result of an intrigue managed by Lord Cowdray and his British associates, as a step toward a monopoly controlled by themselves.

President Diaz frankly admitted at the time that the Government had changed the law in order to prevent the Standard Oil Company and its subsidiaries or allies from buying up Mexican oil lands and suppressing their products in order to keep up the price of American oil.

So, too, the Mexican government organized, under its own supreme control, the Mexican National Railways when it became evident that the immense Harriman interests were preparing to buy control of the practically bankrupt Mexican Central Railway Company. Mexico at once intervened to prevent an American monopoly of trunk lines that would eventually dominate the 15,000 miles of Mexican transportation lines, control the industry and commerce of the country, and in time have such an influence in Mexican affairs as to leave a merely nominal power in the Mexican government.

It is certain that the steps taken to make an American oil monopoly in Mexico impossible turned the powerful American oil interests against the Diaz administration, and that the revolution which overthrew the government **was secretly and promptly suggested by the enmillioned private power that is now pressing the oil question into the present perilous question of war or peace in Washington.**

Only three years ago, when President Diaz was in the full tide of his power and Lord Cowdray and his friends were fighting for control of Mexican oil, the billboards and blank walls of Mexico City were plastered with enormous, many-colored posters intended to popularize the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, then associated with and partly owned by the Standard Oil Company.

The battle for control in Mexico was open and loud.

Since then the government of Mexico has twice changed by force of arms, and the war of the oil interests has become so fierce that the noise of the conflict is beginning to resound even in Washington.

Perhaps it would be a grave injury and embarrassment to the United States should the control of the great undeveloped oil resources of Mexico fall into British hands.

**Nevertheless, it would be interesting to know how many American politicians with Washington connections are taking part, directly or indirectly, in the present campaign to inflame public opinion on the subject of oil.**

Beneath the surface of President Wilson's undoubtedly sincere effort to keep the nation's Mexican policy on a high moral plane there seem to be influences at work that call for the most vigilant and jealous attention of the American people.—James Creelman in the New York "Evening Mail."

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Other diversions worthy of old Dahomey, violence to women, slaughter of non-combatants, torture, mutilation, are reported in sickening numbers, especially in that part of Mexico that enjoys the virtuous activity of Carranza, the benevolent old gentleman who proposes to execute everybody who adheres to his rival, Huerta. Only disgust and horror can accompany the "victories" of these bloodthirsty banditti. The civilization of the twentieth century is ashamed before this revival of the cruellest barbarities and butcheries of wars of extermination. How long will the civilized world stand for these monstrous inhumanities?—New York "Sun."

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What this country absolutely needs at this moment is a plain and direct statement by President Wilson of what he is doing and intends to do in relation to Mexico. The country already has been stuffed with figurative and highflown words about his motives, his sentiments, his desires and his aspirations. That is all wind. We can all agree that his sentiments are pure gold and his motives heavenly. But what is he doing and what does he mean to do further? Is he trying, in the name of constitutional forms, to smash the only Government that Mexico has—the only semblance or shadow of Government that Mexico has—and turn that independent state over to the plundering and unruly bands of free-booters who just now are marshaled under Venustiano Carranza as the "Great Chief of the Revolutionists?" Or is he trying to uphold and strengthen the feeble plant of organized Government and civil order which still stands in Mexico City, to the end that that distracted country may be pacified and brought back to its normal life as an industrial and agricultural state? These are the questions that require a definite and a prompt answer. We are steadily drifting, under the prevailing darkness, toward armed intervention in Mexico, and the country is entitled to know why, and by what acts, it is swinging toward that costly and murderous possibility.—Hartford (Conn.) "Courant."

## AN EX-REBEL.

"What is the trouble with Mexico? That is an odd question to ask. At present Mexico is all trouble."

The speaker was Dr. William Penn duBois, late of the rebel army of Northern Mexico, who is in this city visiting a relative, Preston Marshall, of 5427 DeLancey street. Dr. duBois in expressing his opinion of the Mexican situation to a "Press" reporter spoke as follows:

"The present conditions in Mexico can almost be summed up in the words 'personal gain.'

"Although I, myself, served in the rebel forces for more than two years I personally have no sympathy with the rebel leaders. The majority of them are little better than highway thieves. The common people in those districts over which the government has no control are forced to serve for these men under penalty of death. In the meantime their property and money are seized for the supposed benefit of the forces, but which in reality goes into the pockets of the higher officers of the army.

"The lower officers of the army are as a rule adventurers who are not fighting for liberty as their slogan would lead one to believe, but merely for want of something to do and for what they can get out of it after the leaders have had their pickings.

"In considering the Mexican situation many persons make the grave error of comparing the common people of that country with the middle classes of other countries which are more advanced and progressive. This is wrong. In Mexico there is no middle class. There are only two divisions, the common people who are little more than serfs, and the upper class, consisting of the capitalists and the officials in both the government and rebel forces. The common people are very simple and very credulous. Those fighting on both sides have not the least idea of the principles for which they are forced to risk their lives, but merely listen to the flowery speeches of their leaders, promising wealth and unlimited holidays in the end.

"At present human life is of no more value in Mexico than that of cattle.

"It is a common sight to see burnt farm houses and dead women and children throughout the country, and while few Americans, who own land are killed, their property is confiscated and they are compelled to flee."—Philadelphia "Press."

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## EVENTS IN MEXICO.

As time passes, events in Mexico must modify more or less the program of the Government at Washington. The swift change in the attitude of Gen. Carranza, after the military successes of his forces last week, signified, probably, that the Constitutionalists are now an obstacle to peace. Gen. Carranza's confidence increases that he can overthrow the Huerta Government by force, even without the lifting of the American embargo on war material.

At the same time, the barbarous performances by the Constitutionalists at Juarez in executing Federal army officers held as prisoners of war so far confirmed reports of atrocities by Carranza's men in the interior as to render more difficult any recognition of the Carranza Government. If the insurgents in Mexico do not respect the rules of modern warfare, it must be more embarrassing than ever for our Government to lift the embargo.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### "MONEY GRUBBERS' WAR."

London.—Under the heading "A Money Grubbers' War," the "Outlook" publishes a bitter article on the Mexican situation.

"Across the Atlantic," the "Outlook" says, "there is in busy preparation, if certain forces can accomplish it, a crime against civilization, against humanity. At any moment we may hear of its first overt stages, with inevitably the ensuing slaughter of tens of thousands of young Americans and half-armed peasants, the devastation of humble towns and rude countrysides, the sufferings of the helpless and the innocent and the outpouring of millions of money.

"And all for what, or for whom? Wars have been waged for military ambition, but who is the Napoleon of the United States? A war between the United States and Mexico, if it arises, will be the first war waged solely for private greed—the first money grubbers' war."

After saying that the United States has been filching territory from neighbors for sixty years and reduced weak States to obsequious dependents through the Monroe Doctrine, "which means anything it is required to mean," the "Outlook" predicts that American dollars will cause revolutions in Trinidad and Jamaica, as it alleges they did in Panama, and predicts the annexation of the Northern Mexican States.

"If the guides of American opinion, among whom we refrain from mentioning Dr. Wilson," the article says, "get their way, in a few weeks, perhaps days, Jim Smith, of Virginia, will be cutting the throat of Leon Ramirez, of Morellos, in the sacred name of the oil trusts and the band of Wall Street hyenas."

### DENOUNCES POLICY OF U. S. IN MEXICO.

#### F. Hopkinson Smith Declares Administration's Course Ignorant and Ill Advised.

F. Hopkinson Smith, artist and author of note, old-time lighthouse builder, has decided views on the attitude of the Wilson Administration on the Mexican situation. He gave them freely to a reporter for the "Public Ledger" as he sat at table at the banquet in honor of his friend, John Bach McMaster, historian, on Saturday night. Mr. Smith was severe in his denunciation of the policy being pursued by President Wilson and by Secretary of State Bryan.

Mr. Smith is familiar with Mexico. He has lived there and he has painted there. He is the author of a book which has Mexico as its subject, "A White Umbrella in Mexico." He is regarded as well qualified to speak about that country, for he knows it almost as well as he knows his United States. He has many friends among the better-class Mexicans and he has gazed at the trouble there both as an American and through the eyes of these friends, seeing both the obverse and the reverse.

A certain maturity attaches to the expressions of Mr. Smith, for the virile traveler, who has visited most countries of the globe, is 75 years old. He is well known in Philadelphia, for he is a member of the Art Club, and holds a medal from that organization, awarded in 1902.

"The policy of the Wilson Administration in the Mexican matter," said Mr. Smith, "is absurd, ill advised and ignorant. I think the President has fully shown to the country that he lacks the experience and the knowledge with which to deal with the situation beyond the Rio Grande. His adviser, Secretary Bryan, has not handled the matter well. But, then, what can be expected from a Secretary of State who humiliated his country and shamed his office by entering into a private money-making scheme?"

Continuing, Mr. Smith said:

"Huerta is a strong man, and the only man who can bring order out of chaos. The Administration should have recognized him. It has gone too far now to back out, and it must abide by the consequences. I believe the proper step for this country to have taken would have been to recognize Huerta and, if he was overthrown by Carranza, to recognize Carranza, and if he was overthrown, to recognize his successor, until in time a stable Government was established in Mexico.

"The Administration answers this by saying that it cannot recognize a Government whose acts are stained with blood. That is foolish. The Administration did not hesitate to recognize Servia and the sanguinary Governments of other countries torn by revolutions.

"Some day soon a drunken Mexican rebel soldier will invade a hacienda, its inhabitants will flee to the coast and be taken on board an American warship. A landing party of American sailors will go ashore, an American will be shot, and then the fat will be in the fire.

"Perhaps there will never be a drunken rebel soldier who will invade a hacienda, but the crisis will come and it will come through the ignorance and the absurdity of this present policy.

"The Mexicans are a proud people. They are prouder than the Spanish and they hate Americans. There are 15,000,000 Mexicans, and about 2,000,000 of them can read and write a little. They hate Americans because of the kind of Americans who first went to Mexico. There never was a more courteous nation than the Mexican. It was invaded by a horde of American riffraff, and the Mexicans have come to believe that all Americans are like these men. So they hate Americans. A friend of mine, an engineer, stopped at a hacienda and they would not believe he was an American because he was a gentleman. They have a good foundation for their hate.

"I have been ashamed," said Mr. Smith, his sweeping white mustache bristling, as he pounded fist into clenched hand, "as I sat in the clubs of London, to hear America discussed and ridiculed because of the Wilson Mexican policy. Wilson and Bryan have made this country the laughing stock of all Europe.

"Mr. Bryan has declared that this country shall not go to war, no matter what the provocation or the insult to national honor. Who is Mr. Bryan that he should say whether or not this country should enter into a war? Congress declares war.

"It is an outrage," said Mr. Smith, in conclusion. "an outrage that America should be humiliated and made a buffoon before the eyes of the world by this Administration of theories at Washington."

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Is it better to be a Standard Oil President or the President of the United States?

Dr. William Bayard Hale, who was sent, as a "personal representative" of a President who has no personal authority, to intrigue with the bandit chief Carranza against President Huerta, may thank his lucky star that he has escaped alive. He had no official standing, no diplomatic legality; he was simply a spy, and Huerta would have been justified by the law of nations and by a striking American precedent in hanging or shooting him on sight.—"Town Topics."

### THE HYPOCRITICAL HUMBUG.

At last the hypocritical humbug that has veiled Mr. Wilson's "policy" is torn aside and the real Mexican situation is revealed. It is disclosed that President Diaz and the Mexican Congress granted to Lord Cowdray and his associates a monopoly of the oil output, and for this crime against the Standard Oil Company the guilty Diaz was ordered out of Mexico by President Taft and our Army dispatched to the Texas border. Madero had agreed to repeal or nullify the Diaz concessions, and the United States, as the agent of the Standard Oil Company, agreed to maintain him in power. His sudden death ended this noble and patriotic scheme, and General Huerta and Professor Wilson assumed their respective Presidencies almost simultaneously. With equal secrecy Huerta reverted to the Diaz and Cowdray policy and Professor Wilson took up the Standard Oil agency. When Mr. Wilson strikes a Jovelike pose and declaims: "That wicked Huerta must go! Neither he nor his Congress shall be recognized!" he means merely that no Mexican President and Congress shall confirm the oil field concessions to Lord Cowdray. Embargo—blockade—intervention—war—anything rather than allow Lord Cowdray to have any Mexican oil, and thus compete with our Standard Oil Company

This is patriotic. In fact all concerned are behaving most patriotically. Huerta is patriotic in trying to raise money on oil concessions, so as to put down the rebellion. Lord Cowdray is patriotic in trying to get oil for the battleships of Great Britain, which are henceforth to burn that kind of fuel, and require a permanent supply at a reasonable price. And who can doubt the patriotism of Mr. Wilson, who is trying to bluff Huerta out of confirming the oil concessions and Great Britain out of permitting Lord Cowdray to accept them? But I think that even John D. Rockefeller, the true author of all this rumpus, will acknowledge that Mr. Wilson is going too far. It is a pretty quarrel as it stands, but all the squabbling between the Eagle Company—as Lord Cowdray's corporation is called—and the Standard Oil Company is not worth the life of a single American soldier, and it has cost many lives already. An investigation by Congress as to the connection between the State Department and Standard Oil will end the farce, and is imperatively necessary to convince the people whether Mr. Wilson's fingers are smeared with oil innocently or with full knowledge of the plot to get rid of Huerta as we did of Diaz.—"Town Topics."

### BANGS.

"I am afraid Mr. Wilson, by temporizing with his plain duty and failing to see to it that American citizens are safe anywhere in the world on behalf of a scheme of action that is more suited to the Chautauqua programme than to the actual stage of life, has brought us perilously close to the verge of the very thing he is most anxious to avoid.

"The chief trouble with the political situation, as I see it, is that the country is in the hands of a lot of charming amateurs, who are trying to play a difficult game without knowing how. Mr. Wilson is doing the best he knows how and if the United States were a high school it would be a pretty good test.

"He has passed a tariff bill and if it will stay passed long enough for anybody to get to work under it we should rejoice."—John Kendrick Bangs in New York "Herald."

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How can the Administration reconcile its fulmination against special interests with its fight for those interests in Mexico? Is it because it's Mexico?

### OPEN LETTER TO HON. W. J. BRYAN.

Dear Sir: Recent press despatches from Washington indicate that there is a feeling that Administration circles would be disposed to view with complacency a succession of victories on the part of the horde of assassins and ravishers known "to the trade" as "Constitutionalists." Although the new "higher morality" might give moral and material aid to this ignoble cause, and even be disposed to condone the recent acts of brutality in connection with the taking of Juarez by these fiends, we must pause to consider the ultimate effect if these outlaws should, by reason of outside support, be enabled to reach the City of Mexico. The same scenes of cruelty, pillage, cold-blooded murder and other unmentionable atrocities would be re-enacted on a larger scale, and Washington would rejoice in the fulfilment of its desire than the Government of General Huerta should fall—even though the fall carry with it the last defense against absolute anarchy and chaos. The unexplained part is: What reason can the Washington Government have that would allow it to overlook and condone such an outrage against humanity—solely for the satisfaction of seeing the existing Government of a neighboring country overthrown?

"Why do you not go down to Juarez and look your bandit friends over? "Why do you not go down to Juarez now while Villa's bandits are there, deliver a Cross of Gold speech, and appeal to them in the name of the Prince of Peace to drop their arms and cease their butcheries?"

C. U. MESTA.

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 22, 1913.
730 W. Fayette St.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Your remarkably well-informed and admirably-written paper is read here with a great deal of interest.

The writer has lived in Mexico in the early days (1874) when Lerdo de Tejada was President, and until a few years ago; has yet large interests in that country which he visits periodically and consequently can pretend without bragging that he knows "something" about Mexico and Mexicans. For the last 15 years occupied a high position of trust.

Now as to the delicate situation of that country at the present moment, if I were in a position to make any suggestion, I should, with my intimate knowledge of Mexican affairs, unhesitatingly advocate:

1. Recognition of the Huerta Government.
2. Strict prohibition to export arms and ammunition to the rebels under a heavy penalty.

If President Wilson declares conditions in Mexico intolerable, whose fault is it?

Had the United States intervened during the first revolution in 1910, i.e., at once, matters would have been settled long ago; but at that time Madero seemingly was the "favorite." Poor Madero had a splendid chance, but most unfortunately proved absolutely incapacitated. The attempt cost him his life. Huerta came in, after having unquestionably saved the City of Mexico from destruction; he was duly inaugurated as Provisional President, was recognized as such by the Mexican Supreme Court, Senate and House of Representatives, all in conformity with the Mexican Constitution; later was recognized by the Governments of England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, etc., the United States, amongst all the great Powers, making the only exception. We all regret the way Madero lost his life, and perhaps Huerta regrets it as much as anybody else, but to be sincere, up to this date no proofs whatever have come forth—and surely the Madero family used every effort in that direction—that Huerta had anything to do with Madero's death.

Huerta, on taking hold of the Presidency, promised to use his best efforts to pacify the country; nobody can deny that he did what possibly could be done; but unfortunately right from the start he was greatly handicapped by the lack of funds; although it is said that General Diaz on his departure from Mexico left some 60 millions in the treasury. Huerta, on taking possession, found only a bagatelle. This lack of funds would have disappeared the moment the United States Government would recognize the Huerta Government. President Wilson repeatedly professes great friendship for Mexico, but evidently does not seem to like Huerta; however, it seems to me that, overlooking his antipathy for Huerta, humanity and his often repeated friendship, if real, for that poor unhappy country might have induced him to do something for her, to do what all the other Powers did: recognize her legitimately constituted Government. With the necessary funds in hand, Huerta would have finished the revolution several months ago, saved thousands of innocent lives, Mexican and foreign, and millions of property; that Huerta is the only man in Mexico to do it, is evidently the opinion, the very authorized opinion, of ex-Ambassador Wilson, who certainly knows the situation far better than all the "near-Ambassadors" sent to Mexico know or ever will know, and which is the opinion of 90 per cent. of tbose Americans who live or have lived in Mexico.

Intervention by the United States, from a moral standpoint, absolutely uncalled for and a political injustice—not to use a stronger word—an undertaking which would cost thousands of lives and hundreds of million dollars, will be unnecessary; Huerta will attend to the cleaning up on short notice the moment the United States ceases to "mettre des batons dans les roues"; as it is he naturally makes slow progress, but with recognition by the United States, he promptly will have all the money he needs and will finish the revolution, I feel sure, inside of two months. Huerta may not be an ideal, the perfect President—how many are there?—but the fact is, people in Mexico, natives and foreigners, want peace, peace above anything; anybody who can give them peace will be welcome to the Presidency; but as they consider Huerta the only man who, under actual conditions can do it, they want Huerta.

New Orleans, La. "M."

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I have just come across a copy of MEXICO and I want to write a line of thanks to whomever is responsible for this fair, unprejudiced and truthful exposition of things and conditions as they actually are in this "simpatico" but grossly misunderstood country.

A little "fair play" propaganda such as you have started will do much to throw light on the real state of affairs here. The people in the United States have been so "fed up" with William Randolph Hearst's special brand of breakfast food and "Constitutionalist" (what's in a name!) tid-bits served hot, on toast, every day, that a little "uncooked" wholesome material, fresh from an uncontaminated source, will doubtless do wonders towards doing away with the distorted and unjust view of "things as they are."

I know nothing about the personnel of your paper, but I have taken great pleasure in bringing it to the notice of various friends and acquaintances, numbering Mexicans and foreigners, and most of them have heaved sighs of relief to think that at last someone across the border has been found with brains and interest enough to champion the cause of "Fair Play for Mexico." Wishing you every success, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Mexico, D. F. E. I.


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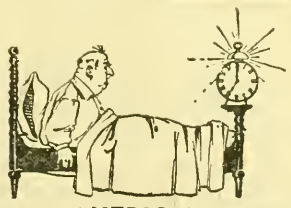

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## BROKEN PROMISES.

The elimination of General Huerta at this juncture under the pressure exercised by Washington would establish a precedent fatal to any succeeding Mexican government. For it would grant to this country the right to dictate who shall and who shall not govern Mexico.

President Wilson solemnly expressed the hope that no government shall endure unless resting on the consent of the governed. But at present the Washington Administration is trying to impose upon Mexico a government resting upon its own consent.

The great, overwhelming majority of the Mexican people takes no part in the present revolutions and struggle for power. The proportion of fighting men and partisans is so small that in effect a whole people is suffering untold misery for the ambition of a few.

If the present revolution were a popular upheaval, no government could stand against it more than a few weeks. The fact that the Huerta Government, despite the tremendous pressure brought to bear by this government to overthrow it and despite the material and moral help received by the rebels, has stood for more than nine months is conclusive proof that the Carranza rebellion is not backed by the people.

The Diaz Government, with ample financial and military means to resist any rebellion, was submerged by the popular wave on top of which Madero was carried into power.

For the Madero revolution was backed by the people.

But the people have learned a bitter lesson. The words "Constitution," "liberty," "free ballot," "justice," "division of land," have lost their luring power for them and the contest is merely that of a few thousand armed men.

In fact the majority of men under arms are not contesting for power, but for the right and freedom to loot.

If Americans knew more they would realize that the present condition was the normal condition of Mexico for more than half a century, until Porfirio Diaz brought order out of chaos. And they would realize also that the promises made to the people by Madero and by the present leaders of the revolution are exactly the same as those made by all the revolutionary leaders of the past. That the Madero and Carranza platforms, or plans as they called them, have not even the virtue of originality in their wording. For the hundreds of revolutionary platforms written for the edification of the Mexican people by every revolutionary leader from 1811 to the present time have all been couched monotonously in the same terms.

All the revolutionary leaders have stated that much against their personal wish they were compelled to rise in arms against the existing Government because someway or other that Government had betrayed the trust of the people. That they were forced to take such a step in order to restore the Constitution to its proper place from the waste basket into which it had been relegated by the existing Government. That they had no other recourse but that of overthrowing the existing Government in order that the people might enjoy those rights which the Constitution granted to them and that they might be free to acquire such land as they needed.

And all, absolutely all, of these leaders have invariably failed to keep even one of their promises once in power. The reason the Madero revolution assumed the proportions of a truly popular movement was because after thirty-five years of peace under the Diaz Government the Mexican people had forgotten that the promises made by Madero had been made hundreds of times before. They had forgotten the lesson and now they have learned it again at a tremendous cost.

## GHOULISH.

There is something absolutely ghoulish in the Administration's obvious delight whenever it seems that President Huerta is confronted with insurmountable difficulties. It is almost unbelieveable that any one in a position of power, no matter what his personal prejudices or dislikes, would feel, let alone express, satisfaction that the government of a friendly neighboring nation was crumbling. Conditions are such in Mexico that if the Huerta Government crumbles then Mexico crumbles. Which means anarchy, which means a reign of terror, with murder, pillage and rapine stalking the country. Is that a prospect to be welcomed complacently if only a personal dislike be justified? At times it really seems that the men who are talking morality and acting so immorally toward Mexico have either lost their reason under the strain of government or have no conception of the fundamental principles of morality.

The Oil War!

* * *

The facts, the sordid facts are becoming known.

* * *

They will put an end to the sentimental twaddle and rubbish about "constitutionalism," liberty, etc.

* * *

Is there no responsibility in Washington for the Juarez barbarities.

* * *

These bandits have actually been helped and encouraged by the pure-minded officials in Washington.

* * *

While they rail at the personality of one man, General Huerta.

* * *

If President Huerta were ten times as unscrupulous a man as they make him out to be, he should be supported rather than the savage outlaws of Villa's command.

* * *

We have taken sides.

* * *

With looters, marauders, blackmailers, ravishers, monsters of barbarity.

* * *

These are the Administration's proteges.

* * *

Blunder by blunder the Administration has kicked itself into a cul-de-sac.

* * *

This country is tobogganning toward war with an accelerated speed.

* * *

While the Administration professes to be opposing one man, it is in fact oppressing a whole people.

* * *

It is not Huerta who is being starved, but the whole of Mexico. Starving Mexico, cornering Mexico, driving Mexico to desperation can have only one result: War.

* * *

The blockading of Mexican ports would be interpreted by the Mexican government as an act of war. Likewise by the people of Mexico.

* * *

The responsibility for such a war would rest on this country.

* * *

There are not a few Mexicans who even at present think that a war may be the only way out of the seemingly hopeless situation in which this Administration has placed their country.

* * *

To the let-it-drift policy the Administration has substituted a policy consisting of words of peace and acts of war.

* * *

Why war? That the Pierce Oil Company may control Mexico? The American people may prefer their own to the European octopus, but they are willing to sacrifice lives and money so that their octopus may extend more and more its ever insatiable tentacles?

DEC 13 1913


# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 16 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1913. FIVE CENTS


## OIL AGAIN

The newspaper twisting of the real posture of oil interests in the Mexican situation continues successful as far as the general public of this country is concerned.

The Cowdray interests have suffered some bad defeats of late and public opinion in this country has been cleverly moulded by an admirable press campaign into believing that those interests are the cause of the Mexican trouble.

News items and special articles have made it appear as if the Cowdray interests held monopolistic concessions in Mexico and as if they were inimical to American influence.

Neither the Cowdray nor any other oil company holds any monopoly in Mexico. There are more than thirty oil companies at present doing business there.

The origin of the Mexican turmoil is to be found in the attempt made by American oil interests to regain a monopoly which they enjoyed for many years. The Cowdray interests broke that monopoly—hence the trouble.

Frankly, we believe that the Cowdray interests deserve their defeat, because they have failed, with a typically British turn of mind, to understand the value of publicity in this country and in other countries. They should have learned from their enemies, who have shown great ability in influencing and controlling the press of this country.

## A Personal Contest

**We say once more that the Administration attitude toward the Mexican Government is not the attitude of a majority of the people and is the attitude of very few who know the facts about Mexico. In support of this assertion we refer to the columns of public opinion we publish weekly.**

## WATCHING AND WAITING LIKE VULTURES

A man dying of thirst, his tongue and lips caked, his throat parched, raises himself with panting labor from the bed his body has made in the desert sand, shades his eyes with a sun-baked hand and gazes half-stupidly in the direction where he knows surely are water and life. The spirit that will not die is in his eyes. But the sap in his body is dried up. He cannot move a step and sinks back into the bed of sand. A vulture hovers overhead and watches and waits.

**There is the spirit of the vulture in the "watchful waiting" policy of the Administration toward Mexico. We may deceive ourselves into thinking that it is toward General Huerta, but the truth is that all animus, all the antagonism, all the venom expressed against the Provisional President of Mexico finds lodgment like a poisoned arrow in the warm body of Mexico, the nation, and the heart of the Mexican people.**

"Watchful waiting!" Would you watch and wait while your neighbor's house or barn burned down because you did not like your neighbor's overseer or hired man? Mexico is afire with a flame lit by Madero. Human life and property are being destroyed. The passions of lawless and barbaric men are running riot. The country is in the travail of a tremendous social upheaval. The heart of the civilized world should go out to this nation in distress. A helping hand should be stretched forth to save her from greater suffering. But we stand by in austere coldness and say that Huerta, the overseer, the hired man, must go, and that with him gone, we hope the fire will be extinguished It is the most inhuman, cold-blooded, fishy attitude ever taken by a civilized nation toward a neighboring people. To the Mexicans themselves it is like the sympathy of the Sphinx. To the people of the United States it must come as a shock to learn that we have a heart of stone.

"Watchful waiting!" By heavens, if a man saw his worst enemy in the throes of mortal illness, or his body pierced and bleeding with wounds, he would be a fiend were he to stand by and watch and wait for death if he could help. At least, according to our Christian standards, to which, we believe, men like President Wilson, Secretary Bryan, John Lind, and the ex-reverend William Bayard Hale subscribe. And it is the death of sick and wounded Mexico that we are watching and waiting for, though we profess it is of Huerta.

"Watchful waiting!" While hordes of semi-savages, aroused by the opportunities for loot and rapine and encouraged by their Washington friends, roam a vast and rich and beautiful country, murdering, pillaging and outraging women and girls. **Can a real man with power encourage such a condition and then with almost diabolical self-complacency watch and wait?**

If President Huerta were the coward—he would be—to resign in the face of the malevolent Washington antagonism, would that change the condition of Mexico? It would pile anarchy on anarchy. Where now are the forces of brigandage, rebellion and lawlessness against the forces of law and order, then there would be no law and order and the lawless

(Continued on Next Page.)

VULTURES—Continued.

would be against each other in an orgy of conflict and crime. Would a Carranza submit to a Villa, or a Zapata to either, a Villa to a Carranza or a Zapata? Or any one of a score of bandit leaders to any one of the others? Or any or all of them to an innocuous, respectable gentleman who could pass the tests of the Bryans and Hales?

President Wilson may think, may sincerely believe, that if he accomplishes, through the bloody assistance of the bandit hordes of Villa and his kind the overthrow of Huerta that somehow in his persuasive way he may change the nature of the beast that he has brought into life and power. But that is folly, folly that is inexpressibly **dynamic in its power for mischief.** There is no changing the nature of that beast. A beast it is and as a beast it must be dealt with.

We have seen a picture of the Christ Child among the wild animals of the jungle, the lion and the tiger like lambs in the Presence of their Creator. With all due respect to the President of the United States, we do not credit him with the same power over animal nature.

President Huerta has been prodded and goaded by the Administration into every position he has taken in the present controversy, and as soon as he took the position he was forced into the cackling hens of the Administration forthwith cackled: "See! Didn't we tell you so? That's the kind of man he is." We venture to say that never in the history of foreign relations has there been so flagrant a manifestation of narrow "statesmanship." And now they are "watching and waiting" till he crumbles.

**If he crumbles, Mexico crumbles.**

No, the Administration will say, "Do not not crumble, Mexico," and point a finger at the beast of anarchy.

And anarchy will shuffle off into a corner and stand with its face to the wall.

Yes?

---

**Dangerous Optimism in the President's Message.**

The discomforting part, in the President's words on Mexico, contained in the message to Congress, comes not in the announcement that "We are the friends of constitutional government in America; we are its champions;" nor in the emphatic dictum, "Mexico has no government;" nor in the vehement outcry against Huerta: "He has forfeited the respect and the moral support of those who at one time were willing to see him succeed."

Distress lies rather in hearing the President's bland hopefulness in concluding. He invokes ruin upon the dictator and goes on: "When the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico, by the con /he liberty of their people to their own am-cert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer bitions." The mere fact that the President can urge hopeful thoughts of the sequel to Huerta is as discouraging as a hundred columns of the current news from Mexico.—N. Y. "Evening Sun."

---

By the way, that last leg of Huerta on which he has been for so many months according to newspapers and to our distinguished high officials is a pretty strong leg, don't you think?

# THE POISONED PEN

Our glorious free newspapers have had another fruitful time during the last week joyfully juggling with news and facts from Mexico. And the climax is not yet, although there has been an interesting shifting of the juggling performance from the yellow to the so-called reliable newspapers.

Striking examples of this were offered by those "pillars of truth": the New York "Times" and the New York "Sun." "Villa on road to Mexico City!" "On to Mexico is the cry!" "Eating Christmas Dinner in Mexico City!" "Seven Huerta Generals go over to Villa!" "Plan Advance on Mexico City!" "Huerta surrounded!" were some of the headlines which startled the dignified readers of these and other newspapers almost every morning.

If it were not such an appaling tragedy it would be a huge joke.

Maps were prominent again and El Paso came into its own at last. **Juarez is eighteen hundred miles from Mexico City** and Villa's forces are camped eighty-three miles south of Juarez—**therefore** they are on their way to Mexico City. Don't you see?

Mazatlan was reported taken by the rebels, but later it was said that Carranza's forces were on their way to capture it. San Luis Potosi was about to surrender, but then we learn that the trains are running to Saltillo. Monterrey was the only town in Nuevo Leon left to the Federals—according to press reports—but then again trains are running regularly between Monterrey and Laredo on the border.

The oil fields are in the hands of the rebels—screeching headlines—but Admiral Fletcher reports that everything is quiet in the oil region.

The Herald Syndicate sends out a bird's-eye view of Mexico and the New York "Sun" and the Munsey newspapers publish similar maps in which the territory controlled by the Federals is indicated by white space and the territory controlled by rebels by shaded space.

The maps are almost entirely shaded! From them the unsuspecting reader perceives that Zapata controls absolutely the three states of Guerrero, Morelos and Puebla. Also that the whole of Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Nuevo Leon are under rebel control! It does not matter that trains are running between Mexico City and Saltillo and between Monterrey and Laredo, and that almost all cities in Coahuila and Nuevo Leon are held by Federals.

The shading must go on just the same and the artistic imagination must not be hampered by so trivial a thing as truth.

El Paso and Hermosillo dispatches—the copy for which is furnished by the rebels—are given great prominence and a free run.

So we read that Guaymas had been evacuted by the Federals—for the hundredth time since last March.

Likewise we read that the smelters at Monterrey stopped work, but the report is denied by the Smelting Company. The denial must be looked for with a microscopic lens while the false assertion was printed in scare lines.

And when you think that the enterprising correspondent has run the gamut of news you are startled by a scarehead telling you that General Huerta has escaped to Vera Cruz. This is the counterpart of the news sent out the previous week that he had taken refuge in the fortress of Chapultepec! Of course the next day you may read that he had gone to Tlalpam, a suburb of Mexico City, where he is building a house, but you do not read that in a scarehead. You read it at the very end of another sensational falsehood if you read it at all.

Perhaps the most cynical phase of this compaign of misrepresentation is found in the publication of pictures bearing misleading explanations. Thus, for instance, the New York "World" of December 4th published a photograph of a courtyard in one of the Mexico City barracks. Some soldiers are seen on guard duty while others are resting about, their arms stacked in the centre of the courtyard, as they are everywhere in the world when soldiers are at rest. The title of this picture was: "Huerta's soldiers who abandon arms in Mexico City because they have not been paid or fed."

The New York "World" gave also a striking illustration of how truth can be used and so mixed with falsehood as to make it the most dangerous weapon in a press campaign. On December 1st it printed a long despatch from Washington purporting to give an analysis of Mexican characteristics and Mexican customs. A great deal of truth was contained in that article, especially as it referred to the apathy of the rich Mexicans and the atrocities committed by rebels. But that truth was used so as to justify the policy of the Administration and convey the impression that because of these traits this country should intervene in Mexico.

Once every few days the newspapers tell you that the news from Mexico is censored. If you have but a casual interest in Mexican affairs you believe the report. But if you stop to consider the daily reports you read it is apparent that anything and everything is allowed to be sent out from Mexico City, and you readily understand that it is one of the many little tricks to misrepresent the situation.

# WHAT WE HAVE CONTENDED

## THE CONFIRMATION

**That the logical end is War.**

Washington, Dec. 3.—James R. Mann, the Republican leader of the House, declared in the course of debate to-day that war between the United States and Mexico is inevitable and that the President is making arrangements accordingly. **The fact that the Democrats allowed this statement to go unchallenged added to its significance.**

Predicting war with Mexico, Mr. Mann said:

"I should greatly regret such a war. I do not see any escape from chaos and anarchy in Mexico under the plan which we are now pursuing. Of course if that runs very long it means war."

* * *

**That the Administration is antagonizing all Latin-America.**

The reported message from the Colombian Congress to the Mexican Congress denouncing the United States for its interference and beseeching the Mexicans to continue resistance was a subject of most interested comment here late today. No official confirmation of this report has been received at the State Department, but unofficial despatches regarding the Colombian message are accepted as true.

There is no doubt that the view expressed by the Colombian Congress is that of all Latin-America. Because of their desire not to offend the United States, however, no other Latin-American Government nor any other Latin-American official has given expression to what are known to be their real views regarding the attitude of President Wilson toward Mexico and President Huerta. These views have been fully expressed, however, in the Latin-American press.—New York "Sun."

Latin-American diplomats friendly to Gen. Huerta—and many of them feel that he is the champion of all the Americas south of the Rio Grande—go so far as to think that the President deliberately intended to goad him into giving the American Charge his passports. Such an affront, they think, while not being far different from the continued refusal of the American Government to recognize the de facto authorities in the Mexican capital, would yet justify the cry of injured honor and might be seized as warrant for armed intervention.—New York "Times."

* * *

**That the Administration's Mexican "policy" is destructive.**

We venture to believe that to-days exposure of the "true inwardness" of the President's Mexican policy will mark an end to the toleration not only of foreign Powers but of our own people toward the aimless pokes in the puddle of Mexican troubles wherewith the President, his Secretary of State and their various unofficial, unconstitutional and unreceived envoys have whiled away their time for more than six months until, to quote the President's own confession to-day, "Mexico has no government."—Boston "Transcript."

* * *

**That the "Constitutionalists"—Bryan's friends—are "stained with blood."**

(Special to the New York "Times.")

Hermosillo, Mexico, Dec. 3.—In accordance with the mandate of the Constitutionalists' court-martial, Antonio V. Caballero, friend of Americans and one of the wealthiest citizens of Culiacan, was put to death at daylight this morning as the result of his conviction on the charge that he had plotted against Gen. Carranza.

During the early hours last night, a number of women belonging to the highest social circles attempted to reach Gen. Carranza with a plea that the condemned prisoner be at least held as a prisoner of war until full investigation had been made of the charges against him. These efforts proved unavailing, Gen. Carranza absenting himself from headquarters.

The morning dawned cold and with a drizzling rain. At 5:50 o'clock Caballero was notified of his sentence. Asserting his innocence, at 6:10 he was led into a patio, where the firing squad had already been assembled. Without flinching the condemned man faced his executioners, and fell with four bullet holes in the left breast within a circle of three inches. Two of the firing squad were overcome by their emotions, and left the scene with tearms streaming down their cheeks.

"We thought that only one of the four rifles had been charged with a bullet, but the results showed that all of the guns were loaded," said the Sergeant.

The body was delivered to representatives of the family later in the day.

* * *

**That eliminating Huerta will not quench the fires of revolution.**

A counter-revolution in the rear of the rebel advance upon the Mexican capital is the dispiriting forecast of Gen. Bliss, whose ripe experience in active service on the Mexican boundary gives special weight and significance to his deductions.

Presumably Gen. Bliss has good reason to believe that existing conditions are as favorable to an anti-Carranza movement, in his absence, as they were when Gen. Orozco and his lieutenants broke off with Madero and took the field.—Washington "Post."

### UNEXPECTED.

"Rebels' forces have developed a somewhat unexpected strength," says a Washington dispatch to the New York "Tribune." **Unexpected?** Not in Washington where in stage whispers it has been asserted of late that some of the strategy of rebel forces was "suggested" from certain circles in Washington itself. **Unexpected?** Not in Washington where no secret is made of the fact that the rebels get all the arms and ammunition they want across the border from "sympathizers" on the American side! No, it was not unexpected in Washington.

### AN ADMISSION.

**General Bliss admits that arms and ammunition have been smuggled across the border rather freely because with the force at his command it is almost humanly impossible to prevent the smuggling. But it is possible for the Department of Justice to trace back the shipments of arms and ammunition to the parties responsible and stop the violation of the neutrality laws right at the fountainhead. It is easily possible, but not at all probable it will be done.**

### MEXICAN CHIEFTAINS PATRIOTS FOR LOOT.

While Carranza's counsels may be listened to by Jose Maria Mayortena in Sonora, Blanco in Tamaulipas and Obregon in Sonora and Sanchez in Michoacan, no one pretends that he could exercise any control over his two best fighting men, Villa and Zapata. Any time either thinks himself strong enough to go it alone he will not hesitate to assert his power in his own party.

Emiliano Zapata, scourge of Morelos, is nothing but a bandit on a large scale. In his forty-two years he has never been known to be true to any persons except his brother Eufemio and his shadow Tuerto (one-eyed) Morales, a schoolmaster gone wrong. The only principle to which he has been unswervingly loyal is loot, always accompanied by murder, torture, arson and worse.

Diaz had Zapata pretty thoroughly on the jump in Morelos, Guerrero and Oaxaca. Sometimes his bands were a few men, sometimes several hundred. There was something about the man that appealed to the peon imagination. He never robbed the poor; that is, the very poor, and he sometimes scattered the loot from rich towns among them.

Zapata, like Villa, rushed to Madero as a way out, and won with him. Madero was no sooner installed than Zapata was at it again, believing that possibly his pull made him privileged. Madero sent Victoriano Huerta, one of his valiant generals, to stop Zapata and Huerta surrounded the robber in no time, captured him and was about to make a good bandit of him when the President intervened.

Madero himself came to the camp, threw his arm around Zapata's neck, called him brother, and made him a Brigadier-General in the army. Zapata was profoundly grateful, and a few weeks later was at it again. The death of Madero found Zapata fighting as a revolutionist, and the advent of Carranza gave him a pretext for aligning himself with the Constitutionalists.

Sitting on the edge of a crater, he hopes—

* * *

He doesn't fall in.

* * *

Watching a man's house robbed, he hopes—

* * *

It won't be.

* * *

Looking on at a house burning, he hopes they will put it out and that they will save the women and children.

* * *

Knowing the ship has struck an iceberg, he hopes somebody will save it.

* * *

Seeing a man assault a woman, he hopes there's a law against assault.

* * *

Having his face slapped, he hopes it won't leave a red mark.

* * *

Slapping somebdy on the wrist, he hopes he won't be slapped back.

## THE DEAR OLD LADY.

Criticism against President Wilson's policy in Mexico as one based on a mistaken idealism, takes on a comical aspect in view of what is taking place on Mexican battlefields. One cannot imagine a much solider fact than yesterday's decisive Constitutionalist victory near Juarez, following upon a succession of Huerta discomfitures which leave little room for doubt that the Dictator's days are numbered. The tide is running in one direction. In Pancho Villa the revolution has produced a commander of exceptional ability. The immediate future should witness Villa's steady advance southward on Mexico City. If another indication is needed of the way things are going, it is supplied by the sudden outburst of Zapatist activity in the neighborhood of the capital.—New York "Evening Post."

The "comical aspect" is in the "Post's" display of joy at the bandit uprisings. The dear old lady has always been so much a friend of peace. But what are murders and outrages as long as dear Mr. Wilson may not be called a mistaken idealist?

## BARBAROUS BANDITS.

(Former Atty-Gen. Chas. J. Bonaparte in Baltimore "Evening Sun.")

The writer is unwilling to believe that our President has ever seriously considered the suggestion of our supplying arms to the Mexican insurgents. In the columns of all our papers are almost daily reports of barbarities and outrages on their part, which, even if largely untrue, would yet make it a crime against civilization and humanity to furnish such combatants with facilities for warfare.

If any American powder is to be burnt, let it be burnt by American soldiers and sailors. If any American weapons are to be used, let them be in the hands of Americans, who can be trusted to make war on armed men, not on prisoners, or the wounded or defenseless inhabitants, or helpless women and children.

In a word, if we have fighting to do, let us do our own fighting and do it as befits a great civilized nation, not by borrowing the bloody hands of a horde of barbarous banditti.

## SO SOON!

The "Herald" of last Tuesday reports a rift in the lute of Villa's bandit happiness. I.s Jatrez correspondent says:

The putting to death of a rebel captain by General Villa Monday night following a shooting affair in a dance hall started the trouble, and the taking of French leave by Colonel Juan N. Medina, of General Villa's staff, who came to this side, has added to the feeling between the two factions.

An outbreak is feared at any minute and a general looting of the stores and residences is expected to follow. The United States officers are aware of the danger and have placed the entire Twentieth infantry on the border to prevent any invasion or violations of the neutrality laws. A squadron of the Twelth cavalry also has been ordered from Gallup, New Mexico, to the border to do patrol duty and prevent any depredations on American property.

Senor Francisco Escudero, Minister of Foreign Relations, has been here two days trying to patch up the differences and to-night appealed direct to General Carranza.

The break is expected to take the form of an open rupture between General Villa and General Carranza. "

First oust Huerta. After that—

* * *

He knows, he knows, God knows.

* * *

There are blood, pillage and rape in Mexico. President Wilson says the men who love liberty more than their ambitions will settle the matter.

* * *

Liberty to kill, rob and ravish?

* * *

Sublime egotism.

* * *

He abhors a blood-stained government and welcomes a reign of bloodshed.

* * *

The success of the bandits pleases him immensely. And they looted Juarez, slaughtered non-combatants, are the terror of every respectable, decent Mexican.

* * *

"The brave man with a sword,
"The coward with a word."

* * *

Notice they still speak of Huerta as defying the United States. It seems to us that if there has been defiance, it has been by those who have defied the national sovereignty of Mexico as well as the ordinary laws of international courtesy.

* * *

Captain S. G. Hopkins, the eminent Washington representative of the Pierce oil interests and the Carranza rebels—same thing—got fifty thousand dollars in gold for his work in promoting the Madero revolution. Considering his influence with the Washington Administration, he undoubtedly thinks he deserves a million for his present activities.

* * *

Everybody in El Paso knows where Villa got his guns and ammunition, but of course the Washington Administration has not lifted the embargo on arms. What's the use?

## CARRANZA MURDER VERSUS HUERTA MURDER.

It is difficult to read without a shudder of horror of the deliberate murder of prisoners by Carranza's forces after the capture of Juarez on the frontier of Mexico.

This barbarous butchery was in sight and sound of American soil.

And while Carranza's officers were thus violating the rules of civilized warfare at our very door, President Wilson's "personal representative," William Bayard Hale, the newspaper correspondent, was carrying on negotiations at another border town with Carranza himself.

It has been announced from the White House many times that Mr. Wilson's principal reason for refusing to recognize Huerta is that he cannot bring himself to deal with a government founded on murder.

How then can he think of turning over the Mexican people to the mercies of men to whom cold-blooded massacre has become an everyday matter?

The hideous scene at Juarez is simply one incident in a prolonged orgy of wanton murders, burnings and robberies by the "Constitutionalists."

Carranza himself has boasted that "every man in arms against Huerta is under my orders."

When the bloodless intervention of the United States shall have crushed the Huerta administration by bankruptcy, and that strong man shall be driven from power, the American government will have assumed responsibility in the eyes of the civilized world for peace, order and justice in Mexico.

No sober, sensible mind can fail to recognize the grave situation into which Mr. Wilson's and Mr. Bryan's policy is leading us.

Are we to overthrow the despot Huerta only to deliver the Mexican republic up to the plunderers and burners of towns, the violators of women and the slayers of unarmed prisoners?

With the acquiescence of the great European powers President Wilson is bringing about the destruction of the existing Mexican government.

Whom and what will he recognize in its place?—New York "Evening Mail."

Public approval of the appaling heartlessness of the President's policy of watchful waiting would be an indictment of the American people.

* * *

"Watchful waiting."

* * *

As a vulture watches.

* * *

Is that American? Never.

* * *

Huerta won't be "eliminated." Mexico may be. May be.

* * *

A master of the method known in criminal parlance as "croakin' 'em with a sugar front."

* * *

The glacial movement seems to have a little fire in it—the fire of personal antipathy.

* * *

How much the more handsome not to have shown it?

* * *

It is getting down to a purely personal contest, and the country will have none of it—if the logical end is war.

# COLONEL HARVEY'S SANITY

**Colonel George Harvey writes on "the President and Mexico" in the December "North American Review." His article is a careful, unprejudiced analysis of the situation and in its general fairness and unbiased logic is in marked contrast with the daily yelpings of a misinformed or malicious section of the press. After a resumé of the Administration's successive steps in dealing with Mexico, Colonel Harvey goes on to say:**

Subsequent events, including the arbitrary dissolution of the recalcitrant Madero Congress, the dismissal of Diaz, and the so-called election which may or may not be considered valid, and the constantly reiterated declarations from the White House that "Huerta must go" are too recent to require recital.

The whole matter resolves to this:

What legal or moral right has a President of the United States to say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? and

Did not President Wilson imbed himself in a practically inextricable position when he demanded the retirement of Huerta?

To the first question there can be but one answer from a technical standpoint. Mr. Asquith gave it when he said that his Majesty's Government was "bound to deal with him (Huerta) as with any other Central or South American State, whatsoever was at the time the de facto Government." Germany, France, Spain, Austria, and Russia gave it when they accredited Ministers to the new administration. President Franklin Pierce gave it when he declared in his message to Congress on May 15, 1856:

"It is the established policy of the United States to recognize Governments without question of their source of organization or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a Government de facto accepted by the people of the country. * * * It is the more imperatively necessary to apply this rule to the Spanish-American peoples in consideration of the frequent and not seldom anomalous changes of organization or administration which they undergo and the revolutionary character of most of the changes."

Whether or not President Huerta would have been able to restore order throughout Mexico if he had possessed the means of which he was deprived by President Wilson's refusal to accord with the action of other nations and with what President Pierce pronounced "the established policy of the United States" is a matter of conjecture. That it would have been the part of wisdom to give him a chance to try is, we believe in the light of subsequent events, the consensus of opinion in our own country at the present time.

To the second question we suspect the correct answer would be that the President's predicament is one from which satisfactory extrication is at the least difficult. What amazes us is that he should ever had gotten into it.

Surely there could have been no doubt of the consequence of his demand that Huerta relinquish authority upon the ground, clearly implied, that he was directly concerned in the assassination of Madero. If innocent he would not, and if guilty he could not, comply with such a request. Acquiescence would have spelt confession in either case.

Nothing could be plainer than that President Wilson's method frustrated his own intent and could not possibly have operated otherwise. Instead of eliminating Huerta from power, he riveted him in his place, there to remain, in all probability, until he shall be expelled by force of arms.

It is proverbially easy to criticize, especially after the event. Probably President Wilson himself now realizes that it would have been better to accord recognition to the de facto Government, in compliance with the unanimous recommendation of the diplomatic corps in Mexico, upon the grounds set forth by Mr. Asquith.

But, having once assumed a wider responsibility by attempting to dictate to the Dictator, in pursuance of a policy which was ethical rather than practical, he was forbidden by regard for the nation's dignity, no less than by his own obduracy, to recede from the position which he had taken. It followed inevitably that his original and wholly admirable purposes, which comprehended real assistance to a distracted neighbor and avoidance of war on our own part, should narrow to a single definite aim, namely, the deposition of Huerta.

To this end the President has directed all his energies; chiefly, after the failure of moral suasion, by way of menace. But all semi-official threatenings, first of lifting the embargo upon the delivery of arms to the insurgents, then of inaugurating a "peaceful blockade" of the Mexican ports, then of seeking to starve the Government, through the co-operation of foreign powers, and, finally, of severing diplomatic relations entirely, have so far been in vain. Huerta, at this writing, seems to be more stubborn and determined than at any previous time; has crushed out all opposition in his Cabinet and Congress; holds the army apparently under perfect control; is not destitute of funds, and, oddly enough, has been strengthened immeasurably with the Mexican people by report of the peremptory refusal of Carranza to accept mediatory proposals of any kind from Washington.

Meanwhile, the wretched country is being devastated from the Rio Grande to the Southern Gulf; prisoners taken in battle are being slaughtered ruthlessly; helpless non-combatants are become the prey of savage bandits; railways are being torn up; mining and other properties to the value of unreckoned millions have already been destroyed, and American and European residents are fleeing for their lives. The gravity of the situation from the standpoint of Mexico, of our own country, or of humanity cannot be exaggerted. We are confronted by a condition of anarchy, not by a theory of government, and the condition has become intolerable.

What is to be done?

"We admit," says the London "Spectator," "that it might be possible for Mr. Wilson's half-and-half Mexican policy to succeed in very small and weak countries —countries which could never raise their hand in revolt and had to put up with whatever treatment they got as contentedly as might be. But no one will say that Mexico is a country of that description.

"No one could foretell the character and length of the resistance that Mexico would be able to offer if an invasion of the country became necessary. It would certainly be harassing and enthusiastic, and would involve the United States in incalculable expense.

"Mexico is peopl d by independent and pugnacious men, apt at guerilla warfare, and is a country which lends itself to the arts of wearing out an enemy by the expedients of ambuscade and elusiveness. We sincerely hope that the necessity for war may be avoided, but we cannot honestly see how the present American policy can end except in war and an eventual protectorate, or in a reversal of the attempt at dictation by means of an unworkable imperialism."

### War Looms Ahead.

We are unable to see how any thinking man can fail to concur in this judgment. Grateful as we are to President Wilson for withstanding the temptation to which another of less scrupulous ambition might have yielded, to intervene by force of arms, we cannot escape the conclusion that persistence in his present course is virtually certain to drive our country into a war as hateful to ourselves as it would be to the neighbors whom we are anxious to serve. The only alternative, apparently, is that indicated above, name-by means of an unworkable imperial-by means of an unworkable Imperialism."

Is that not possible?

Nobody here or abroad and nobody in Mexico who need be considered questions the high purpose which has actuated President Wilson. Nobody suspects his good faith, the purity of his motives, or the pacificatory nature of his methods. Nobody doubts that he has

(Continued on Next Page)

COLONEL HARVEY'S SANITY.—(Continued).

done his best, and can demonstrate that another could have done better.

But the policy which the President sincerely believed to be the wisest has failed. Why could and why should he not now address the de facto Government of Mexico substantially as follows: "We have exerted our best endeavors, according to our best judgment, to aid in peace and prosperity to you, our neighbors and our friends. We have been disinterested, as you know, but our suggestions, having failed to meet with the approval of either the provisional Government or of the commander of the insurrectionary forces, have necessarily proved unavailing.

"Deeply as we regret this circumstance, we frankly admit it to be a fact. But it is the accomplishment, not the method, that we still regard as vital.

"We have tried our way in vain. Now we stand ready to try yours.

"Your Ambassador will be received in Washington. We will accredit a new Ambassador to you 'without previous conditions.'

"We shall hold your Government responsible for the lives and properties of all foreign residents, and shall notify other nations to that effect. All of our dealings with your Administration will be in the open, in good faith, and in sincere hope that a truly representative and stable Government may soon be established, to the end that, within a reasonable time, peace and prosperity may be regained in all parts of your distracted land."

We hear objections to this new policy. It would be unfair to the Constitutionalists and rebels. But, since their leader has repulsed our attempts at mediation, what further claim have they upon our consideration?

It would strengthen Huerta, or Blanquet, or Moheno, or whoever may be in control when these words reach the public ear and mind. That cannot be helped. We must strengthen somebody, and apparently there is little room for choice.

It would be inconsistent with our declared attitude, would be a recession on the part of the President, would humiliate us as a nation in the eyes of the world. Perhaps, yes; and for that very reason it would live forever as a performance and an example, as the noblest act ever done by a great and powerful nation in the interest of a weak and suffering people.

And it would avert war—at least for time sufficient to allow for adjustment and mutual understanding. That is the overpowering consideration which should and, we hope, may influence a President who surely must realize that he is not merely the tribune of a people, but is also the head of a nation which should set the pace for all the world in works of self-abnegation tending to universal peace.

# LEST WE FORGET

We are the friends of constitutional government in America; we are more than its friends, we are its champions.

So we are. But—what about Venezuela and Guatemala?

In the former a dictatorship has been openly declared; in the latter one of the worst of Central American tyrannies has existed for seventeen years.

* * *

The Administration is most friendly to the rulers of Venezuela and Guatemala.

* * *

"We love constitutional government."

* * *

But you see those rulers have been wise—all their concessions have been given to American capitalists.

* * *

"We loathe predaceous big business!"

* * *

You never read in the newspapers about the "awful, awful stabbing of the Constitution" in those countries, do you?

* * *

You never read about the usurpation of President Gomez of Venezuela, do you?

But, you see, Gomez and Estrada Cabera are wise—they KNOW HOW to give concessions.

* * *

"We oppose concession-giving in Latin-America."

* * *

Sulzer, another great friend of constitutional freedom, can vouch for Cabrera's wisdom.

* * *

Mexican revolutionists have always been clever in adopting high-sounding names.

* * *

None ever hit the mark, however, so well as the present rebels. Constitutionalism! How could this name fail to appeal to our patriots?. Bryan throbs with sheer emotion, his blood racing through his veins, when he hears the name.

* * *

By the way, they tell us that Senators and Congressmen began wriggling uncomfortably in their chairs when President Wilson in his address said we were the champions of constitutional government.

* * *

Poor little lambs!

* * *

The message was brief.

* * *

Why keep up the form of sending any message at all?

* * *

Besides, the public is getting too much information already.

* * *

As, for instance, in regard to the Mexican policy.

The "constitutionalists" yodle in exultation—they always yodle now—in Bryan's honor—every time they put out a story about the Constitution and the story "takes."

* * *

They are wise—like Gomez, like Estrada Cabrera.

* * *

Hiring thugs to "get Huerta"—that's splendid Americanism.

* * *

Splendid—but you never can tell what these idealists will do. Genius is akin to insanity.

* * *

The Administration is understood to be opposed to armed invasion of Mexico. But can it not see that there is a powerful organized campaign afoot to infiame public opinion and thus force its hand? A campaign of corporations, individuals and newspapers. None so blind as he who could not see that it has been and is these very elements who have supported fulsomely the non-recognition of Huerta. They knew what would happen.

* * *

Every time that President Huerta goes to take a look at the house he's building, or visits any of his friends, the yellows shout out in scareheads: "Huerta Fleeing the Country."

* * *

The New York "World" insinuated in its usual nasty way the other day that Huerta would "quit for a price." So like the "World." Well, we suppose the "World" will keep it up—"for a price."

* * *

Colonel Harvey makes a suggestion to President Wilson that would call for a mighty big man to follow. See on other page.

* * *

The El Pasogramists will tell their grandchildren about the glorious times when Villa was in Juarez and they could write anything they pleased and send it hot over the wire to hungry editors. Villa says THIS, Villa says THAT. Villa says all Northern Mexico is in the hands of constitutionalists—therefore it is. Villa says he's going to take Chihuahua—therefore he will. Then Mexico City! On to Mexico City! Just like that. And it's flashed to every nook and corner of the United States at so much per word. Oh, these are the glorious days for the El Paso Liar. Big strings, big heads, big joke!

Read "MEXICO"
ONCE A WEEK
AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# FIDDLING WHILE ROME BURNS

ARMY & NAVY CLUB,
Washington, D. C.
December 1, 1913.

Editor MEXICO,
15 Broad St., New York, N. Y.

My dear Sir:

I have read with much interest your recent editorials upon President Wilson's Mexican policy, and I take the liberty of enclosing you herewith a pamphlet on the subject, which I trust you may find time to read.

The most important point in the policy is not covered by this pamphlet, and I think is missed in your editorials.

Under the wing of the Monroe Doctrine we have arrogated to ourselves, and have succeeded in "putting it over," that no Latin-American government can borrow money without our recognition. Victoriano Huerta as such, can borrow little, neither can Woodrow Wilson, but recognized as a government, either can borrow large sums. Our domination of Mexico is such that even the people of Mexico do not dare lend money to their present government except at their own risk, because President Wilson at any time can put Pancho Villa, for example, in as President of Mexico, and what that unspeakable bandit, or even the "walking delegate" Carranza, would do toward the recognition of any bonds issued by President Huerta can readily be imagined.

The edict forbidding civilized Mexico from borrowing money went forth on March 7th. Six months later, August 27th, President Wilson made four demands through John Lind, all of them grotesquely impossible of compliance, the one requiring civilized Mexico to change leaders at that critical time being especially unfair. There are many renegades in the civilized ranks ambitious for leadership and willing to risk arming savages as did Madero, in the fatuous hope that he could put them back where they were after his election. On August 27th, General Huerta had his military (as well as his civil) forces organized, with men whom he could trust as military governors of every State, and his civil organization was similarly developed. To change leaders would mean changing all those arrangements to the new man's somewhat personal following, even if a new man could be found. I have asked dozens of Americans long resident in Mexico, who could handle the situation as well as Huerta, and absolutely the only other man suggested is Blanquet, who is Huerta's right bower, and who would not take it, saying that Huerta is the right man.

President Wilson's proposition that we have a free election down there, with the President of a foreign country dictating who should be candidates and who should not, is also a rather startling proposition.

As the Madero bandits were armed from this country, quite probably by "big business" of this country, and as the same interests are now smuggling arms across the border, and furthermore, as we deliberately permit this country to be used as an asylum, and as a basis for fomenting revolutions against Mexico and other friendly nations, a bill for the prevention of which has for many months been slumbering under the cushion of Senator Bacon's chair, **our responsibility for the arming of the bandits who are destroying civilized Mexico seems pretty definitely established.**

If then, we prevent civilized Mexico from borrowing money, the responsibility of President Wilson for all the thousands of deaths, for all the wanton destruction of bridges, banks, theatres and cities generally, for the tens of thousands of outrages committed upon women and young girls, and for the millions of money it will cost to eliminate the thousands of bandits now on the warpath, is somewhat appalling. Is it fair, or it is right that President Wilson should now accept merely the humiliation of not hammering Hureta out, but to sit back and let the bandits get him out, which means let the bandits destroy Mexico? Is he not, in fact, bound in all fairness, if he is going to keep hands off, to withdraw from his present position of claiming any special rights in Mexico, and let the recognition of foreign governments sustain Mexico's credit as if the United States did not exist? **Have we the right to ham-string Mexico financially and call it "moral suasion"?**

Carranza and the separate packs of wolves in front of whom he trots as a self-styled leader, without the slightest real subordinaton to him on their parts, do not have to borrow money. They rob banks, take money from citizens at the point of the bayonet and live on the country purely as bandits, while General Huerta, on the other hand, has to wage warfare in a civilized manner and protect inhabitants and re-build roads destroyed by Villa and other cut-throats. **Is there anything more awful in history than the waiting attitude of President Wilson after having done the damage which he has?** Since the capture of Victoria, if the same proportion obtains that did after the capture of Durango several months ago, President Wilson is **"viewing with complacency" the outraging of not less than 1500 women and girls in that vicinity.**

**Nero's fiddling while Rome burned was not a marker to this complacent satisfaction. And for what?** To get rid of Huerta. Why? It is a fact that Huerta is neither an assassin, a traitor, nor a usurper. I have recently advertised on the front page of the Washington "Post" a challenge for any one to debate that proposition, and no local editorial writer, no representative of the Department of State, supposed to know all about it, has dared to accept the challenge.

So, it seems to me that President Wilson is bound to back water like a man, and recognize the government legally established by civilized Mexico, and the United States certainly ought to make amends for the wrongs it has been instrumental in causing to that harried land by presenting to that government promptly $100,000,000 or more.

**The facts as I have stated them are true, and when the truth is known and appreciated by the people of the United States, as it is bound to be, they will stand aghast with horror at what our President has really done to Mexico.**

Very truly yours,
CASSIUS E. GILLETTE.

P. S.—You are at liberty to use this letter or its facts in any way you desire.

## MEXICAN STOCKS AND BONDS.

The resume for the week ending November 15th shows a remarkable improvement in the value of Mexican securities abroad, but more especially on the Parisian Bourse, in connection with which may be seen the advances in Government 3 and 5 per cent. bonds, National, London, Central, Peninsular and Territorial banks, Eagle Oil and Buen Tono's, National Railway 2nds, and Mexican Trams, and all mining shares, the declines, on the other hand, being insignificant.

While London does not record the heavy increases registered in Paris, the advances in Mexican Railway common, National Railway 1st and 2nd preferred and Mexico Mines must be mentioned as eminently satisfactory under the present circumstances, and the fact that National Railway 1st and 2nd preferred stock advanced heavily on the New York exchange, while the local shares below quoted show either losses but slight, improvement during the week speaks for itself.

| | Closing Prices. Nov. 8 | Nov. 15 | Inc. | Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paris. | | Dollars. | | |
| Mexican National 5s.. | 37.20 | 41.10 | 3.90 | .. |
| National 3s ..... | 26.40 | 27.50 | 1.10 | .. |
| | | Francs. | | |
| National Bank ..... | 605.00 | 638.00 | 33.00 | .. |
| London Bank ..... | 385.00 | 420.00 | 35.00 | .. |
| Central Bank ..... | 107.00 | 109.00 | 2.00 | .. |
| Credito Territorial .... | 168.00 | 178.00 | 10.00 | .. |
| Peninsular ..... | 109.00 | 114.00 | 5.00 | .. |
| Buen Tono, pfd..... | 444.00 | 450.00 | 6.00 | .. |
| Tramways, of Mexico.. | 396.00 | 419.00 | 23.00 | .. |
| Nat. Rys., 2nd pfd... | 60.00 | 69.00 | 9.00 | .. |
| Dos Estrellas ..... | 216.00 | 229.00 | 13.00 | .. |
| Mexico Mines of El Oro | 130.00 | 141.00 | 11.00 | .. |
| Oro Nolan ..... | 350.00 | 400.00 | 50.00 | .. |
| New York. | | Dollars. | | |
| Nat. Rys. 2nd pfd..... | 35.50 | 39.00 | 3.50 | .. |
| Nat Rys 1st pfd..... | 11.62 | 13.50 | 1.88 | .. |
| London. | | | | |
| Nat. Rys. 1st pfd..... | 33.50 | 36.00 | 2.50 | .. |
| Nat. Rys. 2nd pfd..... | 11.75 | 13.50 | 1.75 | .. |
| Mexican Rys. com... | £33.5.0 | 37.5.0 | 4.0.0 | .. |

# THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

## SAYS U. S. HELPS BRIGANDS.

### And Hampers Huerta, Says London "Times" Man in Mexico.

(Special Cable Despatch to N. Y. "Sun.")

London, Dec. 3.—The Mexico City correspondent of the "Times" cables that it has become necessary to call attention to the desperate situation which is developing in Mexico as a consequence of the attitude of the United States, whose apparent intention is to freeze out Gen. Huerta.

The United States, says the correspondent, seems to regard the trouble in the north as purely revolutionary, with all the chieftains fighting for the same cause. This, he points out, might be admitted in certain instances, but on the whole the disturbances are inspired by a desire for brigandage and are merely manifestations of an anti-social tendency.

Barbarous atrocities are being committed, says the correspondent, and there are mutilations, tortures, murders rapine, arson, attacks against women and young girls and wholesale slaying of children.

The wanton destruction or railway, mining and other properties is a daily occurence and is increasing. The policy of the United States, he adds, assists the bandits and hampers the constituted Government.

The correspondent adds that if General Huerta's strong hand is removed the results will be appalling. Americans must realize, he says, that the removal of the provisional President will lead to chaos and will inflict untold misery on millions of innocent beings.

"No words are too strong," says the "Times" correspondent, "to emphasize the disastrous effects which will follow if the present tactics are continued. This is the opinion of all foreigners here."

The second of the mail articles by the "Times'" Mexico correspondent, dated Monterey, November 1, says:

"The damage caused by the rebels at Monterey alone is estimated at $5,000,000, apart from the complete paralysis of business and the wanton destruction of railroads, engines and freight cars. The mass of Mexicans regard civil war as a perfectly natural condition and would not worry if it continued forever.

"Five-sixths of these Mexicans have no conception of any form of government except the personal government by force. Few care even for the present institutions or for reform. They are fighting because it pays better to fight than to work or because they have been impressed into service in the army. Both sides punish looting at certain times and in certain places, but it goes on nevertheless and often has to be winked at."

The writer expresses sympathy and respect for many Constitutionalist leaders, but he is unable to see that their triumph will put an end to the disorders.

"They have no clear idea," he says, "as to what they would do if they came into power, and are even undecided as to whom they would run for President. Revolution would succeed revolution, an endless vista of a series of triumphs and long drawn disorder that can be prevented only by a strong and just government.

"If the present regime lacks those qualities Mexico can hardly hope to settle her own troubles and will have to be dealt with by some other hand."

## GERMAN OPINION OF WILSON.

(By Marconi Transatlantic Wireless Telegraph to the New York "Times.")

Some time ago, after the publication of the New York "Times" Berlin dispatch concerning the bitter anti-American tone of the German press, the Frankfurter "Zeitung" published a long editorial article denouncing indignantly the assertion that there was any trace of anti-American feeling in Germany. Despite this editorial the press continues to publish articles in which Americans who are ordinarily referred to sneeringly as "Yankees," are accused of hypocrisy, of permitting Government agencies to be subverted in the interest of the Standard Oil Company and other great undertakings, and of cherishing a plain design to annex at least a portion of Mexico and further to exploit that country.

The "Vossische Zeitung's" article cited pictures of conditions in Mexico as the most barbarous and asserts that the people who induced "Wilson, the unalloyed fool," to bite into the peppered dish knew just how to go about it. They concealed themselves behind "political morals," as if there were such a thing where petroleum was still the trump.

On one side is America with the Standard Oil Company; the railroaders and the miners on the other side. The writer asserts that the only hope for the restoration of peace is through Huerta, the only man capable of ruling Mexico, if he could be supported.

The article warns the United States against raising the embargo on the importation of rifles and cites the arming of the Tschungusu bandits in Manchuria by both sides in the Russo-Japanese war, where the result was that those armed bandits and their rifles were the elements of terror for years after the war closed.

## IN MEXICO.

The taking of the city of Juarez by the rebel Carrancistas has been really a defeat for them, at least in the eyes of well-thinking men, and above all in the opinion of Americans. We have published an account of the atrocities perpetrated by the bandit Francisco Villa in Juarez, where he shot 150 prisoners—custom house employees, officials of the army, and even private citizens who took no part whatever in the battle. These acts of monstrous barbarism were viewed from El Paso, Texas, by American citizens. They naturally understood the enormity of the crimes, the horrible fate that would be Mexico's under an empire of Carrancista anarchy, whose furious destruction does not stop even before helpless women or neutral foreigners.

In Torreon, according to recent reliable reports, Villa perpetrated the most atrocious crimes, among others the shooting of fourteen Spanish subjects whose only fault was to live by honest toil under the hospitality which we Mexicans have spontaneously extended to them.

It came the turn of Juarez and then the curiosity of the Americans who are fond of witnessing from El Paso the scenes of blood among Mexicans was satisfied. The North American press, in spite of its acute Carrancism, could not help but express the thought—perhaps in opportune time: "If Carranza is triumphant, what will become of Mexico and the great national and foreign interests that exist there?" The Yankee papers are right, but we are going to give them one more thought: If Carranza is triumphant, Francisco Villa will be at least Minister of War or Vice-President of the Republic, or in the end something just as important as either of these two positions, simply because Villa has the right to such a position; has been, after Alvaro Obregon, the rebel chief of greatest military worth. Villa has captured Torreon and Juarez, most important places that were found with strong Federal garrisons; has been at the point of gathering the cotton of La Laguna that is worth 40,000,000 pesos. He threatened Monterrey and Saltillo; attacked Chihuahua and was defeated and when he was believed to be without encouragement or strength obtained the success we referred to in this article. Is Villa not entitled to a place in the cabinet of Carranza? This is incontrovertible. If the rebellion is triumphant we shall have in the metropolis Villaism in all its power, and then woe to society, woe to the foreigners be they Spaniards or Americans. We have repeated to exhaustion that we are not partisans, but we are patriots and Mexicans, and understand patriotism before everything as a power of social conservation and of respect for the rights and interests of others. President Wilson ought to know this, and he knows it well, and now that he has been so solicitious in tutoring us and in playing the role of arbitrator in our dissensions, now that he wishes to justify his absurd intrusion in our affairs, alleging puritan moral motives, let him say if it is honorable on his part, if it is human to protect Villa only because of his whim of imposing on Mexico his will when this attitude is the direct cause of the crimes without name that were committed in Torreon, in the city of Juarez, and in many other cities of the Republic? Woodrow Wilson does not know, or does not wish to know, that before history and civilization he is obliged to answer the charges that humanity may bring against a Francisco Villa.—"El Pais," Mexico City, November 22.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## PRESIDENT WILSON REVEALS HIS MIND ON MEXICO.

The same vague sense of drifting which has characterized the Mexican policy of President Wilson all through the year pervades his address to Congress on the subject. He says:

"There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until Gen. Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended governments will not be countenanced or dealt with by the government of the United States."

Speaking of the immediate situation, which has been brought about by the hostile attitude of the United States toward Huerta, and an open policy of encouraging the rebels, the President declares:

"Little by little he has been completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away."

**Not a word about the murders and lootings and general barbaric destructiveness of the wild forces that are desolating and destroying Mexico as they sweep savagely on toward the Mexican capital.**

Not a syllable to indicate that the United States by its interference has practically made itself responsible for stable government in a country of 15,000,000 inhabitants that has never known peace and order save under the stern rule of an armed master.

Nor does Mr. Wilson emerge from the mystery in which he has enveloped the nation's foreign policy, intrusted to the hands of his "personal representatives" when he speaks of the future:

"We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

Who are the leaders to whom the President looks for the restoration of "constitutional order" in Mexico.

Are they to be found among the Carranzas, Villas, Zapatas or any of the bandit chiefs whose men have been killing prisoners, violating women and looting and burning cities, towns and villages in the name of the "constitution"?

Mr. Wilson informs Congress that the fall of Huerta "is not far away."

**When the ad interim government is overthrown Mexico will be in the hands of the very men whose savage crimes against civilization are almost daily horrifying the American people.**

**Are these the leaders upon whom Mr. Wilson is depending for "constitutional order" in the hapless republic?**

However noble the theory or sentiment that led the President, against the policy of almost every other civilized country, to interfere in the domestic affairs of Mexico and to attempt to overthrow its de facto government by reducing it to bankruptcy, these hard questions must be met.

No one familiar with the Mexico of to-day can discover among the fierce and unscrupulous soldiers and spoilers who will command the country when Huerta's government is crushed any sign of the leaders who "prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

What is to take the place of the Huerta government whose collapse the President says "it not far away?"

This question may be monotonous, but the inexorable conditions to which it applies are also monotonous in their demand for a clear-headed and practical statesmanship that can forsee the perils into which even peaceable intervention in the government of foreign nations may drift us.—New York "Evening Mail."

## AN UNCHARTED SEA

Mr. Wilson is attempting to inaugurate a new United States policy south of the Rio Grande. Just what it is, nobody can say with definiteness, and he himself refuses to reveal it. He spoke at Mobile in vague, glittering generalities, which did not even remotely touch the practical difficulties of the situation. What we know is that his Mexican policy began with refusal to recognize Mexican law in Mexican Government, expressing itself in the action of the Mexican Congress in choosing Victoriano Huerta as provisional president. **That the Congress which elected Huerta was not under his duress is best evidenced by the fact that it was the same Congress which has since been dispersed by him for refusal to co-operate with him, mainly because of his growing weakness as a result of United States hostility.** Before that dispersal was made, however, the development of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy had progressed far enough to make our recognition of Huerta impossible. Mr. Lind had been sent as a special envoy to Mexico with a number of imperative mandates concerning the date and manner of holding a Mexican election. Our ambassador at the City of Mexico had been withdrawn because he was suspected of being on terms of friendship with the Government of Mexico, to which he had been accredited—a strange fault in an ambassador. These acts, in themselves, had put recognition of Huerta out of the question. When they were followed by an ultimatum forbidding a convening of the new Mexican Congress, and this was followed by a convening of that body, even ordinary negotiation with a de facto government at the Mexican capital was practically at an end.

Results to date are chaotic. The president's abandonment of our traditional policy has resulted in nothing, and, so far as can be seen, it promises nothing of peace as plainly as it threatens war. * * * * * * * * * we believe, that Americans have a right to challenge the wisdom of a new departure which, at the end of a nine months' trial, shows us nothing but the wreck of a constitutional provisional government in Mexico, and offers us no guarantee of better conditions to follow it. We are making a new experiment. In making it, Mr. Wilson should take the country more into his confidence. We greatly fear that he has no fixed and definite plan of procedure. **Does he hope to find in the constitutionalists, who slaughter their prisoners and violate all rules of civilized warfare, something more worthy of recognition?** And if constitutionalists shall be able to seat a provisional president under the same forms of Mexican law which seated Huerta, will he recognize him, or still heed the protests of the Zapatistas, the Escobedists, and others still in revolt, for other men, of their own choosing? When we are drifting in a new, uncharted sea, the captain should box the compass, but he should make known the course of the ship.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

## A "REBEL RACE."

"We are of a rebel race by right of our Indian and Spanish blood," says Mr. Francisco Escodero, who is set down as Foreign Minister in the as yet extremely "provisional" cabinet of Mr. Carranza; "nobody will ever dominate us." Clearly Mr. Escodero is preparing himself to take up the onerous duties of Foreign Minister in a very dubious spirit. The caution, reserve, and courtesy which pertain to that office are evidently not in his composition. We are quoting from the report of an interview with him in which he undertakes to warn the United States against making any arrangement with the Government of Huerta. As nothing seems to be further from the desires of the Government at Washington than an "arrangement" of any sort with the present shaky Government in the National Palace, we might have been spared the warning.

But the spirit displayed by this proudly rebellious statesman does not justify much hope in the permanence of any Government in which he bears a part. Peace and prosperity cannot be the lot of a country overrun by proud rebels carrying Mauser rifles and declaring that they cannot be dominated. There are half a hundred distinct varieties of that kind of patriotism in Mexico and that is the whole trouble. Mr. Zapata and his "provisional" Foreign Minister, whosoever he may be, feel just as Mr. Escodero feels. Gen. Genovevo de la O and Gen. Villa feel that way, too. So do the leaders of the bands in all the States. Something or somebody must teach Mexicans that the welfare of the Commonwealth must dominate, that the proud spirits of the born rebels must be subjected to the public good, or Mexico will continue indefinitely a land of rebellion.

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Before he turned patriot, revolutionary and constitutionalist, "General" Pancho Villa was a plain horse thief and cutthroat, though usually called by the more high-sounding names of bandit and brigand. If the police authorities in President Diaz's time could have laid their hands on him, they'd have hanged him in short order and with ample justification. Some of Madero's friends never got over their surprise at his willingness to take such a crime-stained recruit into comradeship. Butchering prisoners seems to be as simple a matter of course with Villa as breathing.—Hartford "Daily Courant."

## THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN ANARCHY.

The butchery of helpless men and women and a wild chaos of looting and burning, to say nothing of unspeakable crimes against captive wives and daughters, are the increasing results of the bloodless interference of the Wilson administration in Mexican affairs.

Every day seems to witness a wider spread of the appalling scene of murder and brigandage.

Had the United States recognized the Huerta government, as all the other great nations did, there is little doubt that the despotic president ad interim would by this time have restored comparative peace and order in Mexico.

President Wilson, however, would have nothing to do with Huerta because he believed him to be responsible for the death of his predecessor, and because, like many other Mexican rulers, the despot became president without the formality of an election.

With all due consideration for the high moral note sounded by Mr. Wilson in Washington, the fact remains that in entering upon a campaign to bankrupt the Huerta government we have become the allies of the murderous rebel leaders and their bandit followers.

General Villa, the real chief of the rebel forces, who murders prisoners wholesale because he does not want the trouble of feeding them, and whose fierce hordes plunder and burn without mercy, says that the rebels will soon be in possession of the Mexican capital.

If the rebels get control of Mexico, what will the Wilson Administration, which refuses to recognize a government "founded on blood," do about it?

Will the United States then continue to deal with Mexico secretly and only through Mr. Wilson's "personal representatives?"

What will we say to the other nations of the world who have been asked to keep their hands off?

We have deliberately made it our own problem.

There is growing evidence, too, that if the rebels are victorious they will fight against each other and that the downfall of Huerta will simply be the beginning of a bloodier and more barbarous conflict.

All this might have been foreseen many months ago had Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan chosen to consult with the expert official representatives of the United States familiar with Mexican affairs and the Mexican character before launching the government on an unsuccessful moral experiment in the concerns of another nation from which there is no visible way out.—New York "Evening Mail."

## FOREDOOMED.

Should the revolutionary movement finally succeed and Huerta be replaced by Carranza or some other leader of the insurgents, there would be no more assurance of peace and stable government in Mexico than there has been at any time since the Maderist movement started three years ago. The problem confronting the United States will, therefore, be just as serious as it is at the present time. It is utterly useless to expect the inauguration of constitutional methods and ideas in the southern republic with the great mass of the people totally ignorant of the first principles of representative government. Only methods such as were employed by Porfirio Diaz can govern such a country, hence all efforts that our Administration may make to enforce respect for the Mexican Constitution and bring about a free popular election of the country's rulers are foredoomed to failure.

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

It was a mistake not to have accorded Huerta the same recognition as the de facto president which Great Britain, France, and the other European countries extended. The methods he has employed, however reprehensible from an American point of view, are no different from those resorted to by former President Diaz during his long term at the head of affairs. Such recognition would not have implied any approval of his acts, but it would have insured better protection for Americans residing in Mexico as well as greater safety for foreigners generally, and would have eliminated all danger of European interference in Mexican affairs.—New Orleans "Daily Picayune."

## CONFUSED BY MEXICAN POLICY.

The position of the pro-administration papers in their warm advocacy of the President's Mexican policy is bewildering, to say the least. Far be it from me to speak of the President in any but the most respectful manner; as one acquainted with affairs in Mexico, I am merely bewildered—that is all.

We are all united, I take it, in an earnest desire for a representative government in the Republic of Mexico and for a popular and fair election throughout that republic, but can either Washington or the New York newspapers supporting the Administration's Mexican policy devise ways and means to assure such an election? If they cannot, I am interested to learn just what is the plan of operation.

After Huerta has resigned, or has been forced out, and the United States rings with the praises of our "diplomacy," what has Washington planned to do? Is Secretary Bryan to name the members of Congress and the Mayor of Tampico and the postmaster at Zacatecas? Are we to appoint certain Tammany officials as inspectors of election in the Republic of Mexico, in order that our firm and moral stand for the purity of the Mexican ballot may be enforced? I repeat, after Huerta goes out, What?

Perhaps Governor Carranza is to be named for the Presidency! Would the naming of Carranza by the United States reflect the voice of the Mexican people any more than the naming of Huerta?

Consistency is still a jewel. I wonder how the newspapers in question and the Administration at Washington would view, at this time, a personal envoy from Huerta, charged with the high and laudable mission of securing, if possible, an honest, fair and representative election in our Southern States?

Of course General Huerta has troubles of his own just at this time and could not concern himself with the unfair disfranchisement of millions of American negroes, but I ask, in all seriousness, why it would not be quite as consistent for the Mexican government to protest against that disfranchisement as it is for us to demand the right of franchise for millions of illiterate Mexican Indians.

Poor Mexico yearns for peace, and the slaughter and the suffering, whether of federal or of rebel, are deplorable—as deplorable as the lynching of negroes throughout the South.

With many, many others, I simply cannot understand the logic of our Mexican policy, and I insist that my bewilderment shows neither disloyalty nor disrespect to the President. As you so wisely observe in your editorial of Monday, November 24th, no good can come from glozing over the facts and no harm can come from looking the truth in the face. We all earnestly desire a representative government in Mexico, I repeat, but I simply cannot understand how that desire is to be attained by the policy which Washington has pursued and which a large part of the American press has so fervently sustained.—"BEWILDERED," in New York "Tribune."

## IDEALS VERSUS FACTS.

Your cartoon of the Mexican situation in Monday's issue is splendid Why not add to it President Wilson, with his face illumined with holy zeal, strapping his victim to make him more helpless?

Your correspondent "Bewildered" is right. There are a number of us Americans who have lived in Mexico, who speak its language and who enjoyed its security and progress under the Diaz regime who believe President Wilson has made a ghastly mistake. High ideals are commendable, but when backed up by an obstinate aversion to the facts of real conditions they lose their value.

The chances are against President Huerta, but there is a large voiceless contingent in the United States that hopes he will win out.—"CIVIL ENGINEER" in New York "Tribune."

Some of the many persons that are most eager for United States intervention in Mexico seem to forget that the United States was at one time torn with civil strife for a period of nearly five years, and there was no attempt at armed intervention by Mexico or by any of the European powers.—Springfield (Mass.) "Union."

## MILITARY LAW.

Huerta has been magnaminous enough to make a distinction between the American government and the American people. The rank and file of Americans who know the first thing of the Mexican situation welcome a firm dictator at Mexico City; they realize that platitudes and college theories are futile in reorganizing a country that has so long been on the rack of war; they realize that ultimately some strong man—either Huerta or some other with judgment, strength and the courage to gamble with fate—must rule with the firmness of a tyrant and the foresight of a statesman until a peaceful government has been established.

When exigencies arise, constitutional law is overruled and military law put into effect. If the situation in Mexico does not justify the enforcement of military law with one man as commander-in-chief, then even the imagination is baffled to picture a situation that would. Huerta should be let alone to prove what he can do. He has shown himself to be farsighted; his courage is unquestioned; imprisoned Congressman can attest to his firmness. But Mr. Wilson has interfered with preposterous demands; has encouraged and incited rebels to continue their brigandage until Huerta has had no opportunity to show his ability as a statesman; but he has shown good judgment in inviting Mr. Wilson to keep his nose out of Mexican affairs, and by informing the entire world that his dictatorship is not unjustifiable. "The law is not violated when you save the fatherland."—Los Angeles "Times."

## FROM THE FRONT.

The "Catholic Tribune" publishes the following communication from a mining engineer at Cananea, Sonora:

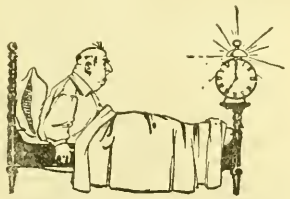
The term Carranzistas, or Constitutionalists, simply means an organized band of robbers! Not one man in the camp of Sonora is honest. All the rebel leaders are thieves or murderers. When Madero had been shot last February and Huerta proclaimed provisional president by the Mexican Congress, the Sonora rebels refused to recognize him, on the score that he had murdered Madero and that from now on they would have to wreak vengeance and slaughter all former enemies (the Cientificos) of the murdered president. After the battle of Nogales, Sonora, where a Federal colonel and three hundred men held 2,000 rebels under "Generals" Obregon and Juan Cabral at bay for a whole day, surrendering to the American troops in the evening, the reign of terror began. That day all the business places were plundered and destroyed. All the Cientificos were captured, mistreated, and thrown into prison. On the following day sixteen of them were shot as spies of Huerta. On the same pretext two or three followed each day. Thus was Madero's death avenged.

Another outrage of this gang of robbers were 'forced loans.' The Constitutionalists called on

every wealthy citizen or business man and demanded, say, five, eight or ten thousand dollars for their war chest. Refusal meant death the following morning. The prudent handed over their available money, promised to secure more as soon as possible, and then fled to the States. But woe to their property! A new confiscation 'law' Ley de los Ausentos, has been invented. It is applied by a certain H. Molina, a real tramp who formerly sold tobacco, shoe-blacking and matches in various stores and was discharged for stealing. This 'gentleman' sells the confiscated property for a song. Generally he does not pay even the auction expenses and never turns a cent into the war chest. Entire herds of cattle were 'sold' across the border. In this way Mr. Manuel Mascarena lost 5,000 head of cattle. * * * The Constitutionalists raided the entire State of Sonora and executed every friend of Huerta who fell into their hands. The men working in mines were driven together like cattle and, if they refused, summarily killed. Americans and foreigners were lined up against the wall, told to hold up their hands, robbed, and forced to pay a heavy ransom. Many foreigners were murdered. I, too, was robbed several times, but managed to save my life, because many of the soldiers had worked under me in lower California, Mexican Sinaloa, or Cananea.

Nothing is to be expected from Carranza and his Constitutionalists. Huerta will probably fall a victim to Wilson and Bryan; but he will not yield. He is the only man who could restore peace in Mexico; but Uncle Sam's refusal to recognize his has deprived him of the means. President Wilson gives as his reason for not recognizing Huerta that the latter murdered Madero. But this is not true; and if it were, Wilson would not yet have the right to mix into this national affair. Since when is Mexico under an American protectorate? What would Wilson say if the King of Italy or Czar of Russia should demand his resignation and a new election? * * * The only right Wilson has in Mexico is the so-called Monroe Doctrine privilege, which provides that he must protect the life and property of Americans and foreigners, lest another Power be tempted to do this. Instead of doing this, the President asks all Americans to leave Mexico and, incidentally, the property acquired by years of hard labor.

My conviction is this: Had Wilson recognized Huerta, the latter could have placed a loan in Europe and the rebels would be crushed. Instead of this, Huerta is accused of murdering Madero, and there seems to be the intention to lift the embargo on arms and ammunition in favor of the miserable gang of robbers and thieves, who have murdered hundreds of innocent men and outraged women and even girls of tender years. * * * Intervention means a long guerilla war, which will claim thousands of lives and cost millions of dollars. And Uncle Sam's profit? Not an inch of Mexican territory. But if the President favors the rebels, war is unnecessary. Moreover for that eventuality, the cowards have even now promised to cede to Uncle Sam the states of Sonora Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and lower California with the famous Magdalena Bay. But the last bullet has not been cast in Mexico.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: As an American that has lived in Mexico, and to some extent know personally some of the true conditions as they are there, I have fully intended to have written you before, not only to compliment you on the fairness and courtesy you have displayed to all, in your explanations, etc., of the almost impossible conditions in Mexico, but to express my admiration for those that are back of this publication, who have had the nerve and honesty to stand by their convictions. I love my own country, and I am a friend of Mexico, and no words of mine can express my indignation at the policy that has been shown to that country, and I only voice hundreds of Americans in Mexico, but their friends here, who are bitter at the treatment that Henry Lane Wilson received at the hands of his own government that should have honored him for what he did, and if in all the years he lived there has was not in a position to know conditions as they were, then no one else ever will be, but I am saying too much, perhaps.

Hoping that your efforts may bring brighter days to Mexico, is the earnest and sincere wish of

N. D. G.

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 28, 1913.

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The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: President Wilson has declared to the world that he will not recognize any act emanating from President Huerta, and he has likewise declared that he would consider the recent elections invalid not only in regard to the President and Vice-President, but also as to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

Let us now suppose that President Huerta were willing to agree to the wishes of the Washington Government, and in order to avoid an international conflict should decide to resign from his post—to whom could he send his resignation? Not to the Congress which was elected by the Madero régimé, because that Congress was dissolved; neither could he send it to the present Congress, because Mr. Wilson has not cared to recognize it; to the Supreme Court?—perhaps, but such a step would not be sanctioned by the Constitution. Even admitting the legality of such a procedure, whom could the Supreme Court name as successor of the President? It could not name any member of the present Cabinet, as all of these were appointed by President Huerta. Suppose that the Court should name some citizen not connected with the present Government, on what basis of legality would such an appointment rest? Would not a president so chosen be more illegal than the present one, who was put in office in accordance with established procedure? And in any event such a change would proceed more or less directly from revolution, and therefore should be tabooed by Washington.

It has been said that another way out of the difficulty lies in the recognition and protection of rebels, in order to "eliminate" President Huerta, and this is being tried out, more or less openly, for there is no difficulty in the passage of arms and ammunition across the border, money has been readily obtainable by the rebels, and they have openly been allowed to recruit men, not only along the border, but in the city of Chicago itself. Suppose that by means of this immoral support the rebels should win—how could a legitimate government be established from a basis of violence, revolution and breaking of laws? Could Mr. Wilson consistently recognize it after his very emphatic denunciation? If we must cast aside all of these plans as impossible, there remains but one course—that of armed intervention, which once undertaken would consist of the following steps: The organization of an efficient army, the blockade of ports, destruction of commerce, the invasion of Mexico, to the accompaniment of the inevitable war tax, the spilling of innocent blood, a long, bitter resistance by a united Mexico, the final establishment of an armed peace, then elections held at the point of alien bayonets in order to secure the "free" choice of the unhappy people. Would this be "moral"; would a government so established rest on the "consent of the governed"; would this be an upholding of "constitutional forms"? Would it not be more just and more manly if President Wilson were to admit that he has been in the wrong and retire from an impossible position?

Baltimore, Md. C. U. MESTA.


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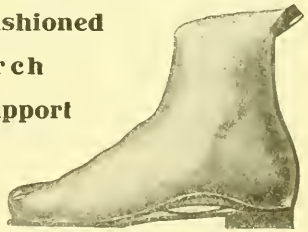

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## DEPRESSING.

The general effect left on the world after a careful reading of President Wilson's remarks on Mexico in the course of his first regular message to Congress is one of heavy depression.

The friends of peace are depressed because they realize that so uncompromising an attitude as that taken by the Administration can lead to but one thing—war.

Those many patriotic and public-spirited men who have worked for years to promote an honorable, sympathetic and mutually helpful understanding between the United States and Latin-American countries are depressed because they see their labor of years overturned in a day.

The people of the United States are uncomfortably depressed, because although they wish to follow loyally and enthusiastically the lead and inspiration of the President they find nothing informing or inspiring in what he says.

Foreign nations share the depression because they know through their diplomatic representatives in Mexico that the Administration's policy is both an obstruction to peace and an encouragement of appalling conditions in Mexico. They cannot take steps to protect their interests without antagonizing the United States, which, of course, they do not wish to do. So they must stand by an impotent depression.

The decent people of Mexico are woefully depressed because they realize that the Washington Administration is either blind to the true condition of their country or through some vague destiny is determined that it must be destroyed.

Even those who are trying to kill the Huerta Government must be depressed because it cannot be pleasant to murder in cold blood.

The taste in the mouth of the world left by the words of President Wilson is not wholesome. There is something unhuman in their heartless detachment from the facts of life that sends a shiver through warm-hearted folks.

## THE SCRAMBLE.

A well-known Latin-American author in his autobiography tells how when a schoolboy he with a dozen or so of his companions organized the "Association of the Cake."

The purpose of the association was to procure every school day, by hook or crook, a large cake from one of the numerous bakeries of Montevideo.

Every day after school hours the boys put their heads together to devise ways and means to get the cake. Each boy was assigned a special part in the plans, which were usually carried out harmoniously.

These plans frequently went wrong. When they did the boys would at once start conspiring for the campaign of the following day, still in perfect accord. The author states, however, that invariably after a successful day and a captured cake the association would split into several groups fighting among themselves over the division of the spoils.

The result being that the cake became finally either the property of only one or two boys, or was completely broken into small crumbs and trampled upon in the general fray for its possession which invariably followed its capture.

All revolutionary movements in Mexico partake of the nature of the "Association of the Cake." There has never been an instance in Mexican history—and for that matter in any other Latin-American history—when the leaders of a successful revolution have not fallen over each other in their efforts to seize the cake—the power of government and the public treasury.

Without delving into remote history, the Madero revolution offers a recent striking example. No sooner had Porfirio Diaz abandoned the cake into the hands of the revolutionary leaders than the scramble began.

Madero, supported by members of his family and a few close friends, seized the cake and refused to have any of his former lieutenants even smell it. Vasquez Gomez, who had been called the brains of the revolution and who had then a large following, was eliminated—after he had been given a small piece of crust—the ministry of public instruction—for about three months.

Orozco, who had started the armed movement which was later joined by Madero, and who had done all the fighting, was kept out of sight of the cake way off in Chihuahua.

And so were eliminated most of the leaders, each of whom thought he had been the deciding factor in wresting the cake from Porfirio Diaz, and therefore entitled to the largest piece of the cream inside.

All these disappointed men with a watery mouth started at once to lay plans to capture the cake again for themselves and Madero was confronted by revolutions even before he ascended to power and legalized the capture of the cake.

What has been will be. Carranza, Villa, Blanco, Chao, Zapata and others are members of the old "Association of the Cake." They are now working in fair harmony to capture the cake and perhaps will continue at least to show accord if they fail to get it. But if they should gratify Mr. Bryan's fervid expectations and capture the cake, then you will see the ensuing scramble to get the largest piece and the cream inside.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

There is but one cloud upon America's horizon. That has shown itself in the White House, and now hangs over Mexico. There can be no certain prospect of peace in Mexico until President Wilson has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended self-deification will not be countenanced or dealt with by the people of the United States. We are the friends of common decency, we are its champions; because in no other way can our neighbors, to whom we would wish in every way to make proof of our friendship, work out their development in peace and liberty.

President Wilson has no human heart. The attempt to feign one in dealing with Mexico has broken down, and a mere arbitrary injustice has been set up which has hardly more than the semblance of national authority. It originated in the usurpation of all human attributes and some divine, and after a brief attempt to play the part of disinterested friendship, he has at last cast aside even the pretence of legal right and declared himself God Almighty.

As a consequence a condition of affairs now exists in Mexico which has made it doubtful whether even the most elementary and fundamental rights either of her own people or of the citizens of other countries resident within her territory can long be successfully safeguarded, and which threatens if long continued, to imperil the interests of peace, order and tolerable life in the lands immediately to the south of us. Even if President Wilson succeeds in his purpose, in despite of the sovereignty of Mexico, and the rights of its people, he will have set up nothing but a precarious and hateful power, which can last but a little while, and whose eventual downfall will leave the country in a more deplorable condition than ever. But he will not succeed. He has forfeited the respect and moral support even of those who were at one time willing to see him succeed. Little by little he will be completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige will crumble and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, we believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then when the end comes we shall hope to see just dealing restored in our international relations by the concert and energy of a people who prefer common decency to a megalomaniac's personal ambitions.

OLIVER H. THOMAS.

Richmond Hill, L. I.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 17 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1913. FIVE CENTS

## A CHALLENGE

Major Cassius E. Gillette, retired army officer and well-known engineer, recently advertised on the front page of the Washington "Post" that he would like to meet in public debate any government official or editorial writer who could offer the slightest proof that President Huerta had any complicity in the killing of Madero and Suarez. Of course nobody accepted the challenge, because those who talk and write so glibly of the assassination of the two Mexicans know absolutely nothing about it except what they have been told by the revengeful Madero family and its agents. To Major Gillette's challenge we add another:

**We challenge any official of the Wilson Administration to show how the mere "elimination" of President Huerta will assure peace in Mexico.**

**We shall gladly publish in MEXICO any statement from any official of the Administration that will undertake to show this.**

**Moreover, if this point is demonstrated by facts even to a reasonable degree of probability, we shall support in these columns the Administration's plans to oust President Huerta.**

Surely nothing could be fairer than that.

## A Personal Contest

**We say once more that the Administration attitude toward the Mexican Government is not the attitude of a majority of the people and is the attitude of very few who know the facts about Mexico. In support of this assertion we refer to the columns of public opinion we publish weekly.**

## WE ARE SO GULLIBLE

Our weekly review of press misrepresentation is necessarily incomplete and restricted by limitations of space and the relative importance of these misrepresentations in a discussion of Mexican affairs.

While we have no illusions as to the modifying influence which this review may have on American newspaper conscience, we believe that our observations will be useful as a matter of record to elucidate the manner in which irretrievable injury has been worked on a neighboring people by dishonest shiftings of the posture of events, by false or exaggerated news, by malicious or foolishly criminal mingling of truth and falsehoods.

This review may also serve to awaken in our readers a consciousness of our Government's unfair and barbarous manner of dealing with a neighbor, which although weaker and having many faults is none the less worthy of our sympathy and respect.

As newspaper men with long experience both in this country and in Mexico we are peculiarly able to distinguish the grain from the chaff in the great mass of buncombe which is daily being dished out to the unsuspecting and gullible American reader.

Although during the last week there were no developments of importance in the Mexican situation, our newspapers could not let a "good story" like Mexico fade away.

So we had the usual maps that for the last six months have been showing how the rebels "control" almost all the Mexican Republic and how the Federals are reduced to the control of Mexico City. What is meant by "control" is not quite clear, but it may be deduced from the way in which the word is employed that whatever State or district happens to hold within its borders one or more bandits that State or district is "controlled" by the rebels.

In a map published by the Munsey newspapers the Government control was reduced to the Federal District, which was left blank, while the rest of the Republic was heavily shaded to indicate rebel "control." Other maps were covered by heavy arrows showing the "concentration of rebels" toward Mexico City!

The repetition of the same news item, false or true, continues to be a favorite means to keep the "story" going. In order to confuse the reader's mind and lend the color of truthfulness to the "story," it is published one day under the Mexico City date line, the next perhaps from Vera Cruz or from the border, the next from Washington and so on. The New York "Times" Mexico City correspondent has suddenly become the yellowest of all. For example, the "Times" reported the fall of Colima and that of Morelia, both places being, in the opinion of the "Times," the "key" to Guadalajara. By the way, every village or hamlet captured or raided by the rebels is the "key" to Mexico City or to some other important point, according to our newspapers. But after the "Times" had reported the fall of Colima, it became known that American sailors from Manzanillo had visited Colima and Guadalajara and that President Huerta's family had gone for a visit to the latter city. This visit was described—of course

(Continued on Next Page)

## WE ARE SO GULLIBLE---Continued

—as the "fleeing of Huerta's relatives," who a few days before were reported hiding in Vera Cruz and now are on their way to San Francisco!

Villa has been on his way to Mexico City from Juarez for two weeks and when he left it was announced broadcast with scareheads that he would eat his Christmas dinner in the Capital, thirteen hundred miles south. It took Villa two weeks to go from Juarez to Salayuca—a distance of less than two hundred miles—but that is only a trifling detail to the El Paso correspondents. The "story" would be spoiled if it were not stated that Villa will eat the Christmas dinner in Mexico City!

Later, when it became evident that it would be rather difficult to keep the Christmas dinner yarn going, the correspondents solemnly informed the American public that Villa's strategy prevented him from capturing Huerta within a few days. That if he had not entered Chihuahua as announced it was due to his decision to double on his steps and attack the Federals at Ojinaga. Thus the foundations were laid for a few more good border "stories" from Ojinaga and for putting on the map Presidio, on the American side of the border. Monterrey has been falsely reported in the hands of the rebels day after day, as well as Mazatlan, Tepic, on the west coast, and Tuxpam on the east.

A renewal of activities on the part of some Zapatists at Huitchilac has offered a splendid opportunity for scareheads which informed the eager reader that Zapata was closing on Mexico City and fighting was taking place within thirty miles of the capital. The reader who is not familiar with Mexican geography and topography does not know where Huitchilac is, and therefore throws away the newspaper, exclaiming: "Well, I guess that's the end of Huerta!" Huitchilac is a mountain fastness of bandits and has been for centuries. It is almost physically impossible to keep these robbers out of the mountains, where they are protected by the wildness of nature. The reader is also ignorant of the fact that fighting in that same place and other adjacent places has been going on for three years and was constant during Madero's Administration.

Although the American Smelting & Refining Company has officially denied the closing of their smelter at Monterrey, this has again and again been reported, now from El Paso and now from Vera Cruz!

On the other hand, nothing has been published about trains running all the way between Mexico City and Laredo, on the Mexican border, on a line nearly nine hundred miles long and right through the heart of a territory which on the fake maps appears under absolute rebel control!

On December the sixth one thousand men arrived at Mexico City from the north on the through train, which was escorted by twenty-five soldiers **only**! and—we repeat—these trains run through a territory which our newspapers describe as being under "rebel control."

Much has been written about the rebels establishing civil government, but nothing about a formidable counter revolutionary movement started in Durango, led by Vicente Orozco and Favela, who have taken from the other bands Santiago Papasquiaro, the second largest city of the State. A movement which has very recently been joined by a well-known citizen of Durango, Mauricio de la Rocha, leading eight hundred men.

Nothing has been published about the work done by General Velasco in the Laguna region around Torreon, where the cotton crop was picked under the supervision of his forces and more than twenty millions' worth of cotton were saved. And that was done in a region which, according to our newspapers, is "under rebel control," or where "the last vestiges of Huerta's power in the north have been wiped out!"

Another interesting phase of the campaign of misrepresentation regarding Mexican affairs, a phase which affects more deeply the sovereign rights of Mexico, is that which relates to the actions of the Mexican Government. Again we have gathered from the press an abundant crop of "defiances" to the United States Government!

"Defying the wishes and orders of President Wilson"—says our press—"the Mexican Congress has granted a concession for the building of five thousand kilometers of railways by a Belgian company."

"Defying the orders of President Wilson!" If this did not imply a policy fraught with serious consequences it would be highly amusing.

The impression conveyed to the public is that such a concession contains some dreadful threat to the rights of Americans, or a despoliation of the people of Mexico.

As a matter of fact, this concession—which has been under consideration for a long time—is one of the most advantageous ever granted by any Mexican Government. Advantageous to the nation and to the people. It provides for the development of rich and hitherto unexplored regions of Mexico and excludes for the first time the granting of any subsidy by the Government.

Another "defiance" of the United States—according to our press—was hurled by the Mexican Congress in declaring the last elections null and void and calling for new elections for the first Sunday in July! However, all the unfair statements that we are compelled to read from day to day none is so malicious as that referring to the inability of the Mexican Government to restore peace in Mexico within a short period of time.

This statement is repeatedly made by newspapers supporting the Administration's policy—they are diminishing every day—and is made to justify the policy of non-recognition.

It is as misleading as it is cynical, because there is not one person familiar with Mexican conditions who is not convinced that had Huerta been recognized peace would have been established in Mexico by this time. It is a matter of common knowledge—testified to even by men of General Bliss's standing—that arms and ammunition have been supplied by Americans in large quantities to the rebels. That from the very city of Washington rebel movements have been advised and directed. That American money and American arms coupled with the American financial blockade of the Huerta Government have made it possible for rebels and bandits to keep their hold on certain Northern districts and continue their depredations. Yet the American press states unblushingly that President Wilson was justified in his policy of non-recognition because it has been shown that the Huerta Government has been unable to restore peace!

## A CATHOLIC VIEW.

The truth is, the Mexican crisis has become a draw between the forces of law and order, as represented by Huerta, and the secret society clique, as represented by the Masonic leader Carranza. Huerta is the only man who, in the last fifty years, has dared to speak the name of God with reverence in the halls of the Mexican Congress. Last April he was brave enough to declare that only through fidelity to God's laws could Mexico's liberty be secured. Carranza, the Free Mason leader, heading the revolutionists, is determined that neither Huerta nor God shall rule in Mexico.

In the face of all the terrible tales that the papers print concerning Huerta, who is made out to be a bloody murderer, our readers may think we are painting a rather angelic picture of the man. Not so. The facts support us. Evidence of the most impartial kind confirms us. For instance, a Protestant Episcopal minister long resident in Mexico, the Rev. Edmund A. Neville, rector of Christ Church in the City of Mexico, denies emphatically that Huerta had any part in the murder of President Madero, for which he seems to be held responsible by our Administration. This gentleman said to a representative of the New York "Times":

"I know Mexico well, and I want to say that the United States Government made a huge mistake in not recognizing the Huerta administration. That administration is to-day the only force in the Republic that is making for law and order. Huerta is an able man, and I know that he is also a moral man. Furthermore, from evidence that I have, I do not believe that General Huerta had any more to do with the killing of Francesco Madero than you or I did. Because of the non-recognition of the Huerta Government by the United States, American prestige and American business in Mexico has reached the lowest ebb.

Huerta may yet die the death of those who have gone before him, but if he does, he will die a martyr to duty. He has consecrated himself to the redemption of Mexico, and he is bravely sticking to his guns, and not only bravely, but with power and ability. He may be selfish—who is not? But he is less selfish than most of the men who have taken the Mexican reins in hand.

That he will fight the sinister forces of Lodge Rule—the forces that have destroyed liberty in Portugal, in France, and are destroying it in Italy—that he will fight those dangerous powers to the last breath we feel certain.—The San Francisco "Catholic Monitor."

**Read "MEXICO"**
**ONCE A WEEK**
**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.**

## FROM A SONORA READER.

Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico, 24th Nov., 1913.—Persistent rumors have been circulating of late that the man who poses as General Venustiano Carranza and who recently had an interview with Mr. W. Bayard Hale, President Wilson's representative at Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, is a man from the State of Hidalgo, who resembles Carranza a great deal, and who was brought lorward by the Maderos as a substitute for the real Carranza, who died of dysentery in a small ranch in the State of Cnahuila about four months ago, and who was buried secretly at night to prevent the demoralization of the rebel forces among which Carranza had some prestige.

The real Carranza was a man of certain culture, having served as Senator and having occupied other positions under General Diaz' Administration. It has been therefore a source of wonder to find in the man now in Sonora, claiming to be Carranza, a person of no education and lacking the first principles of tact and diplomacy.

The actions of this man since his arrival in Sonora have been suspicious. It has been noticed that as a rule he refuses to be interviewed by persons coming from the State of Coahnila, where Carranza was well known. Persons who know Carranza say that he had remarkably large eyes and was very near-sighted, wearing thick glasses. The man now in Sonora has medium-sized eyes and the glasses he wears are not those of a near-sighted person.

Some months ago newspapers of the border published a detailed report of Carranza's death with the statement that his widow was in mourning and that she had left San Antonio, Texas, traveling toward Canada, taking along a large amount of money which had been deposited in Carranza's name in banks of Eagle Pass and San Antonio, Texas. There was at that same time a letter published from rebel Col. Pablo Gonzalez to the rebel Gen. Jesus Carranza, in which the former stated the bad impression caused in the rebel ranks by the action of Carranza's widow in taking away all the money in the banks, which was supposed to be deposited to further the revolntionary cause and not for the personal use of any of the chiefs. On that account Col, Gonzalez said positively he would have nothing more to do with the revolution.

It is stated that this man who is passing himself off as Carranza during his sojourn in Sonora, has not said anything about his going to Coahuila, his native State, where he is well known, and the supposition is that he fears detection there. It is also noticeable that he never mentions his family, and that Jose Carranza, a son of Carranza, who was always with his father before has not been to visit this man in Sonora.

Grave doubts are entertained about this man's identity by the rebels themselves who are not in the secret, and a thorough investigation is being at present carried on to find out who this man really is.

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Villa, with the "constitutionalist" army, was going to walk into Chihuahua, and from there march right into Mexico City, thirteen hundred miles away. So simple One of the papers said he was going to shoot at the ramparts of Mexico City. Most of the Mexican correspondents have missed their vocation. They should be writing fiction for the blood-and-thunder magazines. Or perhaps they are in training for that.

# NAILING THEM

The Washington Government and the Revolutionists are gratified with the help Zapata is rendering, but as soon as the Mexican capital is delivered from the hands of Huerta a campaign for the extermination of Zapata will be begun by Gen. Carranza. Gen. Villa will assume the task of trying to rid the country of Zapata, the famous bandit and former soldier. A member of President Wilson's cabinet said to-night that there was no fear that Zapata would be able to take Mexico City.—Washington Special to New York "World."

This is one of the most remarkable journalistic reflections of the most remarkable international situation in the memory of man. Note how jauntily the Washington Government and the "Revolutionists" are linked in their gratification with the help Zapata is rendering. Always remembering that Zapata is a bandit of the most vicious type whose "help" consists in dynamiting trains, looting, hold-ups and ravishing of women and always remembering that the Administration has professed such beautiful morality in dealing with Huerta, is it not the acme of naivete to suggest that the ultra moral Administration is "gratified" with the work of Zapata. And then to march forth in bold words and say that as soon as the Mexican capital is delivered from the hands of Huerta a campaign for the extermination of Zapata will be begun by "General" Carranza. So? **They are gratified with Zapata's help and they will show their gratification by exterminating him.** Why, the wretches haven't even common gratitude. The next point of interest is that "General" Villa will assume the task of trying to rid the country of Zapata, the "famous bandit and former soldier." So Villa, a bandit of bandits, is to be the virtuous instrument for killing off Zapata. Or is the idea to give Villa a chance to kill himself off? Then to reassure everybody, a member of President Wilson's Cabinet is quoted as saying that there was "no fear that Zapata would be able to take Mexico City." Really! Oh, dear, now, that Cabinet member is a most soothing person, so soothing.

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## AMERICAN NEWS IN MEXICO.

One of the most preposterous and sensational news stories ever published in a supposedly reliable newspaper in Mexico, and which is thought to have been inspired by Mexican authorities in an attempt to stop the exodus of wealthy Mexican families to the United States, has just appeared in "El Noticiero," the leading newspaper of Monterrey.

Captioned by glaring headlines on its front page, the article, in Spanish, proceeds to inform the people of Monterrey and elsewhere that the negroes of Texas, enraged by the burning alive of negroes in various towns of Texas, had risen in revolt to the number of several thousands, the immediate cause being "the arrest of some negroes of the educated class who were suspected of complicity in plots." It asserts there had been a revolt of Battalion G of the negroes stationed at Floresville, Tex., who were joined by over 3,000 Texans, who proceeded to destroy the railway between San Antonio and Corpus Christi, afterward looting several small stores which they encountered on the way and burning several houses.

The article then proceeds to relate how the Senate of the United States was greatly disturbed over the affair and President Wilson became so alarmed that he ordered Governor Colquitt to issue a decree prohibiting the Mexicans from leaving Texas for their own country, which they were doing in large numbers until stopped by the decree of the Texas Governor.

The article concludes with the statement that the Mexican federal commander at Nuevo Laredo has had his garrison augmented in order to hold back the thousands of Americans who are fleeing from the United States and crossing the border at Nuevo Laredo.

The same statements are said to have been published in newspapers in various other portions of the republic of Mexico.—El Paso "Times."

The El Paso paper shares with all the American press a righteous indignation at the publication of this false American news. But cannot the "Times" and the other papers see that the Mexican papers have resorted to this method of showing their American contemporaries how the false Mexican news published in the United States wounds and irritates across the border? Alas, with strange obtuseness, the American papers seem not to have caught on. Where is our boasted fairness? The above-quoted preposterous statement of American conditions would not hold a candle to some of the wild reports published on this side about Mexico and Mexicans.

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The merciless manner in which Villa and his fellow-commanders in the north of Mexico signalize their victories has justly stirred public horror and indignation. But those who would fashion out of the "bandit" Villa an argument against the justice of the cause he represents fail to make out their case.—New York "Evening Post."

Perhaps the "Post" will inform us what cause Villa represents that excuses his crimes against civilization. Because his success and activities as a bandit on a large scale have seemed to retard the pacification plans of the Mexican government, the "Post," with office-desk gusto, assumes that he is fighting that government for a principle. We take that back. The "Post" really knows better, but that is the impression it seeks to convey to its readers. Villa and his "fellow-commanders" in the north are fighting for just two things: power and loot, and their "merciless manner" is perfectly natural.

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Can we hope that the nations of Europe will have any respect for us, our word, our laws, or our national pretensions, if we insist upon periodically breaking the very law under which we warn them to stay out? The United States has no more right to intervene in Mexico than Germany or England, and if we intervene we shall be as wrong as they would be if they sent over an army and navy.—Pittsburgh "Leader."

### NO, SIR.

Day after day for months it has been dinned into our ears that the deep, underlying, humanitarian purpose of the Administration's attitude toward Mexico was to discourage revolutions in Latin-American countries.

Now we are told from day to day that the Administration hopes that the rebels will be successful in overthrowing the government of Mexico.

No sane person can reconcile these two points of view or have any respect for the mind that professes to.

In this contradiction is revealed the mental calibre of those who are shaping our Mexican policy.

Support the Administration in that kind of hypocritical truck! We respectfully decline. Every self-respecting editor should do the same.

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### THE SANTO DOMINGO MESS.

The men the President has sent to Santo Domingo to "observe," not to supervise, the election (a distinction as fine as that expressed in Falstaff's phrase "convey the wise it call") do not, it seems, constitute a "commission." They go as "individuals," and official recognition is not asked for them. Still, they are to "observe" the election, and if it is not conducted according to their ideas of fairness they are surely going to do something. There is some sort of precedent, of course, for this proceeding. Indeed, it might be easy to find some sort of precedent for any queer thing which might be done by our Government in the pursuance of its puzzling Latin-American policy. Nothing can be surer than that no harm is intended in this case, that President Wilson's only desire is that the will of the Santo Domingo people shall be clearly expressed in the election.

There is a growing belief that the lately quelled rebellion in that little country differed from many other West Indian and Central American rebellions and was a justifiable effort to secure justice. As our Government is responsible in a measure for the payment of the interest on the Dominican debt, it is natural enough that we should endeavor to help the law-abiding Dominicans to keep their house in order. The visiting "observers" can do no harm, and their presence may be beneficial.

No doubt a time will come when intelligent Americans will look back on the history of our Latin-American relations with mingled shame and amusement and wonder that a people who could govern themselves so well, all things considered, should get along so poorly with their neighbors.—New York "Times."

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It isn't a matter of Huerta with those who condemn the Administration. Huerta or no Huerta, there are Mexico, the Mexican people, the interests and welfare of thousands of Americans in Mexico, the friendship of Latin-America, our relations with European nations. Certainly all these things are worthy of more consideration than whether or not Huerta is President.

# IT WILL OUT

Secretary Bryan's disgust at the light thrown by the press on the Santo Domingo muddle is not due so much to the disclosure of his purpose to supervise the elections of that country as to the bringing in of Samuel Jarvis' name.

Both Bryan and Jarvis himself until last week had been very successful in keeping this name away from the limelight. Samuel Jarvis and his associates were highly elated at their success in keeping in the background while the press was publishing reports of the Santo Domingo revolution. Nothing was published then concerning the motives of the revolution and the queer circstances connected with the lease by the Government of a railroad which was running satisfactorily and bringing fairly good returns.

The circumstances under which a man of W. L. Russell's experience and high reputation was recalled from the post at Santo Domingo and James Sullivan, of Becker trial fame, substituted had passed almost unnoticed by the general public.

Nothing had been said of the relations existing between the Jarvis interests and Jack Rose's attorney appointed Minister to Santo Domingo by Bryan.

Last week—suddenly—the story began to leak in the New York "Sun," and unless the efforts being made to suppress the truth are successful, it is probable that much more will soon be known by the general public.

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### HUNT TO THE RESCUE.

Bryan's trusty Governor Hunt of Arizont has come to the rescue of his friends the rebels. Compared to all other atrocities committed by rebels and bandits those of Ciudad Juarez were few and truly insignificant but they caused an echo of horrer to reverberate through this country. Because they had taken place so near home, a glimpse was obtained by our people of the true character of the men—and of their methods—who lead the rebel movement in Northern Mexico.

The effect, as was to be expected, was disastrous for the rebel cause, alienating that sympathy which partly successfully had been worked up by an able press campaign supported by American money and encouraged by American officials.

The joyful yodeling of Bryan came to a sudden stop when his quick perception caught the eddy of public sentiment.

The greatest of all histrios is proficient in press-agenting, the most important branch of his profession.

Fortunately Hunt was on the job. So a letter was sent to Carranza by the disinterested governor of Arizona deploring the killings of Ciudad Juarez and at the same time separate instructions were forwarded by messenger as to the suitable answer. The answer came in due time and and last week it was given wide publicity.

Again the vast salons of the State Department echoed the sonorous yodeling.

But Carranza's answer deceives no one. Hundreds of witnesses have testified to the atrocities committed by Villa and other bandits, the killing of prisoners being the mildest form of "constitutional" outbursts.

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### MUNSEY.

Munsey's love for the Mexican Constitution and his staunch support of Bryan's Mexican policy were finally explained last week as the result of a little investigating work conducted by the New York "Tribune."

This brought to light the fact that the brother of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury is a high official in the Munsey Trust Company and that the recent merger of the Munsey Trust Company with another Washington institution was made possible by the deposit of more than a million dollars of Government funds in the Munsey institution.

Clear, isn't it?

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### CARRANZA.

When representatives of forces under arms in Mexico, so-called patriot and plain bandit, induced Venustiano Carranza to accept the leadership of a revolt against Huerta early last May foreigners acquainted with conditions in Mexico laughed. Carranza himself accepted the post of Commander-in-Chief in all seriousness, but the men who knew declared he had taken a job out of which it was impossible for him to emerge with honor or credit. There could be no glory for him. Any time he might succumb to defeat the punishment would be all his, but any time he might seem to be winning there were men like Emiliano Zapata of Morelos, Francisco or Pancho Villa in Chihuahua, Gen. Obregon in Sonora, Aguilar on the southeastern coast, Blanco in Tamaulipas, Sanchez in Michoacan and hosts of other patriots for the time being not only ready but determined to get all the profit and credit there was out of it.

So far as Carranza himself is concerned he is regarded as honest, at least as honesty goes in Mexican public life. The mere fact that he has already sold concessions to the Mexican representative of Standard Oil to run a pipe line to Sonora and that his brothers have done a few other little things like that does not count against him. Relatively, he has been as disinterested in his patriotism as any one could expect.—New York "Sun."

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According to press reports of last week President Huerta's family has been in hiding in Vera Cruz for some time. Now we learn from the same reliable sources that the President's family has not been in Vera Cruz but has fled to Guadalajara, and is going to leave the country. Previously we had been "reliably informed" that the rebels were about to enter Guadalajara. Strange that Huerta should send his family into the hands of the rebels, isn't it?

# BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

*(This remarkable letter was published in the Chicago "Evening Post" of December* 3.)

To the Editor: This article is not written by a paid agent of the Huerta government, but by an American army officer who wishes to present what may prove to be an unpopular phase of the situation, yet one which is held to be the truth by the great majority of those who are familiar with conditions in Mexico and have lived along the border.

The writer realizes that throughout the Mexican crisis the press of the country has probably felt it was its duty to support the Administration without question.

The writer also has that feeling—may his country ever be right, but right or wrong his country, and yet before his country is irrevocably committed to a policy which can only result in passing on to posterity a heritage of hate from all Latin America he wishes to sound this note of protest, which he hopes will find expression in your columns.

AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY.
Chicago, Dec. 2.

### Mexico Peaceful Under Diaz.

For thirty years Mexico, under the iron hand of Porfirio Diaz, lived in peace, but not in plenty. She took her place among the civilized nations, and a surface prosperity made her credit unquestioned in the money markets of the world.

In a great measure feudal conditions prevailed. The land was held in immense tracts by a comparatively few great families of Mexico, while the countless thousands of peons existed on the bounty of their landlords.

From time to time the smoldering fires of discontent showed themselves in the flame of threatened revolt; but as the forest ranger extinguishes every ember of the blaze, which unwatched may cause the forest fire, so Porfirio Diaz with relentless severity crushed those who in word or deed or spoken thought threatened the internal peace of Mexico.

### United States Had Opportunity.

Here was the golden opportunity for the United States to have honestly shown that disinterested solicitude in her conduct toward Mexico, which, to claim now, while our corporations finance her revolutions and glut her riches, is to make ourselves ludicrous to the world. Had the United States at that time placed herself in the attitude of friendly equality toward Mexico, backed her government to the last ditch against all internal and foreign dangers, but at the same time have steadfastly urged a slow and deliberate reform of internal conditions, then to-day upon our southern frontier would have stood a sister republic whose peace was real and whose prosperity was based upon the soundest principles of agrarian distribution, and in the hearts of whose people the burning traditions of Buena Vista and Cerro Gordo were giving way to friendship and respect.

Enough of what was or might have been. Sufficient it is that we realize that conditions as we find them in Mexico to-day are in a measure due to our own lack of foresight, cupidity and neglect. Now briefly what are those conditions?

### Conditions Facing U. S. To-day.

A military dictator, by a successful coup d'etat, has taken over the reins of government from the liberal but weak Madero. But at the same time a visionary and vacillating president, already doomed by public opinion, was replaced by a man who in the face of countless obstacles, without money or recognition, is yet more nearly master of Mexico to-day than was Madero in the heyday of his popularity. And who is there to deny that for years to come Mexico has need of such a master, who by right of might will bring an era of peace to his country, that slow and lasting reform may be possible?

Rapid reform, concession and new liberties—such as constitute the promises of the Carranzistas—suddenly granted to a people who have borne the yoke as long as have the peons of Mexico, is ever dangerous; for, drunk with greed for more of this new-found power, they grasp for all, destroy government and revel for a period in unrestrained personal liberties; till out of chaos there comes a Bonaparte, a Diaz or a Huerta to grind them back to the old order.

Without money or credit President Huerta is pushing the campaign against Carranza in the north, but as long as the moral support of the United States is withheld and American dollars finance border revolutions so long will dissension and strife prevail in the land of Montezuma. Under this policy the same conditions which brought our army to the border and our battle-ships to her coast continue to exist in Mexico. Each week brings its tale of death or indignities suffered by Americans or European citizens. Property rights are insecure in the zone of hostilities now as ever. There is every possibility that these conditions will continue to exist indefinitely.

Is it not significant to note that for years foreign capital in Mexico, headed by the Pearson interests of England, has been fighting hip and thigh with those American corporations also engaged in looting that lucrative land? * * * England has accorded recognition to his government while we have withheld it. At whose behest? Who is backing Carranza? Is dollar diplomacy again the policy and is there perhaps some other motive behind the moral objection to Huerta?

In view of the pious prayers for world peace that the Administration sends forth from time to time, it is hardly probable that to right the wrong of one man's death they will deliberately place arms in the hands of the rebels and open the floodgates of desolation and death on all Mexico. To do this is to transgress the unwritten law of nations, for it means that we recognize the belligerency of a band of cutthroats, cattle thieves and bandits that have no hope of success as long as the United States remains mindful of her honor and holds to her sacred treaty obligations. Yet day by day conditions grow worse, and slowly the question is being forced upon us: "What do we intend to do about it?"

We cannot go on forever sending ultimatums which are ignored by Mexico and laughed at by Europe. Even dollar diplomacy will hesitate to deliver the government of Mexico into the hands of the uneducated, half-civilized bandits that constitute Carranza's army. And so we see ourselves slowly forced into a war with Mexico to save that prestige which we are losing through those dictatorial vaporings which serve only as a butt for Mr. Gamboa's wit.

### Steps of Conflict Traced.

One can readily trace the first steps of such a conflict. War will hardly have been declared before our navy will have seized Vera Cruz. It will be a question of days only till an expeditionary brigade is in that city and but a matter of weeks till a division is storming the heights of Chapultepec.

The call for the National Guard and volunteers will be given, for the regular army, confident in their power to go perhaps as far as Mexico City, yet realize that the occupation of Mexico will call for an army of 200,000 men. The capture of a few of the larger cities will follow, and up to this time the campaign will be popular at home.

Now will follow years of guerilla warfare. From the Rio Bravo to Yucatan, a United Mexico will be in arms against us and, like Italy in Tripoli and Japan in Formosa, we will learn that a country may be easy to take, but hard to hold. We cannot let go, however, without admitting defeat, and in money, time and blood we will pay in full for a hollow victory.

No comparison can properly be drawn between our more or less successful occupation of the Philippines and the condition that would exist should we enter Mexico. In the islands we appeared as the deliverer from a foreign oppression, and yet it took 100,000 men and three years to subdue a people who for centuries had worn the yoke of Spain.

(Continued on Next Page.)

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.—(Continued).

To enter Mexico is to invade a sovereign state, strong in pride and rich in stirring traditions. While the success of our arms in all that goes to constitute the clash and clamor of war is undoubted, still the unending years of guerilla warfare, the backward march of civilization in the land which should be our sister republic, and the heritage of hate that we will hand on to posterity, will make us find in victory our first defeat.

Final Outcome Predicted.

Perhaps after years of fruitless effort we will call an election. It must be evident that any candidate who is elected with our troops in Mexico will bear the trade-mark of the United States, and will never prove acceptable to even those who voted for him. But, sick of what has by this time become an unpopular embroilment, we hastily withdraw, claiming to have accomplished our purpose, and, as the last transport sails out of Vera Cruz, another Juarez will rise up to deal out the fate of Maximillian to those that we have seated in power.

Revolution and bloodshed again sweep over Mexico, and, in the light of experience, we ask ourselves: "What is our recompense?" It is the knowledge that all Mexico, cherishing the hate that was born in the Alamo and intensified at Buena Vista, awaits the time when the war clouds shall roll eastward from the Philippines and Hawaii; teaching her very babes in the cradle to dream of the day when her ports shall be the base, her fields the granaries and her legions the vanguard for the armies of Nippon.

Is there any other course that we can pursue? Yes, the same alternative which existed eight months ago exists to-day. Recognition and support for the Huerta government even at this late date will bring peace to Mexico and do much to heal the breach which widens as the ship of state flounders on among the rocks of moral hallucinations. Have we the courage now to lay aside false pride and in the interest of peace take this step? No, we have not; and in friendship, prestige or blood we will pay the price for a misconceived condition and a misguided policy. But in the awakening which is bound to come the American people will make the question of a practical policy toward Mexico a cardinal issue in our national life and establish forever the principle that the United States stands firmly, in act and spirit, behind the existing government of Mexico, not in the attitude of a reproving "schoolmarm," but meeting her as a sovereign state on a plane of unpatronizing equality.

Then and then only can this nation, in that inevitable day when the republic, in her struggle for the supremacy of the Pacific, shall be assailed, look southward and know that friendship and loyalty stand sentinel on the Rio Grande.

# LEST WE FORGET

Is it insanity or simply inexperience and incompetence at the mercy of shrewd manipulators?

* * *

These manipulators will sooner or later be dragged out into the open and their sordidness exposed.

* * *

Then the Administration will understand why its talk of "morality above expediency" has been discounted as Machiavellian and hypocritical.

* * *

It is quite possible that the Administration will learn a deep and abiding lesson before it is through meddling in Latin-American affairs. But meanwhile—

* * *

It is ruining Mexico.

* * *

It is cordially hated from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn.

* * *

It is destroying American prestige and handicapping legitimate American trade interests.

* * *

It is inviting European distrust and is apparently blind to possible international complications with European nations.

* * *

It is creating a tension that is a live wire of trouble.

* * *

Why?

* * *

First, because it has certain ideals that are admirable in themselves, but not necessarily applicable to actual conditions.

* * *

Second, because the attempt to apply these ideals works to the advantage of certain individuals and corporations whose purposes and motives are mercenary.

* * *

Oil and grape juice mix, it seems.

* * *

"Watchful waiting." Sheer impotence, rather.

* * *

Hoping Villa will do it, or that Zapata will do it, or some other of those pesky bandits.

* * *

Do what? Why, get rid of Huerta, of course.

* * *

But how about Mexico and the Mexican people? They are the sufferers.

* * *

What care we, what care we? We are moralists, don't you see?

* * *

But is it moral to encourage brigandage and murder?

* * *

Ah, but my dear friends, anything may be done that the face shall be saved.

Wonder what has happened to that wonderful Villa advance on Mexico City?

* * *

Wasn't he going to eat his Christmas dinner there?

* * *

And send greetings to the American people?

* * *

Oh, the stuff they print, the stuff they print.

* * *

Anything goes, because so few here know Mexico.

* * *

And they can't tell the false from the true.

* * *

Some of the "news" from Mexico City is so ridiculous that President Huerta and his intimates enjoy the creations of the correspondents as one enjoys a good fiction story.

* * *

But they must marvel at the gullibility of the American readers.

* * *

John Lind has a fine job. Nothing to do but "observe."

* * *

And he doesn't even know the language of the country.

* * *

All that he can possibly get is translated gossip.

* * *

Which is repeated to the gossipy Bryan.

* * *

Who believes everything he's told—by "friends of the Constitution."

* * *

But his conscience is all right. As long as his conscience is clear he can do anything he wants.

* * *

It's very convenient to have that kind of conscience.

* * *

Which is not even ruffled by the butcheries of Torreon and Juarez, by the suffering of the Mexican people, by the rapine of his bandit friends.

* * *

Not in the slightest disturbed by the ruin of a neighboring nation, for which his pernicious meddling is largely responsible.

* * *

His conscience is lily-white, but his hands—

* * *

History will record this Mexican business truthfully.

* * *

And history will show certain Administration officials in a very unenviable light. Pitiful figures.

# THE CRIME OF IGNORANCE

(By a former Chancellor of a Foreign Legation in Mexico.)

The perusal of the press of the United States with special reference to the case of Mexico reveals a deplorable state of ignorance of the facts of the case and of misunderstanding as to the peculiar conditions of this country.

This is chargeable in part to the circumstance that the leading papers are represented in Mexico City by correspondents appointed ad hoc, but who possess only a superficial knowledge of Mexican conditions and who, by their ignorance of the language, must get their information at second hand and in too many cases through the gossip of clubs and public resorts; and in part to the wilful distortion of the facts by parties interested in the eventual success of the revolution or inclined to sensationalism.

In the first place it should be borne in mind that the so-called revolution in its present state cannot in any sense be considered as a purely political one. It has outgrown its political aspect, if it ever had any such in truth. Granting that Mr. Carranza or Maytorena started their rebellion under the guise of a political movement, at the bottom there was the hatred against Gen. Huerta, whose deposition of Madero deprived them of the protector who placed them in power and on the continuance of whose rule depended their personal profit and aggrandizement.

The example of Zapata the bandit chief of the south, or, as he is popularly called on account of the devastations perpetrated by him, the Attila of the South, stimulated the leaders in their rebellious purposes, as it showed the comparative ease and impunity with which a guerilla war can be carried on successfully in a mountainous country like Mexico. Their followers found it such a profitable occupation that the political character which the movement had at the start gradually disappeared and soon was replaced by simple brigandage and vandalism in their most hideous form, which have become by this time an established industry, tolerated by the revolutionary chiefs as the only means of securing the continued support of armed followers. * * *

Now, it is a pertinent question: who are the parties who are threatening the lives and properties of American citizens residing in Mexico; is it the Government forces or the rebels? **Is it not illogical, to say the least, to charge the central Government with the responsibility for the lives and properties of American citizens against the acts of the rebels, and at the same time to give countenance and tacit support to the very parties of whose acts the American Government complains?**

Is it not an extraordinary spectacle to see the United States converted into a receiver of stolen goods, by allowing with impunity the introduction and unhindered sale of herds of cattle known to have been stolen in Mexico, and the depositing in American banks of the products of the wholesale robberies committed in the name of the revolution, but deposited by the leaders to individual account? * * *

In fact, proclaiming neutrality is to acknowledge the legitimacy of the rebel movement and is so considered by the latter, raising hopes of an early formal acknowledgment of belligerency and consequently animating the rebels in their persistence in the rebellion and facilitating the acquisition of arms and money from parties in the United States. These parties for this very reason consider it a safe speculation on the eventual recognition by the United States and the consequent final triumph of the revolution, as they hope for an eventual exaggerated reward for the risk undertaken.

Mr. Wilson certainly is not well informed regarding the true condition of things in this country. His insistence on the renunciation of Gen. Huerta shows this plainly. Even conceding that on sentimental grounds such would be desirable, there remains the practical side: Who is to take Huerta's place?

There is no public man in Mexico at present who is well enough known or who has enough prestige or following to enable him to dominate the situation. The revolution and the complacency of the United States Government have unchained the passions of the lawless elements in the more remote parts of the country. **These bandits will not lay down their arms at the behest of any new President, when by robbing and plundering it is so much easier to make a living than by doing chores.** To govern Mexico in peace it requires either the unanimous consent of all the people or the enforcement of peace by the force of arms. The first is unqualifiedly impossible at the present moment.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that Gen. Huerta, under the pressure of the United States, should step out (which he is not likely to do because he is not built that way and considers his continuance as a patriotic duty) and be replaced by a Covarrubias, or any other similar personage estimable in himself, but neither generally known in the country nor of recognized energy and ability for his difficult task. Would Mr. Carranza, Zapata or Maytorena be satisfied and submit peacefully or would the people at large submit without resistance to the President imposed upon them by foreign dictation? Or suppose, stranger still, Wilson should propose and support such a man as Carranza for the Presidency? Would the central part of the republic, where there is the centre of gravity of population, as well as of industry, accept without resistance as Chief Magistrate a personage who has started the revolution in the north purely from personal spite and has countenanced the innumerable acts of pillage, incendiarism, murder and devastation of his followers?

### Strong Government Needed.

Mexico to enjoy peace needs a strong government, like all countries of similar conditions of deficient general and political education and whose immense majority of population consists of an illiterate class of people. Such people are led easily by any revolutionary leader who promises immediate bettering of their condition by violence to the possessing classes, instead of by gradual and necessarily slow evolution, the result of the patient and persistent efforts of generations. It is worse than a Utopian dream, it is criminal ignorance, to think that such a country could be ruled by strictly constitutional methods, which in this country, since the Madero revolution, include universal suffrage and popular elections.

Only an illusionist who ignorantly or wilfully shuts his eyes to existing facts can think such a thing possible in a country whose population in its immense majority consists of illiterates totally unaccustomed to constitutional practices and devoid of political education. Even the foremost nations of the world, which pride themselves on being leaders in modern advancement, like England, Germany and others, have only a qualified suffrage, and their Governments are viewing with great apprehension the agitation in favor of unlimited suffrage. In the United States, the boasted home of political liberty, the Southern States, Mr. Wilson's particular partisans, are treating of disfranchising the negroes, who as a class are much superior to the Mexican peons in education and individual ambition and achievement.

Such countries can be ruled only by methods intrinsically autocratic or even despotic. If such despotism be a benevolent one, like that of Porfirio Diaz, so much the better, but a one-man rule, despotic when occasion requires but tempered by honest intentions and efforts toward national prosperity and progress, is the only form of government fit for nations like Mexico for generations to come. When such a form of government becomes unbearable by oppression or evident want of administrative aptitude, as was the case at the time of Madero, in the absence of constitutional methods any change for the better necessarily must be accompanied or produced by violence.

The life of one particular man, though he occupy the highest post, counts as nothing compared with the public weal.

(Continued on Next Page.)

## THE CRIME OF IGNORANCE---Continued

### Army's Support Necessary.

But, in order to carry on a strong Government successfully the respective ruler must have the support of the army, without which effective government in such countries is impossible. Gen. Huerta has the support of the army and, for this reason, is qualified to bring peace to the country. It is more than likely that in the case of a President imposed by foreign dictation or influence the army in its largest part would make common cause with the rebels, of whatever description they might be, in opposition to such new President, who in that case could only sustain himself through the intervention of the arms of the nation that had placed him in power.

As to the origin of the Huerta Government, it must be observed that the Madero Government was a monstrous farce, impossible to continue. Madero's accession to the Presidency was an accident inexplicable except as the result of the wild promises he gave to the lower classes. The principal promise was the division of the land among the poor, which these naturally understood as free gifts at the expense of the rich.

If these promises were vague and simply catch phrases, and were afterward denied by Madero on several occasions, he allowed his principal followers to use them as positive inducements to the dissatisfied agricultural laborers and thereby procured uprisings in various parts of the country, which the limited amount of armed force at the disposal of the Diaz Government could not resist successfully.

Once in the Presidency there became apparent his weak, vacillating character, his lack of judgment of men in general and particularly in the selection of his advisers and colaborers, his amenability to adulation, his total ignorance of the practical direction of the public administration and his lack of faith with those who had helped him into power or had subsequently helped to sustain him. All this was coupled with a blind but mistaken faith in his ability to manage by personal persuasion his dissatisfied followers. He gave free rein to his camarilla to destroy and harass his political opponents.

If ever his intentions were sincerely those of establishing an efficient government for the advancement of his people, which in charity may be conceded now that he is dead, although there are many circumstances to create the impression that his personal exaltation was the mainspring of his ambition, such intentions soon were abandoned in the riot of extravagance and pillage of the public resources by the people who dominated him and in the persecution of political enemies, both those positively known and those only fancied as such.

### Did Not Keep Promises.

There never was any attempt made to fulfil the promises by which he had gained the support of the lower classes in his campaign against the Diaz Government. There is not a record of a single initiative of any importance tending to improve the deplorable condition of the peon class or the people at large during all the time that he occupied the Presidential chair.

**The only start toward the much vaunted division of land was the purchase at a fabulous price by his Government of large tracts of land from a near relative.** In a word, all the shortcomings charged against the Diaz Government were now repeated in an aggravated and multiplied form until at last the revolutionary forces, which had elevated him into power and had seated him on the highest pinnacle and which were cast aside as soon as their usefulness had ended, turned against him, Orozco in the north and Zapata in the south.

Having appointed his nearest relatives over the heads of veteran officers to the highest commands of the army, regardless of their lack of ability or experience, there naturally followed serious defeats of his army by Orozco in the north, which were repaired successfully by such tried men as Huerta. These tried men saw themselves treated with Madero's characteristic ingratitude and jealousy of their popularity instead of having their merits duly acknowledged. They were superseded by personal favorites and relatives of Madero.

The discipline in the army was weakened by Madero's interference in favor of such known bandits as Francisco Villa, the despoiler of Parral, who had been court-martialled for gross insubordination and was allowed to escape from his prison in Mexico where he was brought under the pretext of a new trial.

Small wonder, then, that Madero's downfall should be chargeable just to this very circumstance: it was the cadets of the military school at Tlalpam, beardless boys in their teens, who conceived and started the revolution that culminated in the taking of the Citadel under the subsequent direction of Gen. M. Mondragon.

There can be only one opinion. The elimination of Madero from the direction of public affairs was, for reasons of state, an unavoidable necessity on account of his disastrous management, or rather mismanagement, of public and private concerns. It may be justly asserted that Gen. Huerta, who is a soldier of rugged character and blunt straightforwardness, had no part in the taking off of Madero and Vice-President Pino Suarez and that Madero was not killed at his instigation or with his expressed consent. If Gen. Huerta had considered the death of Madero indispensable he easily could have had him tried and executed for the murder of the officer detailed to effect his detention with all the legal justification that might have been desired to save appearances.

But it is likely that the death of Madero was the result of the unsolicited and volunteer action of subordinates, overzealous to serve their master, or of the independent action of some of the other principal leaders of the revolution, independent of and unknown to Huerta, who when he learned the true inwardness of things rather chose to suffer with them in the opinion of the world in silence than to prove disloyal to them by divulging the true facts in order to clear himself personally. Be this as it may, taken in the abstract it may be considered that the complete elimination of Madero was per se an unavoidable political necessity, as he never kept faith with anybody and surely would have recalled his abdication as soon as he had set foot on safe soil, thus giving rise to new trouble.

As he never did anything after attaining to power to carry out his much declaimed political programme and distinguished himself only by his unmeasured vanity and self-glorification, he is already almost entirely forgotten by the great mass of the people, though history will readily grant him the record for having caused more damage to his native land and within a shorter period than any other ruler hitherto known.

**There is only one other man in the world who has caused damage to Mexico in similar proportion and in record time, and that man is Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, who in order to gratify and persist obstinately in a personal whim is favoring and abetting just the very parties upon whose acts he bases his claims against the constituted Government of the Mexican Republic.**

---

The Canadian loan failed the other day. And the Administration had put no financial blockade about the "authorities" in Ottawa. Perhaps the Administration's apparent success in keeping money from Mexico is—only apparent.

* * *

The condition of the world's money market may be a factor.

* * *

Isn't it strange that when the Washington idealists look around for a weapon of attack or defense they immediately think of money and jobs? And then assure themselves they are moral suasionists.

* * *

They are sending "observers" to Santo Domingo.

* * *

We need "observers" to test the sanity of those who are causing all this Latin-American trouble and misunderstanding.

* * *

Never "start" anything?

* * *

Did Congress or the people even suggest that we should meddle in Mexico's affairs?

* * *

As long as the words look good in print, some folks don't worry about their truth or consistency.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## AN ARMY MAN'S MEXICO POLICY.

An officer of the United States army, well known in El Paso, in a personal letter outlines clearly and forcefully his views, and doubtless the views of many of his army associates, upon the Mexican situation and President Wilson's policy; the sentiments expressed by the officer are closely in line with those often set forth by "The Herald." In giving space in this column to the letter it is considered to be merely voicing the beliefs of the great majority of readers—whether they are willing to admit it out loud or not.

The writer of the letter commends the general Mexican policy of "The Herald" as "sane, moral, and eminently just, conforming to the law of nations, international law." He goes on to say, in substance:

If we have a just right to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, then the "law of noninterference" has no place in our recognized textbooks on international law. Grotius put it there, and every generation since his day has deemed it a just law.

The right of noninterference in its internal affairs proceeds from the nation's sovereignty. We say to the world that our mission in the western world is to preserve the sovereignty of the republics in the western hemisphere. The best way to preserve this is to recognize their sovereign rights to conduct their own affairs. We can then hold them to their obligations, just as every sovereign state in the world today holds every sovereign state to its obligations.

The right of domicile is a recognized principle of international law. When citizens or subjects of one state become domiciled in another state, the state in which they are domiciled is obligated to protect them in life and property; and the state of which these domiciled strangers are the citizens and subjects has not only the right, but is morally obliged, to redress the wrongs inflicted on or suffered by its nationals while domiciled in another state.

It matters not whether the injury be inflicted by the state or by its people as individuals. The citizens of New Orleans slew a number of Italians some years ago. Italy demanded redress, and the United States paid a large sum before the claims were all satisfied.

Had Italy demanded that the mayor of New Orleans be replaced by another mayor, she would have been told to "go to," and would have got nothing but a bill for indemnity for the cost of war preparation that the United States would have had to make as a result of receiving such an hitherto unheard of demand.

"I confess that I am wholly unable to understand Mr. Bryan's idea of 'moral' policy.

"If I incite a man to anger by knowingly infringing on his recognized rights, I sin before God, and cannot justify myself before man.

**"If a nation provokes another nation to war by knowingly infringing on its recognized rights, surely the same kind of sin has been committed, only of greater gravity by reason of the more grievous consequences, and certainly that nation cannot justify itself before God or man.**

"It somehow gets me mad all over to have a man dictate his idea of justice to me when my own idea of justice is abused thereby. Mr. Bryan is trying to write into the law of nations a new law, because he thinks it is moral.

"Suppose Japan should tell Yuan Shi Ki that he and his followers must now step down and permit another election, because he has expelled 300 members from the Chinese congress, and is daily executing his opponents, will Mr. Bryan agree to uphold Japan's policy? Will the other nations agree to do likewise? Yet if Mr. Bryan's policy in Mexico is upheld, I cannot see why Japan's policy (should such a policy be declared) should not be upheld.

"Mr. Bryan preaches peace, but he is trying to establish a policy that if recognized will make more war and do more harm than anything yet done by nations.

**"Something may happen to halt this blind rush into an unjustifiable war. I fear, however, that it is too late. Still you newspaper men have the solemn obligation before God to do your utmost to stop it. After you have done your best, then your conscience will be clear."**

There are two rather remarkable things about the letter: First, it does not bear out the current popular opinion that the army is all talking war, anxious for war, and hoping for war; second, it shows a very much clearer conception of both the law and the morals of the situation than is shown by either the President or the Secretary of State, despite their ardent protestations of neutrality and friendship toward Mexico. The paragraph in the letter about inciting a man or a nation to anger by knowingly infringing on their recognized rights, is a classic and worthy of general repetition and permanent acceptance as a high enough creed for any nation on earth.—El Paso "Herald."

## AN IRIDESCENT DREAM.

The truth is that the most that is hoped for by many people in Washington in connection with the settlement of the unhappy conditions in Mexico is the accession to power of some man of the Diaz stripe, that is, one strong enough to establish a government that will repress rebellion and brigandage and furnish security to life and property. That anyone can or will establish an absolutely free and popular government in Mexico, one set up by the free and intelligent choice of the mass of Mexican people, is regarded by very many as what John J. Ingalls used to call "an iridescent dream." But they do believe that a government can be established which will restore and maintain order and give some degree of peace and security to what President Wilson truthfully calls "distressed Mexico."

The great question is, Who is the man? Among those regarded as being the least available is Gen. Carranza, the "constitutionalist" leader, with whom William Bayard Hale, President Wilson's personal representative, has been trying to negotiate.—Pittsburgh "Chronicle-Telegraph."

## THE PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS.

President Wilson's first annual address to the Congress, which met in joint session to-day to hear it, reads like a "matriculation sermon," and doubtless this effect was not lessened by the manner of its delivery. From beginning to end it is so disingenuous as to prove disappointing even as a sermon. It contains little "information about the state of the Union," which is the constitutional excuse Mr. Wilson offered for its deliverance, and not one of the recommendations made for the country's welfare touches any of those problems to which the urgency of the moment or the pledges of the Administration gave the country a right to expect the President would address himself on this occasion. In the place of that "pitiless publicity" which the President is so fond of proclaiming a cardinal doctrine of "the New Freedom," to-day's production is a characteristic example of **suppression and evasion.** Its felicitous phrasing ill conceals that lack of substance which a facile pen would supply by mere rhetoric. * * *

It is worse than disingenuous for the President to sidestep as he does the Mexican problem. Outgivings from the White House for more than a fortnight have led the public, not only of this country, hut the world, to expect that this occasion would be used by the Administration to give a full account of its dealings regarding Mexico with that country and with Europe, and to hope that accompanying such a record would be either a programme of future action or a request for congressional counsel and advice. For this reason public patience here and abroad has been lengthened in the face of a reign of anarchy across the border the horrors of which are multiplied by each day's developments. * * *—Boston "Evening Transcript."

What Congress and the country were specially waiting to hear on this occasion was an authoritative announcement as to Mexico. What they get is an expression of President Wilson's personal belief that the "policy of watchful waiting" is all that's needed. He feels hopeful that the Huerta government will soon collapse, and that constitutional order will then be restored in Mexico by leaders who "prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions." **Has Mr. William Bayard Hale given him a list of those leaders, and are the names of Zapata and "Pancho" Villa—for instance—on the list?** In this address to the Congress of the United States the President of the United States denounces by name the head of the de facto government at the Mexican capital as a "usurper" and says that he must "surrender his usurped authority." More than sixty years ago, in France, one Louis Napoleon suspended the constitution, imprisoned the legislators and seized the supreme power; his coup d'etat cost many citizens of Paris their lives. We do not remember that President Millard Fillmore felt called upon to denounce him in an executive communication to Congress. It will be interesting to see whether General Huerta—after this address—continues to do business with Mr. O'Shaughnessy and to tolerate the loitering of Mr. Confidential Agent Lind upon Mexican soil.—Hartford "Daily Courant."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### A PARALLEL.

Perhaps with the idea of proving to the world that Americans are not lacking in a sense of humor and a true perspective, the New York "Sun" of December 6th relates an interesting parable, which with characteristic "Sun" delicacy it explains is "not yet a fact."

According to the parable it seems that the members of the A. B. C. Alliance, as it is called—Argentine, Brazil and Chile—became so deeply impressed with President Wilson's teachings concerning the moral responsibility of a great republic for the enforcement of truly constitutional principles in the affairs of neighboring governments, that they invited other Latin-American countries, including Mexico and San Domingo, to join them in safeguarding constitutional government in the United States.

They discovered particularly an open defiance of Section 2 of Article XIV of the Amendments of the Constitution of the United States, which provides:

"When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

The diplomatic representatives of these countries, after an investigation which showed undeniably that this section was flagrantly violated in the Southern States, asked Secretary Bryan: "How about it?"

To their very pertinent question Secretary Bryan made no reply. He was too busy at the time picking out "official observers" to supervise the elections in the Dominican Republic and to ascertain for the information of President Wilson and himself whether the vote in San Domingo was in fact a constitutional, untrammeled, regular expression of the popular will.

Then they very delicately approached President Wilson on the subject. But the President was too busy then pursuing his policy of watchful waiting for developments in Mexico and of satisfying himself by the investigations of his special and personal envoys that the republic south of us had no Government in the true constitutional sense.

Therefore Argentina, Chile, Brazil, with San Domingo and Mexico and the other Monroe Doctrine republics, withdrew their Ambassadors and Ministers and refused longer to recognize the Government notoriously and almost confessedly operating in defiance of Section 2 of Article XIV of the Amendments of the Constitution of the United States of America. In a joint declaration couched in admirable Spanish they communicated to the world their purpose to send north official observers to supervise our next Federal elections, and, if necessary, to adopt further measures for the restoration of constitutional order in this country in obedience to the demands of duty under the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted in the light of political morality by Woodrow Wilson. It was a document which our own great President, under changed circumstances, might be proud to have written.

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### DICTATING TO LATIN AMERICA.

No American President ever before assumed so much in the way of regulating the affairs of Latin-American nations as President Wilson has lately undertaken.

President Roosevelt's successful plan for superintending the customs collection of Santo Domingo, entered into in 1905, to the end that the fair claims of foreign investors might be met, involved no such interference with the political affairs of that country as we are now entering upon, in the dispatch of "observers" by President Wilson to watch the polls and supervise the presidential election which is coming off in that country. The proceeding involves political responsibility for Santo Domingo.

The convention with Nicaragua entered into by President Taft in 1911, which combined financial aid to that republic with a superintendence of custom collections somewhat similar to that undertaken in Santo Domingo, failed of ratification by the Senate because it was regarded as a dangerous interference. But the Senate is now called upon by President Wilson to ratify a treaty with Nicaragua which establishes an actual political protectorate, undisputed and undisguised, over that country.

There is no telling, as yet, just what Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan have been doing to thwart the Pearson oil concessions in Colombia, but evidently the action has been very positive, for it has forced Lord Cowdray to withdraw from an arrangement which would probably have proved financially profitable to him. The London papers assert that, although the Pearson concession would not have given Lord Cowdray's syndicate any control over the affairs of Colombia, the American government exerted an influence which compelled the abandonment of the concession. All this may have been necessary, but it is certainly a bold and radical step.

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The extent to which President Wilson has intervened in Mexico is well known to every reader. He has assumed the right to say who shall be and who shall not be the Mexican president. To avenge the violent death of Madero, **President Wilson has encouraged the continuance of a civil war which has resulted in the death of thousands.**

That the United States government, under President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, has embarked on a course of dictation which, if unchecked, will make us politically and financially responsible for all the countries as far south as Colombia, is a fact which the American people have got to face.—New York "Evening Mail."

### EVEN THE BLIND.

**In this kind of thing, it is obvious, there lie the seeds of mischief. Deprecating "financial control" of Spanish-American governments, we may be found exercising it. Protesting against force, we may at any moment get into a position where we shall be using force. Standing up firmly for the consent of the governed, we may presently be threatening the governed unless they consent to be governed by us. The whole policy is plainly one requiring the utmost care and discretion in the execution. One precaution, above all, is indicated. All these delicate plans and negotiations must be entrusted to men fitted by character and training to handle them. It is this consideration which heightens the folly of displacing experienced and acceptable Ministers so as to make room for Mr. Bryan's happy-go-lucky friends. That way madness lies.**—New York "Evening Post."

Why, even the "Post" is beginning to open its eyes! Even the blind shall see!

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### THE MESSAGE.

The President's message was brief, as such documents go, a graceful litterary production, and neither exhaustive nor exhausting like other annual messages of recent years.

He is thankful that the United States is at peace with the world; and the country will share this feeling of thankfulness, not unmixed with wonder, that the President's highly original and rasping policy towards Mexico has not resulted in hostilities. We cannot countenance, he says in substance, Huerta's usurpation of authority, and can have no dealings with such a pretended government. Manifestly this is an extraordinary and unwarrantable attitude, for if the Mexican people should finally become reconciled to their usurped and pretended government, we should cut a very ridiculous figure by standing out implacably resentful and more irreconcilable than the Mexicans themselves.—Rochester (N. Y.) "Post-Express."

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We like to talk about this Mexican business. It gives us amateur Presidents, Cabinet members, Senators and Congressman (all rolled into one) a great chance to air our views on how a Government ought to be managed. Mostly we talk without knowing very much what we are talking about. All present "situations" have their roots in the past. We do not know a great deal about the history of Mexico, or the temperament of Mexicans, and our school histories are strangely inadequate when it come to that little affair of 1846.

George Lockhart Rives, former Assistant Secretary of State. has written a book, "The United States and Mexico," in which he develops, in a most interesting manner, the relations between the two countries between 1821 and 1848.

Some of Mr. Rives' deductions ought to set us thinking. He frankly accuses us, as a nation, of lack of sympathy with our neighbors, and of unfairness, even, in our dealings with them. This is true in the case of the South American States, as well as with Mexico. Sympathy is a strong bond between nations. Without it it is useless to talk of world peace. Perhaps a reading of Mr. Rives' book will make for a better understanding of and liking for our rather flighty neighbors to the South.—St. Louis "Republic."

President Wilson sticks to Pindell of Peoria, Ill., for our ambassador to Russia. That is the schoolmaster of it; all of Dr. Wilson's original judgments are infallible. Persistence for the Peoria candidate is not complimentary to Russia, but it is glorious for Pindell, and for Pindell's faithful friend, Mr. Bryan.—Hartford "Daily Courant."

## THE PRESIDENT'S INFIRMITY.

Well-wishers of the President find it difficult to be patient in the face of his refusal to hear anybody on any subject about which he has an opinion. In the place of the "popular" minded McKinley, the "quick" minded Roosevelt, the "open" minded Taft, the White House to-day shelters a "closed" minded President who clings to the views and ways of the lecture-room.

The White House to-day is depressingly reminiscent of "ye deestrict school," with the President, ferule in hand, laying down his prejudices and principles to the remainder of the government and the people as if all, not only of this country but of the world, were so many pupils and he the schoolmaster and disciplinarian of them all.

To criticise President Wilson in the first year of his administration for a fault which his intimates recognize and deplore is in reality to render him a service. Every loyal American hopes to see him succeed, hopes that some of his theories may prove workable enough to be applied. But such will prove a vain hope unless the President faces his besetting sin and fights against it with the same frankness with which those who really wish him success call his attention to his infirmity.

He has a way of freezing out friendly counsel by his unwillingness to be told anything and by his assumption that he knows everything in advance, and that any one bringing him information is necessarily so prejudiced that if he listens he is likely in some way to lose the right point of observation.—Boston "Transcript."

## WHAT A WAR WOULD MEAN.

Gen. Walter S. Schuyler, retired, gives us a picture of a possible war with Mexico that should be impressed upon the imagination of every citizen of this country. The army has had an experience of "pacification" in the Philippines, and is sick of it; to duplicate that experience in another quarter does not appeal to any soldier as either pleasant or profitable. Nobody doubts the ability of our soldier to defeat anything that can be brought against him in the long run, but to chase guerillas through jungles and over mountains is far from a pleasant duty.

Gen. Schuyler says we would need from 50,000 to 200,000 men if we attempted to pacificate Mexico; we have now about 50,000 available. We could march an army into that country, garrison the principal towns and be just as far from the accomplishment of our object as if we had stayed on the other side of the Rio Grande. Thousands of Mexicans have learned the use of dynamite—how could we operate railroads whose bridges and tracks were being constantly destroyed? How could we pacificate the country without operating the railroads?

Mexico is a big country; to break down its government is easy—to make its people submit and keep the peace would disturb all our industrial development and strain our credit to the breaking point. It took us ten years to put the Indians out of Florida, and yet they never mustered a thousand fighting men and never collected three hundred in one body!

There is no jingo sentiment in congress; certainly the president wants no war, and yet a few men in the country seem to feel it is their bounden duty to make trouble if they can. How should we view those men? Not even with tolerance—let them know that we have no patience with their ideas or feelings. Business does not want war with Mexico, though a few spectators may think they can profit by such convulsions—the army doesn't want it—who does? The advocates of a big navy may see a prospect of profit in the agitation of discordant ideas—the shipbuilders and armor-makers may want talk on the subject, but they have not proved themselves so patriotic in the past that we feel obliged to give blood that they may collect gold. For, doubt it as we may, it is true that talk may bring on war now as it did in 1898, and therefore it is well to discount the talk before it is too late.—Jacksonville "Times-Union."

## THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS IN MEXICO.

The recent successes of the revolutionists in Northern Mexico has given the so-called Constitutionalists a firm foothold in that section. It should not be assumed from that fact, however, that the Mexican government has been utterly defeated. The region now held by the revolutionists is more sparsely populated than the central and southern portions of the neighboring republic, and the rugged character of the country lends itself to the sort of warfare the rebels are carrying on. The fact must not be overlooked that the Huerta or Federalist forces still control the greater part of the country, including Mexico City and the leading ports.

Although the followers of Carranza call themselves advocates of constitutional government, they have been conducting warfare along lines that show little regard for law or civilized usages. Federal officers who are captured are promptly lined up before a convenient wall and shot, and looting and outrages are the almost daily accompaniments of the operations of the various bands. If the revolutionary movement were to succeed there is no prospect whatever that the leaders would have any more respect for law and the constitution than Huerta and his advisers; in fact, their actions in the field create the impression that they would show even less regard for orderly procedure.—New Orleans "Picayune."

As I understand it, the President wants to see the Mexican rebels overthrow the Huerta Government. Also he wants a government in Mexico more like our own. I suppose he has the right to say what he would like to see in Mexico, but it seems to me that in wanting the rebels to win by force of arms he is not promoting constitutional methods. If these rebels should win power by raising a ruction, would it not be encouragement for others to try to do the same thing? And where would it ever stop? For the life of me I don't see where we are helping the cause of constitutional government by trying to overturn the only Government there is in Mexico. If we really want to help would it not be the most direct and effective thing to cooperate with the Government down there and work with it in trying to apply our ideas as far as they can be applied in Mexico? If we don't do that it looks like a continuation of just such conditons as exist in Mexico to-day, whether they overthrow the Huerta Government or not.

In other words, we are getting nowhere, unless the idea is to let Mexico exhaust herself and then go in and take and run the country.—Oliver Herbert Thomas in New York "Sun."


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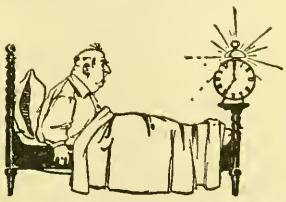

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## THE PERSONAL TOUCH.

There has been all along a disposition on the part of the press and public to concede that no matter what blunders the Administration has made or might make in handling our relations with Mexico, the character of the Administration officials was such that no petty personal considerations have entered or would enter into the solution of the problem.

A careful reading of the editorial comment from all sections of the country on the President's remarks on Mexico in the his recent message reveals a ote of disappointment that the .t's words should have been surcharged with a personal bitterness and anim s against the Mexican Provisional Execu e.

In speaking the other day to a committee of women seeking the right of suffrage he said that in matters of national legislation he was bound in duty not to inject his personal opinions, but to carr ou the pledges of his party platfor

If personal opinion or personal likes and dislikes should not enter into a high conce of the methods of national legisl it is doubly, trebly pernicio that a foreign policy of the Unit States, committing 100,000,000 peop course of action that might lead ar, would not be shaped on a pers dislik e.

It vious in the message and made clear in a hundred other wa that President Wilson does not like t Huerta—hates him. Even adm at he has every reason in the wor l t nistrating and condemning the Mex n Executive, it is wrong, terribl wrong to make that fact the motive for is working untold hardship to the Mexican people and potenti result in conditions that will r the sacrifice of thousands of American lives and millions of American treasure.

The Administration undoubtedly bases its attitude toward the Mexican situation on higher, self-satisfying theories and facts, but it remains true that the petty personal has considerable to do with the shaping of the Administration's mind and purposes.

Which should not be in this age of enlightenment. History records many wars that have been fought to satisfy the personal grudge and vanity of rulers, but we thought the days of such were over.

Are they?

## DETACHMENT.

As we have remarked before, there is a certain mental detachment in the Administration's "watchful waiting" policy that is almost unhuman in its unfeeling, cold-blooded aloofness.

The appeal of Americans in Mexico, the sorry plight of the poor Mexican people, the spectacle of a country threatened with anarchy have not touched the heart or wrung a tear from the eyes of those who control the destinies of our powerful and prosperous country.

The American people are naturally warm-hearted and sympathetic, but, guided by the Administration, they have seemed somehow to be deaf to the pitiful note of human suffering below the Rio Grande.

This apparent lack of sympathy may be accounted for by the persistent misrepresentation of the Mexican people in the press of this country. We are led to believe that they are all treacherous, knife-throwing "greasers," when the truth is, to which any American with Mexican experience will subscribe, that in the great majority they are as gentle and docile as children.

It is true that some thousands of the millions are lawless cutthroats, restless, ignorant and bloodthirsty, ravaging for loot under the leadership of unscrupulous men. But it is not fair to judge the whole race by this comparative few, who could probably be duplicated in our own country were it not for fear of the forces of law and order.

Apart from all this, the conditions in some bandit-ridden sections of Mexico are so appalling that the cold mental detachment of the Administration, which puts political theory austerely above everything else, is neither expedient nor moral.

## HOW TO SETTLE IT.

Here's how President Wilson could settle the whole Mexican imbroglio and incidentally go down in history as wiser than Solomon:

First, get Henry Clay Pierce and Lord Cowdray in his executive office on a crisp winter afternoon.

Then talk to Lord Cowdray in this fashion:

"I say, Lord, old chap, it isn't fair your going into Mexico and interfering with my friend Henry Clay's scheme. Hen here says you have no heart at all. He had it all fixed when you broke in. You've got to be reasonable, old top, and give Henry his way. Now, that's a good lord. Think it over. I know Hen will give you a fair slice and maybe you can have your way in Colombia. And if you won't yield to my moral suasion, why, I'll have to take it out on your friend Huerta."

While his lordship is thinking it over, he should turn to H. C. P., and address him thusly:

"Now, Hen, we've had enough fighting over these oil wells, and it's very annoying to me. You've got to make some concessions, too. Call off that Carranza pack of schemers and stop sending arms and money down to the Villas and Aguilars and Zapatas. Call off the newspapers before they get us in so deep that we've got to go to war. Close up the rebel junta here and tell Sherby Hopkins that he's got to look for another job. Now, Hen, you do that and I'm sure Cowdray here will see the wisdom of my words. Won't you, old chap?"

This is the kind of moral suasion that would settle the Mexican business in short order.

## THE RESPONSIBILITY.

If Huerta were everything impossible that Washington charges and insinuates, would that justify a method of dealing with Mexico which has worked and is working terrible suffering to the Mexican people? Is it not apparent to everybody by this time that the Villas and Zapatas and Aguilars, and all the other bandit chiefs who are the foes of civilization, have gained in strength and boldness with each new evidence of the Washington Administration's hostility toward the Huerta regime? It is pointed out by the El Pasoans that only a few months ago the bandit Villa crossed the international border with only a borrowed horse to his name, and that he returned to Juarez with several thousand followers well mounted and well armed. The atrocities of Villa and his followers in Torreon and Juarez alone are a monumental crime against civilization and they are known in detail by the authorities in Washington. All Americans and foreigners who have lived or are living in Mexico are unanimous in saying that if President Huerta had been promptly recognized by the United States, or if at least the Administration had not taken a deliberately weakening attitude toward him, the lawless conditions in certain sections of the Republic would not have been possible. Then it would seem to stand to reason that in a conscience-striking measure the Wilson Administration is responsible for a terrible loss of life and property in Mexico.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## THE LAND PROBLEM.

We read a great deal these days of the "land question" in Mexico.

While at bottom there is much truth in what is being written about this land question, the problem is lightly disposed of by the majority of writers with the statement that all that is needed to alleviate Mexico's social ills is to "distribute the land."

The agrarian problem of Mexico is one the solution of which presents almost insurmountable difficulties, at least for many years to come.

In the first place, it is not true that all the land of Mexico is owned by a few families. This is true in a measure of the northern states, but not so of the central or southern States. There are, in fact, more than fifty thousand farms and ranches in the Republic of Mexico.

Likewise, it is not true that all of the great estates were formed by despoiliation of small landowners.

There have been many abuses, undoubtedly. But the gradual formation or the holding of large estates, especially in the north, has not been due to these abuses. It has been due mainly to topographical and economical causes. Farming cannot be carried on successfully in the north without irrigation. Irrigation works require a large outlay of capital and only the large land owners were able to expend such capital.

The mere distribution or sub-division of land will not help the social status of the Indian. A system of irrigation on a large scale and a system of rural credit will have to be established in order to make possible the successful cultivation of small farms.

Farmers are not made by the mere ownership of land. Education and training are necessary, besides a natural love for the land. Many Mexican Indians belong to tribes of nomadic habits, many do not wish to work more than is absolutely necessary to earn a bare living of beans and tortillas.

**It will require enormous expenditures on the part of the government and many years of training before the small farmer can become a strong factor in the development of northern Mexico.**

# THE MORAL FRIENDS OF BARBARISM

Neither the Washington Administration's appeals nor the frantic efforts of a certain number of newspapers have succeeded in suppressing a growing sentiment of disapproval and resentment against this government's attitude toward Mexico.

**This growing sentiment is becoming more evident and taking deeper roots every day.**

To the casual observer it may appear strange and reprovable that the American people should not present to the world a united front in support of any foreign policy that the Administration might see fit to adopt.

Not so to those who understand clearly the inherent love of justice in the American people and their ambition to stand in the front ranks of civilized humanity.

That the people should refuse to be made responsible before the eyes of the world for their government's policy in this instance does not evince lack of patriotism.

It reveals a higher, broader, more intense patriotism than the one which dictated the cheap expression: "My government, right or wrong."

When any people stands at the bar of civilization, when the policy of its government involves the destruction of great principles of morality and humanity, that people has not only the right but the duty to withdraw its support from that government.

That the people of this country have not yet arisen en masse and made their protest so heard in Washington that the self-sufficient and temporarily omniscient Secretary of State would be compelled to heed the protest, has been due to a widespread ignorance of the true facts concerning Mexican affairs.

But, even though slowly, the implacable truth is steadily breaking down all dikes of falsehoods erected by a malicious or misinformed press.

**What a few understood and knew months ago, many are understanding and learning now.**

**The Washington Administration has ranged itself on the side of barbarism. Failing to lend its support to the elements of law and order in Mexico, it has encouraged loot, murder and rape.**

The Administration has not only failed to lend its support to the only government existing in Mexico, but its attitude has been one of decided moral encouragement to all so-called revolutionists and of determined effort to overthrow the Mexican Government by denying its very existence.

It is not a question here of the abstract value and right of the principles supposed to be guiding certain leaders of the revolution. It is not a question of the ethical status of the present provisional government of Mexico.

The principles professed by Carranza, for instance, may be right. The Provisional Government may have certain inherent defects. All this can be readily admitted, but it is not abstractions which confront us. It is concrete facts. It is here a question of the practical effects of the encouragement given by this country to the barbaric elements who revel in disorder and rapine. It is a question

(Coninued on Next Page)

## THE MORAL FRIENDS OF BARBARISM---Continued

of the untold suffering and unspeakable horrors borne by millions of neighbors as a consequence of the Administration's attitude.

The principles professed by Carranza are the same as those advocated by the Provisional Government. But the Provisional Government has not been given the opportunity to put into practice the principles advocated.

The restoration of pure constitutional government and the enforcement of social reforms cannot be materialized until peace reigns throughout the Republic.

This is so well realized by some of the revolutionary leaders that they have already declared that in the event of their ascending to power they would install a provisional president with dictatorial powers until peace should be restored.

The triumph of the rebels would not bring about peace, because the great majority of rebel forces to-day are led by independent leaders and composed of bandits. Because the government supporters of to-day would be the rebels of to-morrow. Because the rebels of to-morrow would be in greater number than those of to-day. Their ranks would be swelled by all the decent people of Mexico who are being made the victims of the rebels' bloody orgy of loot and rapine. Because the people of Mexico would not submit to a government that had been carried into power by the "Yankee government."

The provisional government of Mexico has so far failed to restore peace and thereafter put into effect those reforms which are considered necessary to the welfare of Mexico by all observers—**because of the hostility and practical intervention of this government.**

This hostility, which to the profound regret of all thinking Americans has taken so personal an aspect, has been demonstrated in a manner which has made more than one American ashamed of his government.

Thousands of citizens of this country would rather intervene in Mexico by the unjust but at least frank force of arms than by the means adopted by the Administration.

Condemned and execrated by the people of this country, they are the same means employed by Big Business to destroy small competitors: the financial blockade, the surreptitious assistance to that competitor's enemy.

It is because such means are un-American, it is because to be ranged on the side of barbarity is un-American that the Washington Administration has failed in spite of all efforts to obtain the unanimous support of the people.

The people are beginning to realize that there is some foundation of fact for the accusations of the civilized world against this nation in its dealings with Mexico.

The motive ascribed to the Administration may not exist. It may be confined to those special interests which the American people detest as cordially as the Mexicans do. But the facts which prompt the accusations remain.

**This country stands accused of fomenting rebellion in Mexico to weaken that neighbor until it may dominate it and control it by destroying its independence to all practical purposes, if not in name.**

**It stands accused of availing itself, for the furthering of its aims, of the unfortunate lack of patriotism in certain Mexicans and of the semi-barbaric character of others.**

**It stands accused of supporting elements of lawlessness and barbarity whose exploits have made civilization blush.**

Standing accused of all this and more, with no evidence to present in rebuttal, must not the American people expect to be judged as greater barbarians than the perpetrators of all the horrors which have afflicted their neighbor?

Is there anything more barbaric than to avail oneself of the weakness and blindness and evil instincts of a neighbor to further selfish aims?

We must clear ourselves of these accusations, because as a people we do not deserve them. If a unanimous voice of protest has not been raised, due to ignorance of facts and conditions, **then we must seek the truth.**

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### AN AMBASSADOR "OF LONG TRAINING."

President Wilson's Mexican policy is displeasing to Thomas J. O'Brien of Michigan, former Ambassador to Italy and Japan. His censure of the Administration would scarcely call for comment were it not that he has been one of the most conspicuous of those "men of long training" in the diplomatic service whom Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President of the National Civil-Service-Reform League, last week attacked for having "replaced by untrained men."

Henry Lane Wilson, with whom Mr. O'Brien now classes himself as an opponent of the Wilson policy toward Mexico, is another of the former Ambassadors whose cases Dr. Eliot championed. Does belief in the principles of civil-service reform make it imperative that men holding in contempt the views of the Administration shall be retained in diplomatic positions? For the sake of a theory, must the Nation be represented abroad by men not in sympathy with the President's policy and unwilling to co-operate loyally with him?—New York "World."

The "World" is so slavishly committed to support President Wilson and all his policies, good or bad, that it cannot see anything remarkable in the fact that "men of long training in the diplomatic service" are not in sympathy with the President's Mexican policy. There must be some good reason for their unwillingness to "co-operate loyally with him." Is it not conceivable that through their "long training" they are in the best position to appreciate the utter folly of his "policy"?

### A DEFINITE MEXICAN POLICY IMPERATIVE.

General Villa has stripped himself of respectability and patriotism if he ever possessed any. He is simply a bandit, whose depredations place him beyond ordinary processes of law. His massacres at Juarez have been succeeded by confiscation at Chihuahua, where he ignored the fundamental principles of civilized warfare and boldly set about the enrichment of himself and his followers. Unlettered, untrained, brutal in his views, it may be doubted if he is capable of comprehending what Constitutionalist means. He happens to be fighting under that banner by chance, and would doubtless be in the field even had Madero never been deposed.

Huerta, on the contrary, has sought to establish a real government. **Where his forces are in control there is law and order.** Private property has not been sequestrated; rich men have not been held for ransom; plunder has not been the incentive for armed activity. Had Huerta, for instance, been guilty of the outrages which Villa has committed, either American or foreign troops would already have been in the capital. Although when he came into power the Government was disorganized and revolution rife, he managed in some manner to win the solid allegiance of the more intelligent classes, who have interests at stake. He increased the army and made it efficient. **Where his authority is complete ordinary business is going on under the usual protection of law, with the people apparently at peace and content.** Only where the Constitutionalists are active is there chaos, and this chaos is the more evident where they are in complete control. **Villa is not the sole bandit in their ranks; most of the leaders are of similar character.**

The Administration at Washington cannot be relieved of its embarassment by Constitutionalist success. Every reason it has given for refusing to recognize Huerta applies with double force against recognition of Villa or the cause he represents. **The enormities with which Huerta has been charged have never been proved, while Villa boasts of his crimes and Carranza seeks to justify them.**

With Huerta supported by the best thought of his own country and the revolt against him revealed as a mere confederacy of bandits, bent on pillage, the United States is finding its attitude more untenable day by day. Intervention or war has been prevented by the wise refusal of the Administration to listen to the jingoes, but the drifting policy has a menace in it. Some definite line of conduct must be formulated and it must not be based on humanitarian theories out of harmony with Mexican conditions and habits of thought.

A solution, even at this late date, would seem to be a recognition of the Huerta Government under definite guarantees which would warrant hope of ultimate pacification without humiliating patriotic Mexicans or impairing the national sovereignty, or without prejudice to our own national dignity. The failure to summon the other great Powers of this hemisphere to join in representations to Mexico is an error that can yet be remedied.

The waiting policy was good enough last summer; it is pregnant with danger now. The drift is unmistakably toward the rocks. **By indirection we are encouraging and invigorating barbarity.** After nine months of experimentation the Administration has no Mexican policy at all; it should evolve one now.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

# THE POISONED PEN

Merrily the press campaign of lying and misrepresentation goes on. There is something childish in this spreading of falsehoods about a government and a country merely because that government and that country do not kowtow to the dictatorial power of the Washington Administration.

There is also much that is unworthy of the press of a great country like this.

Here are a few of the falsehoods, twisted truths, misrepresentations, insinuations and other "rot" which we were handed during the past week.

While the attempt by the rebels to capture Tampico was given great prominence on December the twelfth and by some newspapers it was affirmed that Tampico had fallen, the taking of Torreon and Gomez Palacio by the Federals was hardly mentioned. Some of the so-called dispatches from Mexico City stated that the taking of Torreon was not believed in Mexico City and the correspondent of the New York "Times" affirms that disappointment had been expressed in Mexico City because the capture of Torreon meant that General Huerta could not be overthrown as readily as it had been thought!

Yet when Torreon was taken by the "rebels" the news was scattered broadcast with the statement that Torreon was the most important city in Northern Mexico and—of course—the key to Mexico City! It would be difficult to find a more glaring evidence of malicious intent or bias, than that offered daily by the press of this country in dealing with Mexican affairs.

Even the weekly "Independent" had a map of Mexico last week and even the map of this usually reliable weekly carried the grossest misrepresentation.

According to this map the cities doubly underlined had been captured by the rebels and the cities singly underlined were invested or "threatened" by the rebels.

Mazatlan and Guaymas were marked as in possession of the rebels, contrary to the truth, for both these places were in the hands of the Federals. Monterrey, Saltillo, Manzanillo and Colima were marked invested, also contrary to the truth because none of those places had been "invested" or even "threatened" and they remained undisturbed in the possession of the Government forces. Trains were running directly from Mexico City to Manzanillo and from Mexico City to Laredo on the American border with a brief interruption between Monterrey and Laredo.

The New York "Sun" on December 12th announced in a three-column scare head: "Tampico Captured. Fletcher stops Huerta's gunboats' fire. Fletcher falls. Fletcher intervenes." The report was sent from Mexico City.

The Associated Press dispatches from Mexico City of the following day stated that the "rebels" had not damaged any property—good rebels—but that the fire from the Federals **endangered the tanks of the Waters-Pierce Company.** Likewise that it was believed that reinforcements for the Federals could not reach the town as the rebels held the water front. The same dispatches stated that the rebels were so confident of their strength that they were also attacking Monterrey. Also that the rebels were extending their operations generally, giving several reports circulated in Mexico City but no facts.

The New York "Sun" on December 13th had a long dispatch from Berlin headed: "Huerta to beg Japan for aid. Offers big grant. Willing to make almost any concession."

The dispatch itself was a product of the imagination of the Berlin correspondent, if not a re-write man in the New York office, and merely repeated the oft-made assertion that the Huerta Government is willing to grant any concession to Japan in exchange for support. The purpose of this was as heretofore to make use of the American anti-Japanese feeling as a weapon against General Huerta.

The New York "Times," having been unable to publish a Federal defeat, headed the Mexican "story" on the 14th with: "Rebels in Force Harass Tampico." It went on to state in a dispatch from Vera Cruz that it was the "general belief" that when the rebels made a concentrated attack they would capture the city.

The "Herald" of the 14th stated in a dispatch from Vera Cruz that the rebels might not make a direct assault, "influenced by a desire to avoid destruction of property"! And that "an attack will soon be made and according to private conversation overheard here the belief is that the rebels will triumph." Of course! Also that the Federals hanged several prisoners and the rebels "retaliated."

Finally the news that the rebels had been repulsed with severe losses had to be published on the 15th. With what reluctance it was done! It was accompanied by the statement that the rebels would renew the attack almost immediately and that "the belief was they would win!"

The New York "Sun" stated that Huerta was raging at Fletcher, and the "Herald" in a Washington dispatch, that the weakness of the rebels disappointed Washington!

The "Herald" published also a statement, prepared by Sherby Hopkins in Washington and given out by the rebel junta, affirming that the charges against Villa for the atrocities committed at Chihuahua were misleading. Villa had expelled the Spaniards for their own good, it was said, to save them from the fury of the natives! Oh, that Hopkins is a jewel!

All the newspapers of that same day affirmed that Orozco had notified the Government that he was going to turn rebel because he had not been paid. This statement came from Mexico City.

The "Tribune" of the 15th publishes a Washington dispatch ending thus:

Thus far the American representations to Villa have been in the nature of a friendly warning, although there is every evidence of American displeasure in Consul Letcher's statement to Villa that such conduct will cause an unfavorable impression of the Constitutionalist cause.

The "Herald" and other newspapers of the 16th announced again that the rebels were to renew their attack on Tampico, after stating that the rebels had been so cool in their retreat that they had taken all the rolling stock from the Tampico yards.

Later dispatches, however, showed that the rebels had taken only four locomotives and a few cars.

In order to offset the moral effect caused by the victories of the Federals last week several reports were circulated as to a supposed financial crisis in Mexico, the same that has been existing for many months according to the American correspondents.

The New York "Sun" reported an attack on Mazatlan that was "about to fall" and Monterrey was said to be in danger of falling, too.

And so on!

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It is sufficient to read from day to day the so-called news sent out by the Associated Press and by special newspaper correspondents in Mexico City to understand the malice which prompts the statements made from time to time that the Huerta Government is censoring press despatches.

In honor of truth is must be stated that no other government, not even the Washington Government, would have permitted the wholesale lying and misrepresentation which is daily being carried on from Mexico City.

The Huerta Government, however, with remarkable singleness of purpose, is unconcerned about this and relies on time for the truth to come out. Its forbearance is commendable and will serve to strengthen the respect of thinking people in Mexico and abroad.


## Read "MEXICO"

ONCE A WEEK

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE**

# The Administration and Mexico

By Theodore S. Woolsey, LL.D.

Professor Emeritus of International Law in Yale University.

Day by day in the newspaper of his choice the somewhat perturbed householder reads the latest despatches from Mexico. Foreigners forsake their property and seek the coast. The Constitutionalists are making headway and incidentally have put their prisoners to death. The Nationalists are crushing out opposition and organizing Congress. The sorrows of Huerta disappear like morning dew as he sits tight, braves the demands of the United States and has the time of his life. **And on our side the administration uses brave words, vaguely threatens dire things, persuades foreign powers to await its declaration of policy, yet seems to have no policy, but—drifts. Whither is it drifting?**

To clear our minds let us try to state the problems, study the rules and precedents for its solution, examine the action of the administration in their light and characterize the alternative courses.

Mexico is a state where the strong hand of a despot has brought about peace and orderly government; the power of public opinion has not done so. It is a state where the game of politics has been unfairly played. For orderly government based upon popular elections must depend upon accepting the results of election honestly, whereas in Mexico, as in too many other Latin-American states, the party beaten at the polls, instead of accepting the result, takes up arms. The party division before 1865 was into Liberals and Clericals. Maximilian was supported by the latter, but eventually deserted by them, being unable to satisfy their demands. The Monroe Doctrine on its original lines was enforced in 1867 and the French army of intervention withdrawn. Then the Liberals gained the upper hand and Maximilian was captured and shot. During the presidencies of Juarez and Lerdo, who followed Maximilian, Porfirio Diaz repeatedly raised the standard of revolt, and in 1877, with an army at his back and a program of reform to smooth his way, was elected president. Eglasias assured him that he might be a fortunate soldier but not a constitutional president.

Inaugurated in May, 1877, Diaz was not recognized by the United States until March of the next year, although Germany and Italy had acted the August before. His so-called election was simply the result of overthrowing the rival claimants. Secretary Fish suggested that Diaz "would have no important adversary in arms and might be regarded as the actual ruler of the country." But as there were border troubles complicating the matter, this decent ten months' interval before recognition, was determined on. In Moore's "Digest of the International Law of the United States," one may find a statement of our usual policy in such cases and the reason for this particular delay. The Government of the United States, although it was "accustomed to accept and recognize the results of a popular choice in Mexico and not to scrutinize closely the regularity or irregularity of the methods" by which those results were brought about, would in the particular instance "wait before recognizing General Diaz as president of Mexico until it shall be assured that his election is approved by the Mexican people and that his administration is possessed of stability to endure and of disposition to comply with the rules of international comity and the obligations of treaties." This is the language of our acting Secretary of State and was also stated in much the same words by President Hayes in his message December 3, 1877. Other facts remain to be recalled in order to show how parallel the two cases of Diaz and Huerta appear. Unable or unwilling to carry out his program of reforms, Diaz said frankly in the "Diario Official" that the program was "nothing else but a heap of moral absurdities and material impossibilities and that in consequence he was not able to fulfil the promises there made to the nation." The ensuing discontent, hostility and revolts were put down with a strong hand. Some of his opponents were executed, some imprisoned, some driven out. At this time occurred the execution, without trial, of nine citizens of Vera Cruz—the so-called "Hecatomb of Vera Cruz"—which was ascribed to Diaz but not proven. All sorts of crimes, including robbery, were ascribed to Diaz —164 different events being specified in one newspaper, the editor being promptly banished.

At the expiration of his term, late in 1880, being ineligible for re-election, Diaz transferred his powers to General Gonzales, his Secretary of War, had himself elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and governor of Oaxaca, paid a visit to the United States—where he was well received—and then, in 1884, became president again. Without pursuing his career further it is enough to say that until the Madero revolt Diaz continued in control of Mexico, a despot, in many respects a beneficent despot; inviting foreign capital, safe-guarding it, developing transportation and trade, carrying out the obligations of the state, preserving order; but by no means a constitutional president. When his strong grip upon affairs relaxed, we see but too clearly the results.

In his brief review of the rise and recognition of Diaz, the events of a generation of Mexican history, we find the usage and the policy of our own Government and its beneficial consequences, material at least if not moral. That the rule governing recognition was applicable to the other Latin-American states as well as Mexico the correspondence of our State Department shows, and this is the law and the policy generally. **A de facto change of government which seems to have popular backing and to be strong enough to make good the obligations entered into with other states is recognized by those states after a decent and sufficient interval.. Provided these fundamental requirements are satisfied, irregularities in the succession of a new administration or blemishes in the character of a new executive head are matters of internal sovereignty with which other states do not concern themselves.**

Let us now assume that the charges brought against General Huerta, which seem to have influenced our Government in its recent dealings with Mexico, are true. * * * He was promptly recognized by some, though not by all, of the states in commercial relations with Mexico. Mr. Wilson's attitude, however, was one of extreme disapproval. He believed Huerta to have come into power by unconstitutional means and with bloody hands. He distrusted any Congress chosen under existing conditions and under Huerta's auspices. He withheld recognition, and when Huerta expelled many members of Congress on the charge that they made the national legislature a hotbed of revolution, President Wilson declared that he never would recognize him; furthermore that the new Congress was incapable of legal action and must not be convened. So far as the American public has been informed, this is the sum and substance of Wilson's policy—never to recognize Huerta nor his Congress—and for the reason that Huerta is so bad a man.

**It will be noticed that this policy is essentially different from the prevailing policy and usage of the United States in similar cases.** Hitherto it has asked not whether a de facto executive irregularly in office was a good man, but whether he was a strong man, backed by the popular will, so far as that found expression, and capable of fulfilling the obligations of the state. And in order to determine this time must elapse.

We must credit Mr. Wilson with the best of intentions. He surely seeks the restoration of order and the reign of law in disturbed Mexico. In delaying the recognition of Huerta, he is acting wisely, is following sound precedent. It would have been well, perhaps, to have sounded other states and acted in unison with them, thus testing the stability of Huerta, as our late ambassador in Mexico seems to have advised. But delay of recognition to test the strength and popular backing of a de facto executive is one thing; **the delay coincident to a refusal ever and under any circumstances to recognize a Huerta or any of his legislative doings, is quite another. It substitutes the ethical principles of our President or his Secretary of State for precedent, usage and common sense.**

Meanwhile the administration, upheld by its good intentions, optimistic that Huerta, under the weight of disapproval, will climb down from his high horse, is exposing itself to the derision of an uncharitable world. **For it resembles the man who seeks a reputation for wisdom by keeping silent, while it becomes clearer every day that it does nothing because it knows not what to do: it started wrong.** Whether Huerta is the strong man desired, is the only Mexican in sight who can restore order, it is difficult to determine. But my point is that his case must not be prejudged, and that should his strength become evident **it is the duty of the administration to recognize him in spite of its previous sweeping refusal to do so, in spite of consequent loss of face.** For what else is there to do? Let us consider certain alternatives suggested.

One is the removal of the embargo upon exportation of arms and ammunition. Here it must be noticed that this embargo is not commanded by international law but by our Congress. To restore order in Mexico by supplying both factions with arms and watching them fight it out, would jeopardize all property, imperil the lives of foreigners as well as natives, foster brigandage and anarchy, indefinitely postpone a settlement. And is Carranza in any way superior to Huerta? Has he not bloody hands also?

Another course would be pacific blockade applied to all Mexican ports. The first objection to this is that if the pressure of such a step should be effective its result would be to weaken the dominant power, whereas what is wanted is

(Continued on Next Page.)

**WOOLSEY—Continued.**

to strengthen some authority. The other objection, and, I think, a fatal one, is that it would not be effective because it could not be made to apply to the trade of third powers. We ourselves held this —when it was proposed by Great Britain and Germany in 1903 to blockade the Venezuelan ports pacifically—that blockade to be respected by the neutral must imply war. But if neutral trade is undisturbed blockade loses its value. And this brings us to a third and last alternative to the recognition of Huerta, namely, armed intervention, that is, war. Perhaps nothing else would unite the Mexican factions, but it would be carrying altruism to the nth power to hazard our own fortunes in war with a neighbor in order to patch up that neighbor's domestic differences. The advocates of intervention talk of a military expedition into Mexico, the protection of American property, the restoration of order, a fair election under our auspices and then a graceful withdrawal, as if such a program were possible and easy. But I fancy a responsible board of strategy has warned the President, even if he is tempted, of which there is no sign, that the country is not equipped for such an adventure. In this connection we may study the Boer war to advantage. According to the Esher report, the total enrollment under the British flag in South Africa was 448,000 men to conquer an estimated Boer force of about 40,000 and pacify the country. This proportion of ten to one was made necessary by the vast extent of country to be covered, the difficulty of guarding communications and by Boer mobility. The report showed further that Great Britain could adequately arm, equip and officer not much over 100,000 men who could be spared for African service. The job of Mexican intervention would be greater than this and our preparation for it less. We should not intervene, because it is so doubtful if we could intervene successfully, whereas intervention to be justifiable must be successful.

Every one of these alternatives to the recognition of Huerta is inadmissible. Our policy should be to strengthen somebody in Mexico, not to weaken everybody: to build up, not to pull down. In refusing ever to recognize Huerta, the Administration has violated our usage and the dictates of common sense. Is it honest enough and strong enough to correct its blunder? There is an obstinacy of strength; there is also an obstinacy of weakness.

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## THE MONEY WEAPON.

"With singular wisdom our Government is proceeding in diplomatic action for establishment of peace in Mexico. We are utilizing for the first time in diplomacy the fact that money is the great weapon of warfare; that an usurper can be destroyed by starvation as well as by the bullet."

The above is quoted by the Boston "Transcript" from a speech of George Fred Williams, recently appointed Minister to Greece. Even allowing for his gratitude to the President and Bryan for the appointment, it was certainly a glaring indiscretion for him to admit that there is a warfare with Mexico in which money is the great weapon. George Fred should be careful of his words. He must not give away the subtle, oh so terribly subtle, game of those apostles of peace—his superiors.

# MAKING FUN OF IT

## BUT NO JOKE TO POOR MEXICO

John Kendrick Banks, Joseph Hodges Choate and Chauncey Depew are all humorists.

These three men have recently tackled President Wilson's Mexican policy, Mr. Bangs without engaging the public attention, but Mr. Choate and Mr. Depew with considerable acclaim. It is interesting to see how they did it. Mr. Bangs was in Oneonta, N. Y., about the middle of November, on a lecture tour. A reporter for the "Oneonta Star" found him before the lecture and proceeded to search him for his views. Here is the Mexican part of this process:

"Do you approve of the President's Mexican policy?" asked the reporter.

"I haven't seen a newspaper since this morning," said Mr. Bangs, "so I don't know what that policy is. Has it been announced yet?"

"Well," said the reporter, "as far as I can find out it is a policy of high idealism—"

"Oh—I see," said Mr. Bangs. "Well, high idealism is a mighty good thing if you can carry it through, and we must all wish more power to Mr. Wilson's idealistic elbow—but somehow or other I have never felt that I could win the heart of a hedgehog by reciting Rossetti's Sonnets of Life, or reading extracts from Mr. Bryan's Chautauqua lectures into his ear."

Mr. Choate's encounter with the President's Mexican policy took place at the more recent Chamber of Commerce dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. Here is the way he took hold of it:

"What is the most stirring thing that agitates the hearts of the American people to-day? It is Mexico. What are we going to do with Mexico or what is Mexico going to do with us? I should like very much to discuss the policy of the United States in regard to Mexico. I think I could occupy the whole evening with it—if I only knew what that policy was."

Mr. Choate went on to say that when we had found out what this policy is, and emphatically if anything serious for this country comes out of it, we must all stand by the President, and was roundly applauded for his advice, just as Mr. Bangs said that "we must all wish more power to Mr. Wilson's idealistic elbow." It would be highly un-American to give different advice in case the country were once seriously engaged. but this did not impair Mr. Choate's original jest, that he could occupy the whole evening discussing this policy if he only knew what it was. Mr. Choate is too experienced a statesman not to know the difference between a vague longing for the betterment of mankind and practical measures of real statecraft.

Now comes Mr. Depew with his speech at the dinner of the St. Nicholas Society at Delmonico's last Saturday evening, of which it is foolishly said that President Wilson's Mexican policy is "commended by Mr. Depew."

Mr. Depew did not sparkle in his treatment of the far-famed Mexican policy which has been produced and so closely guarded by President Wilson, but at any rate he made the point of his jest obvious. He said this:

He (President Wilson) has his troubles as far as Mexico is concerned. He is practicing Christian Science there, but he has done the business for Huerta and Villa. If serious troubles should arise there involving us it will be the duty of every broad-minded American, irrespective of party politics, to stand by him to the last.

The amount of it is, according to Mr. Depew, that "if" this absent treatment requires a return to the normal and tried methods by which two independent nations deal with each other in case of a quarrel, then the man who does not stand by his own country is not worthy to be a part of it. All these three men say that, and there is nothing wonderful about it. But they all carefully avoid making the Wilson policy itself, either in its nature, or merits, or the mere mystery of it, the basis of their common appeal to the well-known patriotism of the American people. As a matter of fact all three, more or less distinguished as they are, and certainly all of them fairly representative of our soundest and most responsible citizenship, bring forward and introduce the Wilson Mexican policy by making fun of it. It is not that they wish to do so; it is that the policy is of such a quality that the more a trained man studies it the more it stirs his sense of humor—a sense with which these three men are well equipped.—Hartford "Daily Courant."

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## TOO BIG A BITE.

Of course, the question of the means by which President Wilson will secure good government in Mexico is not of the essence of the problem, as regards Anglo-American relations. Every one hopes that this end may be brought about by peaceful methods, and any criticisms of American diplomacy that may have been published on this side arise simply from the doubt whether the President has made full allowance for the peculiarities of the Mexican character and temperament. The significant thing, however, from the English point of view, is that at last the United States has fully accepted the responsibility for guaranteeing order and good government in Latin America. The methods by which she will discharge that responsibility are her own concern.—Special London Correspondence to New York "Evening Post."

Yes, England can very well afford to sit back while we pull her chestnuts out of the fire. The Administration, to save its face or because it doesn't know, is assuming most tremendous responsibilities in Latin America. It remains to be seen how they are to be discharged. If our course toward Mexico is any criterion, it would seem that Mr. Bryan et al have already bitten off much more than they can chew.

## AS THE MUNSEY PAPERS SEE THE OIL GAME.

If it is true that the Standard Oil Company has sent agents into the Tampico district to acquire oil lands, it is a subject of much conjecture as to what methods those agents will pursue in the efforts to obtain the properties.

There is little likelihood of the Standard Oil entering negotiation with the Huerta Government, not only because of the foothold which Federal forces have lost in the Tampico district in the last few days of fighting and the probability of the downfall of the entire Huerta regime shortly, but because of the hatred which Huerta already has shown toward the Standard Oil Company.

Madero's chief concessions were to the Standard Oil, and his chief revocation of the concessions hit the Pearson Oil group. Huerta, on becoming President, practically reversed that order of things, throwing the oil situation back largely into the condition in which it existed before Madero began his successful campaign against Porfirio Diaz.

There are many leading oil men who believe the Standard Oil Company will not attempt acquisition of more lands in the Tampico district until the Huerta Government is overthrown. Others conversant with methods followed at the time when Madero's forces were pushing toward Mexico City for the overthrow of the Diaz regime, believe definite agreements already have been reached with the Carranza forces.

They base this belief particularly on the speed with which the Constitutionalist forces pushed their campaign into the Tampico district, probably the greatest oil-bearing region in the world.

It was pointed out that in the confusion of affairs attendant on the change of government at Tampico, the Pearsons may find their "rights" under the extensive concessions from Huerta boldly invaded by the rebels to the advantage of rival interests.

It was even asserted that with the Tampico district fully in the hands of the Constitutionalists and the latter able to defend it against efforts on the part of the Federals to retake it, the Standard Oil Company need care little, so far as its chief interests in Mexico are concerned, whether or not Mexico City remains in the hands of Huerta.—New York "Press."

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"Over in Cananea a few days ago," says a mining engineer, "a Chinaman was fined $100 for refusing to take rebel money in exchange for his goods. He beefed long and loud about the fine. But finally a brilliant thought struck him. He went out and got $100 of the rebel money and offered it in payment of his fine. But the rebel official who fined John for refusing rebel money refused it himself and made the Chinaman dig up silver dollars for the fine."—El Paso "Times."

# LEST WE FORGET

Oh, the obliquity of "moral" minds!

* * *

How they "pulled" for the success of the assault on Tampico!

* * *

Hoping the "rebels" woud take the town.

* * *

Fully aware how the same kind of enemies of society had acted in Chihuahua.

* * *

Can anybody explain this moral obliquity?

* * *

Ignorance cannot explain it, for the horrible facts are matters of common knowledge.

* * *

The Mexican government could be as rotten as New York politics, but that would not justify the encouragement of murder, pillage and rape by those seeking to overthrow it.

* * *

Which is exactly what the Bryan attitude amounts to and all the fine words in the Administration's stock vocabulary will not hide it.

* * *

What a sorry mess it is!

* * *

And only one way out of it.

* * *

But the pig-headed will not take it.

* * *

They will "view with complacency" until—

* * *

Until public opinion will countenance the farce no longer.

* * *

Which, we prophesy, will be very, very soon.

* * *

As the truth sinks in.

* * *

The truth will have to be faced sooner or later. It's Huerta or War.

* * *

A prominent Texan said recently that President Wilson was awaiting the psychological moment to intervene in Mexico.

* * *

It has not occurred to the gentleman that the people will have something to say about an intervention that means war.

* * *

We are glad we are not on the pay-roll of the Administration.

* * *

If we were we couldn't tell the truth about Mexico.

* * *

We'd be reprimanded or court-martialed.

Funny how school keeps up.

* * *

Carranza, Hale, Sherby Hopkins, the Maderos et al were fooling the American public beautifully with their glowing pictures of the constitutionalists and their cause—till Villa got busy.

* * *

Now they wish they had never let him get within five hundred miles of the border.

* * *

But you will notice they have hailed his capture of Juarez and Chihuahua as great constitutionalist victories.

* * *

Several thousand Chihuahuans fled across a desert to escape Villa and his men.

* * *

Why? Because the women and girls feared a fate worse than death.

* * *

You do not hear of the people fleeing before the Federal troops.

* * *

They are welcomed with open arms.

* * *

No foreigners' property is destroyed or looted by the Government's soldiers.

* * *

They are rushing "envoys" to Villa to tell him he is making a bad impression on the American public.

* * *

Villa isn't worrying about the impression he is making on the American public. We must say he is no hypocrite.

* * *

If Carranza and his clique want to play the political game from Sonora, with the aid of the American press, that's their affair. It doesn't affect Villa in the least. He's doing the rough work and he takes what's coming to him in his own way. T'ell with the American public.

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So the last vestige of Huerta rule was to disappear from Northern Mexico. So? The trains are running from Mexico City clear through to Laredo, on the border, from San Luis Potosi to Tampico and the Federal forces have driven the bandits out of Torreon, a most important railroad junction and of great strategic value. If that is the last vestige of Huerta rule, well, it's a lot of vestige. The recapture of Torreon was noted in the American newspapers with only a few lines. Villa's taking of the comparatively unimportant Juarez was given columns, supplemented by detailed accounts of what the rebels, meaning Villa's bandits, were going to do next. On to Mexico City! Dinner in Mexico City, Christmas Day—and Mexico City only thirteen hundred miles away?

# MEN WHO KNOW

Against the arbitrary dictation of the Wilson Administration in Mexico, against the encouragement of disorder in Mexico by the words and acts of Administration "high officials," the government of Mexico has protested, the peaceable people of Mexico have protested, foreigners in Mexico and foreign public opinion have protested, public opinion in all Latin-American countries has protested, Americans in Mexico and Americans familiar with conditions there have protested almost to a man, trained and intelligent observers like ex-Ambassador Wilson, ex-Ambassador Thomas J. O'Brien, Major Cassius E. Gillette, Colonel George Harvey, Professor Woolsey, of Yale, and many others have protested, but against all this weight of adverse opinion, remarkably unanimous in its judgment of the situation and in its conclusions, the Wilson Administration has set its face and closed its ears, repeating over and over its self-hypnotizing shibboleth: "Huerta must go!"

It is true that so far in its unreasonable dictatorial course the Administration has found considerable support in this country, the support of newspapers either friendly to the purposes of special interests who desire the continuation of trouble in Mexico or keenly alive to the news value in the turmoil below the Rio Grande; the support, a rather negative support, of those who cannot quite make out the true purpose of the Administration and are disposed to give it the benefit of the doubt; the support of peace advocates who are inclined to think that whatever faults the Administration policy may have, it has at least announced its opposition to an armed intervention that would mean war; the passive support of those who know nothing of Mexican conditions except what they gather from the daily papers and who loyally give the Administration the credit of knowing more about its motives and purposes than the average uninformed citizen can possibly know.

It will be seen that the opposition to the Administration's course comes from those who are well versed in Mexican affairs. That the newspaper editorial support, and the coloring of the news for the same purpose, come from men whose observations of Mexico have not extended beyond the walls of an editorial sanctum.

We subjoin a partial list of persons whose training and experience have fitted them to pass judgment on the meaning and the results of the Administration's attitude toward Mexico and who have on occasion in the last few months publicly expressed their condemnation of it:

James Creelman, journalist and authority on Mexico.

Alver R. Dobson, President of the American Book and Printing Company, Mexico City.

Ex-Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson.

John W. DeKay, Mexico City.

James Brown Potter.

Paul Hudson, editor "Mexican Herald."

George Lewis, mining engineer, Boston.

George Lueders & Co., New York, exporters.

Colonel Cecil Lyon, Texas.

Col. Edward R. Dunn, mining engineer.

Ellsworth J. Wiggins, formerly American consul at Monterrey, Mexico.

Rev. John Howland, D.D., missionary in Mexico.

Edward L. Andrews, American representative of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders of London.

Dwight Furness, for twenty-five years a resident of Mexico City.

Sydney Brooks, well-known publicist.

Rev. W. Ellsworth Lawson, Foxboro, Mass., formerly of Mexico.

J. T. Willett, American resident of Mexico for half a century.

Louis C. Simonds, contributor to "Atlantic Monthly."

Major Cassius E. Gillette, retired officer United States Army.

Rev. P. J. O'Reilly, Catholic missionary, Austin, Texas.

Congressman Allen T. Treadway, of Massachusetts.

Dr. Theodore S. Woolsey, professor of international law, Yale.

Charles Grandpierre, author and Latin-American expert.

Andrew D. White, ex-Ambassador to Germany.

Thomas J. O'Brien, ex-Ambassador to Italy.

Colonel George Harvey, editor "North American Review."

Dr. William Penn DuBois.

Hannis Taylor, ex-diplomat and noted authority on international affairs.

These are only a few of the great number of Americans familiar with Mexican conditions who can see no good in the Administration's interference in the affairs of our neighboring republic. Apparently they have felt, as we feel, that it is the patriotic duty of every American who knows the real situation in Mexico to publicly call attention to the incalculable dangers and evils of a policy that, if not based on ignorance, is inexplicable to all save those who are shaping it.

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**Villa says he would not recognize Carranza if the latter became President.**

* * *

**Of course he wouldn't. And he'd probably have good "moral grounds," too.**

## JUST BEGINNING.

President Huerta, in a private letter last Saturday, answers three questions relating to the present condition of the revolution, the strength of the army and Mexico's foreign relations. Regarding the first point Huerta says, in part:

"The revolt has not terminated, for the simple reason that my government has barely been ten months in existence, and when it took charge it found the treasury empty and an armed force scarcely numbering nineteen thousand men of the regular army and eight thousand Maderista Rurales, who, before the end of February last, had for the most part deserted en masse or had rebelled against the new government. Thus, I repeat, the government found itself without the means indispensable for guaranteeing the tranquility of all citizens of the republic throughout an immense extent of national territory.

"For this reason my government has devoted all its attention to the organization of the army, increasing it, with the full consent of Congress, first to eighty thousand men, which figure has been reached. With this nucleus preparations have been made for the military operations which have to be undertaken for the pacification of the republic.

"As is notorious, this period of preparation has brought about the pacification of twenty-two states, three territories and the Federal district and it has been possible to confine the revolution to five states only.

### Real Campaign to Come.

"From what I have said, it will be seen that the campaign against the Northern rebels has not, properly speaking, been begun, the reason being lack of forces, of which, however, the government is now in possession. The campaign will be pushed resolutely as from January 1 next, and you may rest assured, as the government is, that the rebels can never make a serious stand against the power of the republic."

Huerta goes on to say that the increase of the army to 150,000 men is for the purpose of assuring the permanence of peace. He adds that each state has a local militia of 1,000 men, and 52,000 haciendados have been authorized to employ ten armed men each for the protection of their farms, so that, altogether, for the restoration of peace the government counts a force of over 700,000 men. In regard to international relations of Mexico, Huerta says:

"I have simply to say to you that we are at peace with the whole world, and while it is true that a great people have withdrawn from us their valued and important friendship, it is not we who are to blame."

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**Secretary Bryan is not so solicitous concerning the barbaric crimes of Villa as he is that the "constitutionalist" cause may be hurt in the United States.**

# A LETTER FROM HUERTA

## WHICH HE DID NOT WRITE.

George Sylvester Viereck contributes another chapter to the volume of "Letters That Never Were Written," in the International Magazine for December. It is presumed to have been written, however, by President Huerta of Mexico to President Wilson, on November 25.

Sir: In accordance with the duties of my exalted office and the dictates of my conscience, I am compelled, much to my regret, to inform your excellency, that it will hereafter be impossible for me and my government to recognize your administration. I have instructed my representative whom, for reasons of your own, you have refused to receive, to demand your instant resignation as President of the United States. I have no quarrel with you personally and I have the highest respect for your people, but I feel that the Republic of Mexico owes a duty to the democracy of the world. To my mind you are an usurper of administrative power, even if, according to a loose interpretation of the Constitution, you hold your office according to law.

Without quibbling over terms, the fundamental fact remains that republican government is a government by the majority of the people. If you will scan the election returns of 1912 you will find that you were never legally elected by a majority of the voters of your great country. My colleague, Senor Blanquet, informs me that the votes cast for President in the election to which you owe your alleged elevation to office were divided as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Senor Taft | 3,369,221 |
| General Roosevelt | 4,057,429 |
| Senor Debs | 812,731 |
| Senor Wilson | 6,292,718 |

It is therefore clear that you represent a minority of the American people which, by violating the great principles that inspired George Washington and our immortal Juarez, has arrogated to itself the government of your country. The vote against you exceeded your vote 2 millions. It is painful for me to state the facts so bluntly to your excellency, but I do not see how you can remain in office against the clear and unmistakable verdict of the majority of the people. I owe it to myself, I owe it to my country and to the traditional friendship existing between the Mexican Union and the United States of America, to insist that you and your entire Cabinet instantly vacate the White House.

I shall not be satisfied if your excellency were to resign merely as a matter of form while continuing to hold the reins of government by means of a dummy. I shall not permit Senor Marshall to succeed you, inasmuch as he is disqualified from office for the same reasons that render your election invalid from the point of view of the Mexican constitution. Nor shall I recognize Senor Bryan, Admiral Daniels or any member of your official family, as your successor.

I demand the immediate proclamation of a new general election. Meanwhile, however—for it is not my intention to embarrass your government and the noble people of the United States—I shall be perfectly content if you will name Senor Champ Clark as provisional president. If the honorable senor accepts the designation, my government will deal with him as the de facto executive of your glorious republic. Meanwhile, in case any accident should befall Senor Champ Clark, I shall hold your excellency personally strictly responsible.

I must insist, moreover, to make myself perfectly plain that neither you yourself nor anyone else connected with your administration shall be a candidate for election. I have no objection to the candidacy of General Roosevelt. His absence from American soil, however, renders him ineligible to office according to Mexican law. I suggest a quarantine of all American ports, in view of the ravages of malaria in the interior of Patagonia, if the general should indicate the desire to return to your country before election. I should like to make plain that his excellency, the Honorable William H. Taft, is the candidate whose election would be most acceptable to my government.

Shortly before his departure my lamented predecessor called my attention to another matter of grave importance. It seems that your lower house likewise was not elected in accordance with the Mexican constitution. I will not insist on an immediate dissolution of congress, but I demand that every candidate who has not received a clear majority of the votes in his district shall immediately enter another special election, running against the candidate who receeived the largest number of votes next to him. If this request is not complied with, I shall be forced to repudiate congress and declare the election void.

Any disagreement with my views will be construed by my government as an unfriendly act. I realize that my position may be regarded as academic, but I cannot deviate from the path laid out to me by conscience, even at the expense of my country and untold sacrifices in blood and money.

If your excellency should fail to accede to my well meant suggestions within forty-eight hours from date, I shall place an immediate embargo on chili pepper. In case of your failure to recognize Senor Clark as your successor, I shall recognize the leader of one of your rival factions in the sovereign states of New York and New Jersey as provisional president of the United States. I am still wavering between Senor Nugent and Senor Murphy, but I shall dispatch a personal representative to negotiate with the two leaders. His clerical and journalistic experience—he is the editor of the periodical which prints my speeches—vouch for his consummate skill in the game of diplomacy and international politics.

I trust that your excellency will not misconstrue my gentle insinuations as an ultimatum. Nothing could be further from my mind. It is not my intention to meddle with internal affairs of neighboring republics. I am not even acting in the interest of my country. I offer my friendly advice merely because I am a man of iron principle, actuated by high ideals. I believe firmly in the government of the majority when the majority is right. I believe in the government of the people when the people agree with me.

Pray be not alarmed by the dispatch of my entire fleet to Bar Harbor. It is merely, I assure your excellency, for the protection of Mexican citizens in the United States. Do not, I beg of you, misinterpret the call to arms of three hundred thousand men as a warlike movement aimed against your glorious republic. Convey my compliments to Senor Bryan and believe me,

With cordial regards, your sincere wellwisher,

HUERTA, President.

## CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE FRONT.

(By Private Wire to "The Sun Dial.")

Pennsylvania Station, New York, Dec. 13.—Heavy firing heard in all the afternoon newspapers. No Mexicans in sight as yet.

Hotel Shoreham, Washington, D. C., Dec. 13.—The "Washington Post" announces that Tampico has fallen. Have not yet been able to verify this. Mexico is a great country.

New Orleans, La., Dec. 15.—I learn from the New Orleans "Picayune" that Gen. Huerta is now President of Mexico. A drummer tells me that Spanish is widely spoken in Mexico. All quiet here.

El Paso, Tex., Dec. 17.—At 9 p. m. to-morrow the Associated Press will announce the capture of Tampico by the Federalists. At 8 a. m. the following morning the A. P. will contradict this rumor.—New York "Sun."

## NO TROUBLE AT ALL.

"No effort will be made to get shipments of munitions of war out of New Orleans for Mexico," was the statement made by friends of the Carrancista movement yesterday in denial of the report that they were in communication with a certain shipping agency here with a view to getting a steamer to transport arms and ammunition to some place on the Mexican coast.

"We have all the arms and ammunition we need now," it was declared, "and if we need more, we will not get them out of this port," it was stated.

The revolutionists are experiencing little difficulty in getting munitions of war across the Rio Grande at points between Eagle Pass and El Paso, "where we have many friends," it was intimated. Large shipments, including a number of machine guns and mountain pieces, passed through here a fortnight ago, en route to an unnamed destination on the Texas-Mexican frontier, and, it is admitted, a considerable portion has already been delivered to General Villa.

"The Constitutionalists have sent no shipments of arms out of New Orleans by steamer," it was declared, "for we have not found it necessary to do that."

New Orleans, it was understood from other sources close to the Carranza movement, continues to be the point from which the distribution of arms and ammunition is directed, however. Manuel Castrillo Brito, formerly governor of Campeche and whom the Mexican Government tried to extradite on a charge of murder, is reported to be the man who is directing General Carranza's affairs here. Mr. Brito, it was stated, makes frequent visits to Washington, where he communicates with certain high officials of the government through Captain S. G. Hopkins, General Carranza's legal adviser in the national capital.— New Orleans "Picayune."

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## INFORMAL AND OFFENSIVE.

President Wilson and Mr. Bryan have the most unusual notions as to what is proper in international relations. They think that they can send private persons upon any sort of an errand into one of the smaller countries of this hemisphere—to see how strong those countries are, to see how they behave, to see how they conduct their electoral and other political functions—and that the countries concerned ought to be rather glad to be the objects of these unofficial inspections. These private inspectors are not accredited to the government of the country to which they are sent; they cannot be, for they have no standing in the law as representatives of the United States. They are merely private agents sent out by the President and his secretary of state in order to secure information and make reports which never see the light of day, but upon which the government of this country, so far as our government is embodied in President Wilson and Mr. Bryan, proposes to base its policy and its acts.

**Both the social and the diplomatic rule is for the greater to show more respect and exercise more formality toward the lesser.** The most important man in the neighborhood does not treat his less well-known neighbors with less courtesy, but with more, simply because he is the better known. Least of all does he presume upon his wider reputation to send agents to see how they treat their wives or whether they pay their servants regularly or not. It is so between states when their relations are friendly. **The larger country is very punctilious with the smaller country, simply because the people of both countries know very well that the larger country can do pretty much as it pleases.** These unofficial and confidential missions sent out by President Wilson are offensive violations of this rule.

The Constitution of the United States provides for a diplomatic and consular service as the means by which this government acquires its information about foreign countries, whether they are near at hand or far away. There is no other regular way for our government to secure this information. President Wilson does not appear to like or trust this customary and official means of conducting international business. He uses it where he has no special interest in these relations between states; but when he is specially concerned he sends private persons of his own selection and who are responsible to him alone. **Then he expects the smaller and inspected countries to look pleased over this informality and irregularity.** The fact that the United States is also left out of the account in this new method is also a fact to be noted.—Hartford "Daily Courant."

## PRESS COMMENTS ON THE MESSAGE.

"President Wilson's first annual message to Congress is like his inaugural message and his special messages, vague and indefinite as to most matters of large public concern. The reference to Mexican affairs is brief, evasive and altogether unsatisfactory. The country has been expecting a ringing note against the trusts. At reading his first message, however, and finding it as empty of practical suggestions as any of the special messages which have preceded it, public opinion is very likely to despair of any other leadership than that expressing itself in Congress through a party caucus and the disposition of spoils.—St. Louis "Globe Democrat."

"Undoubtedly his policy of watching and waiting is a far more commendable policy than the policy of intervention urged by our jingoists and our exploiters of the John Hays Hammond dollar mark, but how much better policy it would have been if, discarding the mischievous Roosevelt perversion of the Monroe Doctrine and disabusing himself of the notion that it is for the United States to dictate the standard of government or morals of Latin America, he had blazed out as the Wilson doctrine that it is for the United States to work out its own ideals in its own territory, without essaying to lay down standards of government or morals for peoples for whom we have no responsibility and over whom we have no authority save that which we may assume—in short, if he had set his jaw and made up his mind that, in so far as he was able to effect it, we were going to mind our own business and leave other nations to mind theirs!" —Louisville "Courier Journal."

"We shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico." Of course we shall, but how? Mr. Wilson tells us "by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions." Fine and dandy! But where, oh, where, in all Mexico are such leaders to be found? Certainly they are not in the ranks of those bloodthirsty and murderous bandits who, with the moral support of this government, to-day are making Mexico a waste.—Ft. Wayne "Evening News."

The President, who is a sincere believer in certain important reforms, has not hesitated to impose the power of the executive branch upon the legislative branch. He has not hesitated to drive through measures which could not have been driven through without his backing as a dispenser and withholder of patronage. **He has not hesitated to send as his personal representatives to Mexico, in matters of the very highest importance to that country and to this, "envoys" who could not represent officially the nation in any emergency.** Indeed, there are times when it seems to the average observer that Mr. Wilson is not so much concerned for party platforms and for the fundamental law as he is for his own prestige, power and for his control of federal legislation.—Boston "Journal."

## TRYING TO EXPLAIN.

General Carranza's reply to Governor Hunt, who had sent a friendly and unofficial remonstrance against the execution of Mexican Federalist prisoners at Juarez, is not likely to inspire confidence in the methods of the Constitutionalists. The insurgent chief infers that the revulsion of feeling caused in the United States by the barbarities of Villa is due to "an imperfect understanding of the peculiar character of the Mexican problems;" and then General Carranza proceeds to explain that the acts complained of are in reprisal of more numerous and similar acts of the Federals—as if the American people did not know what they were talking about when they express horror over the Mexican practice of savage retaliation. General Carranza may asseverate, until he is blue in the face, that he and his followers are merely "proceeding with calm and severe justice"—he will never reconcile this nation to that peculiar Central American institution, the "political gallows."

When the Mexican insurgents extend their vendetta to persons of other nationality than their own they invite complications, which cannot be disposed of by the remarks that the peculiarity of Mexico's problems requires treatment so peculiar as to be beyond the comprehension of foreigners. The banishment of the Spanish residents of Chihuahua and the confiscation of their property by Villa are outrages which General Carranza cannot expiate by writing a deprecatory letter. Of course, the Spaniards in Mexico are primarily under the protection of their own consular and diplomatic representatives; but, after imposing upon other foreign nations our policy of non-intervention in Mexico, it would be unreasonable for this Government to deny its moral responsibility for the safety of their people.—Philadelphia "Record."

## WHY IT IS NOT MORAL.

Mexico City.—It is also claimed that in Morelos, Puebla, Guerrero and elsewhere in Central and Southern Mexico there are many Villas on a smaller scale, and the hope is expressed here that Washington will take into account that the Huerta government, whatever its origin may have been, is the sole power that can protect the law-abiding elements of the community from the excesses of these enemies of society, and that every weakening of the Huerta government means a corresponding diminution of its ability to accomplish that task. —New York "Tribune."

## THEY DON'T.

If the considerable number of soldiers operating along the Mexican frontier now are unable to check the shipment of large quantities of arms and ammunition into that country for the use of the rebels there is little use in discussing the question of raising the embargo on such shipments. **No doubt the ease with which rifles and cartridges are smuggled across the border has had much to do with the success of the forces under Carranza and Villa.** Except that the raising of it might be of political importance to the Constitutionalists they probably care very little about the embargo.—Savannah (Ga.) "Weekly News."

## THE REAL VILLA.

The defence by General Carranza of the execution of Mexican federal officers at Juarez by his military colleague, General Villa, is somewhat disingenuous. In answer to Governor Hunt of Arizona who, writing as a private citizen, said that the continuation of summary executions by insurgent commanders would horrify the people of the United States and alienate their sympathy, General Carranza speaks of "the struggle for civilization and justice" which the constitutionalists are carrying on, and suggests that owing to "the peculiar character of the Mexican problems" a "wrong construction" is likely to be placed on their acts. He then dilates on the "murder" of constitutionalists who "fell wounded while fighting for the liberty of the people," and this he makes the basis for the characterization of Villa's deeds of bloodthirstiness as "calm and severe justice." To Carranza these deeds do not appear needless cruelty visited upon prisoners of war but merely such punishment as was prescribed by the law applicable to offenders against the public peace and safety.

It is desirable to ascertain whether the real Villa is a civilized general or a desperate bandit. As Zapata has ravaged his native state of Morelos, Villa is ravaging Chihuahua. His policy as a rebel leader is one of pillage, savage reprisals and indiscriminate slaughter. Yet if the constitutionalists win, it is possible that this villain may attempt to make himself president of Mexico."—Rochester "Post-Express."

## READING THE LAW.

Somehow, it is not clear why, or how, it is conceived by those who may want to think that way, that the Monroe Doctrine gives the United States the right to do as she pleases with the lesser nations in this hemisphere. That we may intervene any time we see fit, either under the guise of the welfare of the nation involved, but really for our own. In short that we are the big boss of this half of the world, and can do as we please with it.

The truth is the Monroe Doctrine gives the United States no more privilege than any other country. Under international law it could not. When the Monroe Doctrine notified the world that the United States would act as the protector, the friend, the active ally, if need be, in repelling invasion of any country on this side of the world, for any cause whatsoever, we also notified the world that, under no circumstances except for protection, would the United States intervene in the affairs of any of the American nations.

This is a point that those who want the United States to rush into Mexico seem either to not know or else to studiously ignore. But if we, who have made the law, are the first to break it, or the only country to break our own law, what may we expect of other nations? Can we hope to force them to respect our law which we cannot respect ourselves? Can we expect them to keep out of a country while we go in?—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

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Huerta tried to establish a government of order and law, but President Wilson's financial blockade prevented him from borrowing money, and he could not raise it as the bandit chieftains do by thievery and extortion. If Villa captures the capital and treats it as he treated Victoria and Durango, the stricken city may thank the astonishing diplomacy of the President of the United States.—Rochester "Post-Express."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## CONSIDER GRIEF, NOT GLORY.

Forcible intervention in Mexico would mean:

An army of 200,000 American youth at a cost of $1,000,000 a day and many lives kept in a dangerous climate probably for years.

A continuous homeward procession of physical wrecks with new blood forwarded to replace them, draining our nation's vitality.

The spread of sorrow in homes now happy, the disturbance of peaceful industry and commerce, more pension burdens, a generation fretted.

Who are calling for such a sacrifice?

The owners of property in Mexico, many of them mere gamblers on a long chance. Big interests which find in war new opportunities for public plunder. The restless, the speculative, the turbulent. And those money magnates who want a herring drawn across the trail of the American people's pursuit of privilege.

Not one of the men who are clamoring for the invasion of Mexico would be in the ranks. Those men never fight, except by proxy. You would have to do the fighting—you or your sons. The men who now clamor for war would stay home and pull chestnuts out of the fire.

Even so, it is inconceivable that the necessity for an invasion of Mexico might arise. But it hasn't come yet and itisn't in sight.—Minneapolis "News."

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Be this as it may, the case is different to-day. Not one per cent. of Americans want war with Mexico. There is no evidence that what may be called manifest destiny is impelling us to expansion southward, and if a blind obstinacy or a blundering diplomacy pushes us into war it will be a national misfortune, disaster, crime. Fate seems at times to force a great emergency on individuals or nations and, if they meet it bravely, Providence enables them to acquit themselves with credit and the end is overruled to their advantage. But where men blunder against intuition, light and leading into a mistaken course, all they get out of it of value is the lesson, and they pay a costly price for that.

A war for the right, a war imposed upon a nation by its destiny, a war which is a part of some comprehensive, unseen plan for human development, a war which helps to straighten out time's mighty tangle, adds lustre to a ruler and glorifies the people it wakens to a national consciousness. There is said to be a time for war, wars that are of God, a book of the wars of the Lord. But wars brought on a people by shortsightedness or folly against the popular intuition and desire can never exalt a nation.—Rochester "Post-Express."

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## A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY.

Paris, Dec. 3—Commenting upon President Wilson's message to Congress, "The Temps" says:

"It appears to have forgotten that Porfirio Diaz ruled with only a semblance of constitutionalism; yet he assured peace, order and prosperity in Mexico during a generation. It is only since the revolution in the name of constitutionalism was begun that Mexico has fallen into anarchy and chaos in which the constitutionalists themselves are the worse factors.

"One cannot fail to be struck by the contrast between the tranquil and studied idealism with which President Wilson follows out his Mexican policy and the brutal realities reported in even the mildest dispatches from Mexico.

"President Wilson is taking a grave responsibility in his determined efforts to overthrow Provisional President Huerta because his dictatorship is the only organized social force still existing in Mexico."

## "HUMANITY" AS MANIFESTED BY CARRANZA.

Because they could not afford to keep them, because they suspected them of being deserters from the Constitutionalist ranks, because the insurrectos needed clothes, because the captives had fought too bravely are some of the reasons given by Carranza's lieutenants for the wholesale murder of prisoners after the recent battle at Juarez.

The dispatches tell of one company of thirty men, stripped even to their shoes, so that their clothing would not be marred by bullet holes, and shot dead. The clothes, it appears, were precious. The lives worthless. The conviction of civilized nations that prisoners are to be humanely treated and their assassination is a foul blot on the commander permitting it is looked upon by these Mexicans—whom our Administration holds in high regard—as a ridiculous bit of Gringo sentimentality.

The continued successes of the followers of Carranza may uphold the contention that Huerta is unable to maintain his authority. That contention never had much force or effect anyway. But it is clear that the greater the success of "patriots" of this sort the more convincing is the evidence that they are utterly incapable of erecting a government that shall take Mexico out of the wallow of blood in which she has lain since the fall of Diaz.—San Francisco "Examiner."

## AFTER?

What reason is there to believe that Carranza will be able to bring about peace and good order in Mexico on the heels of revolution when Madero failed in times of comparative quiet, supposing Carranza to be successful in deposing Huerta?

What reason is there to believe that Villa will be the faithful coadjutor of Carranza?

What reason is there to believe that any of the other bandit chiefs will be faithful coadjutors of Carranza?

There may be a moment's rejoicing in America when Huerta falls, because we have decreed that he must fall. But to what purpose, if Huerta's fall means for Mexico nothing more than change from one scene of disorder to another?—Des Moines "Register and Leader."

## BANDITS.

As was expected there are a number of small floating bands of bandits scattered through a large part of Mexico. They care nothing for Huerta or Carranza. They are looking after their own interest. Naturally, since they have nothing, they preach the distribution of wealth and the cutting up and division of lands. They don't want to work. They want something for nothing. They are glad the country is in foment, for there is no authority now that can spare the time and men to hunt them down. They will exist until there is a settled, powerful government in Mexico. Porfirio Diaz had to deal with such bands long ago. He solved the problem by converting them into rurales. Mexico will have to go through a long system of evolution, of popular education, of interior development, before there will be no danger of the formation of bandit bands again.—Savannah "Weekly News."

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Just how our State Department figures out that the success of the rebels would bring peace to Mexico is not apparent to people familiar with conditions in Mexico. It is not even apparent just how Huerta could be replaced did he elect to resign and retire, as our government demands. The notion that Mexico can be governed along constitutional lines is an absurdity.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: In spite of all the evidence of the friendly relations cultivated by the Master of the White House toward the chief of the Mexican rebels through the ex-Rev. Dr. Hale, it is hard to realize that the President of the most cultured nation on earth is seeking the friendship of the worst class of bandits, yet such is the case, and still worse—the daily press informs us that the Administration in Washington, and even "President Wilson" himself, is inclined to view the recent acts of the Mexican rebels "with complacency," and it is common knowledge that these "recent acts" have included every violation of civilized warfare from the murder in cold blood of prisoners of war to the ravishing of defenseless women.

It is almost unbelievable that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan can view these acts "with complacency" and that the American government is nominal head of the various marauding bands that form the "constitutionalist" party, yet this remarkable declaration of the Administration's feeling in the matter was made "after" the recent carnival of cold-blooded murder in Juarez!

The idea that the friendship extended to these rebels who are responsible for every outrage known to the catalogue of crime can possibly be done in the interests of "humanitarian" principles is clearly untenable, and perhaps soon we may know the real reason when the American public tires of "watchful waiting" and demands to know the true motive for instigating bandits to devastate a helpless people. Let "Dollar Diplomacy" be condemned if it is unworthy of support by the American people, but let us hesitate to substitute "cut-throat diplomacy" by aiding and abetting Carranza and his ilk to trample the prostrate form of war-devastated Mexico.

Baltimore, Md. C. U. MUESTA.

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To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: We as a race are careless, and in such a rush most of the time that we don't stop to think until an avalanche is on us, but the average American wants to be square, and when you once can reach the better part of him he will be, to Mexico, or any one else, and the time will come when he will know, and in this city there are many now who openly denounce the methods taken in Mexico by the United States.

Very truly yours,

Kansas City, Mo. N. GRAVES.

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I wish you would explain to me and your other readers this contradiction:

The Administration and the newspapers that support it have insisted for months past that the object of the refusal to have anything to do with the Mexican Government was to discourage revolutions in Latin-American countries.

The Administration officials and the same newspapers openly express their gratification with the revolutionists in Mexico.

Does it mean that we are for revolutions when they serve our selfish interests and against them when they do not?

Then why do we talk of "morality above expediency"?

What does it mean?

PUZZLED.

---

## FROM LIND'S CHALLENGER.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I wonder if you noticed the headlines in one of the evening papers the past week. Something like this: "Lind Taking No Chances. Practically Prisoner in the American Consulate." Isn't it the truth? Wonder how the caption passed the censorship. Bet some one lost his job for letting a thing like that through. No wonder no acceptance has come to the bona fide challenge I made Mr. Lind, to go with me to Durango and Chihuahua incognito. The mess table of the Admiral's flagship is so much more congenial. And it is so easy to insult a nation from behind the protection of American marines. One can also form such an infallible opinion of conditions in the north of Mexico from the bay at Vera Cruz. Stay where you are, Mr. Lind—it's safer.

I suppose I am one of the "insignificant smaller citizens" that "important citizen" Hearst wants to protect. Funny, isn't it, that we who have lived in Mexico don't want the kind of protection William Randolph Hearst thinks good for us? Mr. Hearst has long boasted of the impartiality of his newspaper syndicate. Why does he not with the usual flare of trumpets throw open the columns of his newspapers to the opinions of those who have lived in Mexico? Why will he not be broad enough to help save a nation? Why will he not call to his offices representative Americans from Mexico and tell them frankly that the policy of the Hearst papers will be formulated from the consensus of opinion expressed at that meeting? Mr. Hearst would earn the undying gratitude of the Latin-American people. True, the Washington Administration would frown upon such a frank viewing of facts face to face. But party politics are evanescent. What if the doors were closed to your Washington correspondent, Mr. Hearst! A much larger, wholesomer, and glorious portal would be opened forthwith. The golden key to millions of affectionate hearts would be handed you. And myriads of patriotic lips would murmur benedictions on the man who was great enough to stand alone in defense of a nation beaten to the dust.

The passing of Huerta would mean the death of Mexican nationalism, and the names of those instrumental in committing the crime will go down the ages covered with lasting and merited ignominy.

Yours sincerely,

THE CHALLENGER.

New York City, Dec. 7, 1913.

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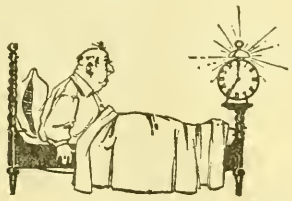

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## MORALITY.

**If you were a decent, respectable Mexican—and there are millions of them—and your sister, wife or daughter were assaulted by the savage bandits of Villa, and in your overwhelming shame, anguish and helplessness you could only raise your hands to heaven and ask God how such things can be, you would realize to the full the immorality, the criminality of those who are encouraging Villa and others of his kind in their devil's work of pillage and rapine. And you would put the blame and the responsibility on those rapacious Americans who are supplying the bandits with arms and munitions of war across the border, on the American newspapers which howl with glee at every new prospect of bandit success in Mexico, yes, and on the Washington Administration which has openly invited the co-operation of these selfsame bandits to justify its "moral" stand against the Government of Mexico.**

Morality, morality, morality, oh, what a crime is being committed in your name!

If the Southern negroes, worked up to a barbaric frenzy by ambitious and clever agitators, harping on the grievances of disfranchisement, segregation and race prejudice, should receive arms and ammunition from Mexico, financial aid from Mexican interests seeking to exploit our Southern States, as well as moral support from the President of Mexico, and thereupon should leave their work in the fields and towns to form into mobile bands to loot and murder and ravish in the mountains and unprotected towns and villages, it would almost exactly parallel the present conditions in Mexico. And such are the very conditions that our esteemed President and his equally esteemed Secretary of State are doing their best to prolong. Is that morality?

Of course it is true that back of this condition of barbarous brigandage in Mexico there are deep and vital grievances affecting the well-being and future of the masses of the people. Nobody denies this. Nobody denies that the negroes in this country have deep and vital grievances that in time, by a process of evolution, will have to be faced and dealt with for the greatest good of the greatest number. But the solution of intricate racial and economic problems takes time. We are not gods who can accomplish by fiat. We are only poor human beings who must work out our destinies in never-ending travail. Certainly the most idealistically moral intention to "satisfy the aspirations" of the masses of Mexico does not warrant the encouragement of the heinous crimes of the Villas of that unhappy land.

If the conditions described above could and should become prevalent in our Southern States, what would be the duty of the President of the United States, whatever his personal belief in the right or justice of the grievances that served as an explanation or an excuse for the lawlessness and violence? Would he not owe it to the country, to civilization, to humanity to use all the force at his command, with relentless purpose and an iron hand, to put an end to a vicious an intolerable rebellion? The very life of the nation would be at stake, and he would be a coward and a traitor who would not fight to save it. And while the President, hampered for lack of money and available forces, was striving with superhuman might to crush the beast of anarchy and hold in check the ready passions of a barbarous race, what would he feel, how would the people of the country feel, how would the world feel toward the President of a neighboring republic who, unctuously speaking moral platitudes, by his personal antagonism would encourage the forces of anarchy and seek to close the money markets of the world against our Government?

**If Huerta were the worst criminal in the world, that fact would not justify our promotion of a saturnalia of crime.**

---

We beg to call the particular attention of our readers to the incisive, perfectly logical statements of Dr. Woolsey, Professor of International Law at Yale, concerning the refusal of the Wilson Administration to recognize the provisional government of President Huerta. Dr. Woolsey's statements were published in the weekly "Independent," and we reproduce them in this issue of MEXICO. No doubt John Bassett Moore, the learned counsellor of the State Department, has long since pointed out to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan that their attitude toward the Mexican Government is indefensible in international law. It remained for Dr. Woolsey, as an equal authority on international law, to point out that the Administration's course is opposed to good usage and common sense as well.

## INSIDIOUS.

As an illustration of the insidious power of the press and the cleverness of the campaign of misrepresentation against Mexico, ask any newspaper reader whether Huerta became President before or after Madero was killed. Almost invariably the answer is "after." In discussing Mexico the uninformed always take it for granted that Huerta was the beneficiary of Madero's death. The fact is that Huerta became Provisional President of Mexico several days before Madero was killed. This is a fact perfectly well known to the officials of the Washington Administration and to the editors of newspapers, yet how carefully they help to create and intensify the impression that the death of Madero was either caused or permitted by Huerta so that he might assume the Presidential chair.

---

## "WHATEVER IT MAY BE."

Ex-President Taft asked for the country's support of the Administration's Mexican policy, "whatever that may be."

In the same speech he deplored United States intervention and pointed out what a bloody and costly undertaking it would be.

But in the opinion of many the Administration's "whatever it may be" policy is daily shaping events that may make armed invasion a necessity.

Is it not better first to find out about this "whatever it may be" policy before it plunges us into the very situation that ex-President Taft and all other far-seeing men would avoid?

Blind support is not the part of patriotism under these circumstances.

---

## IT WILL OUT.

**In order to save its face before the voters of the country the Administration has been forced to take an optimistic view of the outcome of its unprecedented and ineffectual methods of interference in Mexican internal affairs. If this view has not actually been taken in private it has always been expressed for public consumption. The White House and State Department have dished out optimism in huge platters to the newspaper correspondents, whose duty it has been to pass it along to the people of the country.**

**But the truth will out.**

---

**At last reports Bryan's conscience is still clear.**

* * *

**Transparent is the word.**

* * *

**Well, what's the matter with you? Isn't his name going down in history? And hasn't John Lind got a soft job? And mustn't the blood of Madero be avenged?**

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 19 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1913 FIVE CENTS

## LIES OF A WEEK.

Spaniards of Chihuahua were robbed and expelled for their own good.

* * *

Tampico attacked again.

* * *

New note from Washington to General Huerta.

* * *

Little ammunition left in Mexico City.

* * *

Mexico City in danger from Zapatistas.

* * *

Villa advances on Mexico City with army of 15,000 men.

* * *

Mexican foreign loan fails. Efforts of Huerta to raise money in Paris futile!

* * *

Mexico City will fall in one month!

* * *

Villa will eat his Christmas dinner in Mexico City.

* * *

Huerta will resign.

* * *

Lord Cowdray will name new Provisional President.

* * *

Huerta's men rob Americans' houses in Tampico.

* * *

Gloom in Mexico City at Christmas time.

* * *

Mexicans fire on United States troops.

* * *

Huerta's men mutiny.

* * *

Huerta's cabinet disagrees.

* * *

Huerta tottering.

* * *

Huerta defies United States.

* * *

Rebel "control" extended.

* * *

Rebels will fire on foreign ships bearing arms to Mexican Government.

* * *

Federal troops not paid and may make trouble.

* * *

And so on, and so on and so on.

# LOOKING AT THE BRIGHT SIDE

There is no cloud so black that it has not a bright side even though it may be hidden from our sight. The cloud hanging over distracted Mexico has its silver lining.

Rebellion, pillage, loot, destruction, rape, so efficiently, so successfully encouraged by the Washington Administration, are proving to be a deadly boomerang against the men who directly or indirectly are responsible for their existence.

Villa and his men defeated themselves and the "cause" which they represent when they were successful in capturing Ciudad Juarez and were allowed to take possession of Chihuahua.

No greater victories have been won by the Mexican Government and by the cause of civilization, law and order than those gained by the very success of Villa's purposes.

It may be safely predicted that if Villa and other bandit leaders are allowed to take possession of a few more northern cities the rebellion against the Huerta Government will receive a self-inflicted mortal wound.

It is sufficient to enumerate the principal causes for the prolonged life of the rebellion to perceive clearly the self-evident truth of our assertion.

These causes are twofold, one exterior and one interior. The exterior one is the support received by rebels and bandits on this side of the Rio Grande, owing to the attitude of the Washington Administration. This attitude, until now countenanced by a part of the American public, has made possible the prospering of rebel juntas in this country, the unhindered supplying of rebels and bandits with arms, munitions and money.

Public opinion has not lifted a mighty protest against such an attitude because public opinion was deceived and kept in ignorance, even by the Administration itself, as to the purposes of the so-called revolution and as to the character of its leaders.

The interior cause has been the natural apathy of Mexicans themselves and the selfishness and indifference of their wealthy class.

This is the class that, having at its disposal the greatest means to help in the restoration of peace and order, does the least to help the government to accomplish the task of restoring order and peace.

It is the class that expects from the government full protection for property and life but has not been willing to give either money or men to insure such protection.

Let us consider the present status of the exterior influence.

The killings of Ciudad Juarez within hearing and sight of the American people, the sacking of Chihuahua, the expulsion of foreigners to the American border, all these atrocities and more have suddenly opened the eyes of those Americans who had heretofore been blind to the truth. No effort on the part of the rebel juntas or on the part of the Administration, that called to its assistance men like Governor Hunt of Arizona, has succeeded in warding off the revulsion of sentiment when the truth was learned. The attempts to explain

(Continued on Next Page.)

LOOKING AT THE BRIGHT SIDE—
(Continued)

and even justify such crimes as those committed by Villa and his men have failed.

Whatever moral support the bandits devastating Mexico in the name of the Constitution have received from the people of this country will be gradually withdrawn and the bandits' friends and accomplices will be compelled to withdraw theirs. For the people of this country will not acquiesce in a policy that is making them responsible before the world for the barbarities of which Villa and other rebel leaders are guilty.

As to the inhabitants of those Mexican cities which have fallen or are likely to fall into the hands of the rebels, **their apathy and indifference will be shaken by the outrages to which they have to submit.**

The wealthy will find out that it is far better to make some personal or pecuniary sacrifice to support the government than to be the victims of loot and despoliation.

The spirit of self-preservation will finally awaken and kindle a civic spirit which has been sadly lacking in Mexico except in rare cases.

Wherever the citizens of a city are not willing to organize in self-defense, wherever they are not willing to lend their open and loyal support to the government, they can hardly blame the government for their deserved fate. A few lessons such as that received by the inhabitants of Chihuahua will perhaps be sufficient to dissipate once for all the proverbial apathy of the Mexicans. They will also serve to bring the recalcitrant rich to a realization of their duties to the country and to the government.

But there is more to the bright side of the dark cloud.

In the prolonged struggle weak and useless human elements are being eliminated. Military training is being extended. By this the race will profit.

The prolonged strife reveals to the world the wonderful vitality of Mexico. It reveals its soundness at heart. With news of war and agitation is also spread the knowledge of Mexico's wonderful resources, of its immeasurable wealth, of its potential possibilities. In other words, Mexico is being advertised all over the world.

And as a consequence we shall witness in Mexico upon the restoration of peace the most extraordinary material and social development of any modern nation.

---

As soon as Huerta disposes of Villa, the Carranza crowd will begin twittering sweet "constitutional" songs again, music to the ears of Bryan.

* * *

There's a reason.

# "GETTING HUERTA"

They are still watchfully waiting. For what? "To get Huerta." That's all. Mexico can go to the dogs. Europe can fret and fume. Latin-America can cry out in protest against the Colossus of the North, the people of the United States grow sick and tired of the whole shabby business, but the Administration must "get Huerta."

One of the arguments advanced by those who are with admirable but mistaken loyalty upholding the Administration's policy of "watchful waiting" is that the whole subject of Mexico is so complex and the mixture of good and evil so baffling in every phase that it is the part of wisdom to let events take their course until a clear way is seen out of the press of difficulties.

This argument has, on the surface, an element of truth in it, but the deeper, more abiding truth is that the Administration in the beginning did not approach and at no time since has shown any tendency to approach the Mexican situation from so open-minded and impartial an angle.

Mexico and its problems are complex, involved, baffling, even staggering, to those who would seek a prompt and lasting solution. The keenest and deepest student of Mexican affairs hesitates before suggesting any one method or plan that would solve everything.

But fools rush in where angels don't. The Administration has shown by its words and actions that before coming into power it had never made a study of Mexican conditions or problems. It resented, quite naturally from a certain viewpoint, the intrusion of the Mexican question, an inheritance from a previous Administration, into its carefully formulated and nurtured program of internal reforms. But when the matter pressed for some action, some settlement, the Administration petulantly waved it aside with the statement that under no circumstances would it recognize Huerta, thereby committing itself and tieing its hands. The reason given was that it was no moral to recognize a government "stained with blood."

From that time on the Administration dismissed curtly any suggestions that it might be mistaken either in the facts on which it based its negative policy or in the policy itself. It refused information from Americans in Mexico that might have thrown light on the increasingly complicated results and dangers of an off-hand and cocksure conclusion. It showed through more or less inspired daily reports in the public press and later in the President's special message a personal irritation and a personal vindictiveness against the Provisional President of Mexico, regardless of the consequences. It welcomed all that President Huerta's enemies did and said against him and turned a deaf ear to anything in his favor.

It has not from the beginning, in either official or semi-official utterances, indicated a constructive program in dealing with Mexican affairs, has not indicated what plans were in mind for the improvement of Mexican conditions or the solution of the problem of our relations with Mexico. Not one word in this connection, except the expression of a vague hope that after the elimination of President Huerta things might be all right. But many words of vituperation and calumny directed at the person of the ruler of a neighboring and friendly nation.

Has this been the attitude of a wise and broad-gauged Administration which has recognized the difficulties and complexities with which it has had to deal, and has used judicious care and patience in handling the situation? Has this been the attitude of a humane and far-seeing Administration seeking light and the ultimate good of the world? Has this been the attitude of an unbiased, impartial Administration, with an ambition for justice and truth above the petty prejudices of contending interests?

We think not.

We believe it has been an attitude born of misinformation, prejudice, irritation and personal antipathy, cloaked in meaningless flowery phrases, diluted with the hope, perhaps, that somehow it might turn out to be right.

And we think this is the spirit of the "watchful waiting" to-day. We think that there is not the slightest indication that the Administration is watching the course of events with the idea of learning the truth, analyzing the good and bad as they are coming to the surface, and forming its judgment of conditions and events accordingly.

The watchful waiting means only that the Administration has determined that, because it has said so, because of its unwarranted fiat, unwarranted in both international law and common justice, one man, President Huerta, "must go," and that to accomplish this purpose it will use every insidious weapon in its power.

We believe that the Administration will have to wait a very, very, very long time. Not because it is Huerta. But because so arbitrary and intolerant an attitude, by the very heart of wrong in it, will, in the natural course of human events, be revealed in all its littleness and nakedness, and will be defeated by itself.

# IS VENUSTIANO DEAD?

**Venustiano Carranza is dead. His name is only a cloak for the operations of a junta. This junta, with headquarters in Washington, is directed and advised by Captain Sherby G. Hopkins, who is also attorney for the Waters-Pierce Oil interests. Americans newspapers and news agencies have waged a campaign of lies and misrepresentations against the Huerta Government, at the behest of the American oil interests, to prevent the Huerta Government from getting money. President Wilson's efforts to do the same thing have tied civilized Mexico hand and foot while the savages of the country have burned, destroyed and outraged her.**

These were some of the most telling points of an address delivered on the evening of December 20th by Major Cassius E. Gillette, U. S. A., before a large audience in the United Engineering Societies auditorium, New York City.

Major Gillette, who, while in the Engineer Corps, exposed the Carter-Greene-Gaynor frauds in Savannah, said he had good reasons for believing that Carranza died last August 27th in the State of Tamaulipas, and that the man whom William Bayard Hale, investigator for President Wilson, was said to have seen in Nogales, was not Carranza but one who impersonated him. The speaker pointed out that while Carranza has been at various times reported by the junta as in this or that part of northern Mexico, telegrams alleged to be from Carranza have still been sent from Sonora. No one who knew Carranza in Chihuahua, of which State he was formerly governor, has been permitted to see the man in Sonora. He has always been in some other place when he was wanted.

Major Gillette said further:

**"When Latin-America realizes what President Wilson has done to Mexico under his unwarranted extension of the Monroe Doctrine, some of their artists will paint the Bird of Freedom, not as an American eagle protecting a brood of young republics, but as a big black buzzard, standing on Panama, with the tip of one wing over Sonora and the other over Terra Del Fuego, with every feather dripping beautiful words and crude petroleum."**

The speaker said that for fifty years after Mexico had gained her independence, the country was in a constant turmoil; that Diaz, a popular hero and a genius, established peace and maintained a rigorous military dictatorship under all the forms of a pure demoracy. He characterized Madero as a mentally unbalanced dreamer who committed a colossal crime when he armed the savages and put them on the war path, from which they have not returned from that day to this. Major Gillette is a warm supporter of Gen. Huerta, and he said:

"The stories of Gen. Huerta being an assassin, traitor, bandit or usurper are pure fabrications and without a grain of truth to back them up. Much of the news sent out from Mexico in regard to Huerta are malicious lies intended to injure his credit and to prevent him from borrowing money. The oil interests of America are undoubtedly the cause of this and the President of the United States is assisting them in every way possible. The arguments advanced as reasons for the ousting of Huerta have taken some various tumbles. At first it was from altruistic motives, then because Huerta had incurred debts which if recognized would take precedence over our claims for damages, and on Dec. 2nd the President gave a still lower motive, oil concessions."

The policy of the Administration, "the drifting policy," as the Major described it, must lead inevitably to intervention by the United States. There is only one thing to be done now. There must be a change of face by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. They must realize that Gen. Huerta and the educated better classes of the country alone can restore peace. Huerta must be recognized; the country must be allowed to conduct its elections in its own way, and it must be accepted that only a dictatorship, an administration of fear, can control the hordes of half savages who are now overrunning the country.

"The War Department figures for intervention for six months only were 260,000 casualties from death, disease and desertion," said Major Gillette, "$350,000,000 in cash and $800,000,000 in future pensions, enough to build another Panama Canal and all the harbors, roads, and navigable channels that the American people are now dreaming of. Under the present drifting policy intervention is inevitable, and I believe the present Administration wants it.

"In the Philippines, which are under the full control of the United States, we do not let the natives vote at all. Why should we, therefore, try to force a 'full and free' election upon Mexico, with its inevitable horrors of peon government?"

Secretary of State Bryan also came in for some criticism, the speaker declaring that it was the Secretary's policy to discredit and ignore all information and advice from people interested in Mexico, because, he said, according to the speaker, "that all they thought of was what they had lost and what they expected to lose.

"Is that the right point of view for our Foreign Affairs Department to take?" he went on. "Is not one of its functions to take proper cognizance of American losses in foreign countries?

"We believe that intervention, or control of the country by the United States would alone vastly increase our material welfare, but Mexico owns that country, and to take it just because we are big enough would not only load our country with a big problem, not its own, but would be utterly repugnant to the principles that have given us our standing among nations."

The speaker said many of the newspapers throughout the country were responsible to a great degree for the existing state of affairs. He said the policy of many of them was directed from Washington and that of many more by the oil interests.

John Lind was an estimable gentleman, he admitted, but he failed to see how a Scandinavian from the Northwest could have special knowledge of the Mexican viewpoint. He is naturally the prey of every scandalmonger and the victim of every rumor.

In conclusion the speaker said that while it is admitted that Mexico needed reforms, it is no less a fact that nothing can be done until peace is established and that the only just and feasible way to accomplish that was to recognize the Huerta Government at once. In the opinion of Major Gillette such recognition would do more to save life, lessen want, and promote prosperity in Mexico than any other act within the power of the President or Congress of the United States.

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### AT MONTERREY.

Judging by the incessant noise of firing for the best part of forty-eight hours you might have supposed that the streets after the battle would be heaped with dead. I went about very early in the morning after the insurrectos had been repulsed and saw wonderfully few. Altogether there can hardly have been more than a couple of hundred killed, counting all parts of the field. Yet in all, nearly 10,000 men were engaged, for early in the afternoon of the second day the garrison was heavily reinforced. It was magnificent to see the relief march into the city. The frightened inhabitants came out into the streets, which till then had been as empty as in dead of night, to cheer and give the soldiers all the food and cigarettes they had. I shall never forget the emotion of that hour.—H. Hamilton Fyfe, Mexico correspondent of the London "Daily Mail."

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**Read "MEXICO"**

**ONCE A WEEK**

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE**

# FROM THE FRONT

*(Special Correspondence from Mexico City to the New York "Sun.")*

The trouble is that although under the name of the Republic of Mexico a strong dictatorship endured here for a third of a century the Mexican republic is little more prepared for government by popular suffrage than when Hernando Cortez landed at Vera Cruz.

How little the submissive Indians of Mexico care for the ballot was sufficiently demonstrated when less than 20,000 votes were cast in the election by which Madero was raised to the Presidency, and by virtue of which he was recognized by the United States—20,000 votes cast by a people numbering nearly 18,000,000. Government by the exercise of the suffrage succeeds where the people would rather work and vote than fight; the Indian would rather fight than vote or work. Unqualified to govern himself, he obviously must be governed. At the same time submissive and childishly impressionable, he is easily led and as easily misled, and therefore needs a strong government which will protect him, sternly subduing or destroying those who would mislead him into lawlessness and disorder with specious appeals to his emotions.

Carranza and Villa and the rest have succeeded in extending the revolution, started by them for their own ends, until now there are bands of rebels almost everywhere in the republic, by assuring the simple people that the great republic of the north is on their side because of its love for liberty and justice, for which they are fighting, and these people gladly turn from their monotonous and ill rewarded toil to fight for those high sounding things enjoyed by their northern neighbors and which their northern neighbors (they are assured) will help them to attain for their own enjoyment.

Meanwhile the Government of Mexico, which, however evil in its origin, represents the only class intelligent enough to govern and is the only Government existing in the country, is exerting itself desperately to restore the reign of order and authority, balked in every effort by the hostility of the Washington Government, and the encouragement given by that Government to the rebels.

Intelligent persons here with knowledge of conditions, whether Americans or other foreigners, or Mexicans, cannot understand why recognition should be denied to Huerta on ethical grounds and encouragement be given to such as Francisco Villa, Genoveva de la O and Zapata, whose only apparent merit is that they are in rebellious arms against Huerta.

To those upon the ground President Wilson's policy seems to have degenerated into a personal quarrel with Huerta based on nothing but personal antipathy.

Here every one realizes, as none can in the United States, that Mexico, with all the vast American and European interests within her territory, is being ruined, and that each day of Washington's procrastination incalculably increases the danger of consequences more serious than any that could ensue upon decided action. And it is beyond the speculation of any here to guess what solution Washington awaits—certainly not the triumphant suppression of the revolution by Huerta, while upon the triumph of the rebels only confusion can ensue. With Huerta eliminated and the capital in their hands, Villa, Carranza, Blanco, Zapata and Aguilar would each develop Presidential aspirations, only to be realized by the removal of the others. Would President Wilson recognize the survivor? And if he did would the partisans and relatives of his deceased rivals accept him?

Enough has been published about Francisco (Pancho) Villa's barbarities for everyone to recognize in him an exceptionally able specimen of the frontier type, combination of **bandit, cattle thief and ruffian.**

But while Villa has in goodly measure the bad qualities of the cave man, it cannot be denied that he possesses too our primeval ancestors' faculty of getting what he wants, as witness his taking of Torreon, Juarez and Chihuahua, and last but not least his bride, quite in the fashion of the cave man.

When Villa took Torreon after resting from the arduous work of loot and massacre he went to the leading emporium where men's raiment was to be had, known as the American Clothing Company, for like most frontiersmen along the Mexican side of the Rio Grande Villa has a passion for enduing himself in American store clothes. On entering the store the rebel chieftain caught sight of the cashier and looking upon her saw that she was fair. Fresh from the rude toil of battle and war's alarms, the hero was in susceptible mood and forthwith revealed his admiration for the girl. She, however, was scornful and the hero turned to the serious business of selecting garments fit to adorn the person of a conqueror.

On his way out after making his requisitions Villa renewed yet more ardently his attentions, the girl remaining unresponsive. A few paces from the store Villa found one of his captains, whom he ordered to surround the store with a hundred picked men. Terrified at finding his store surrounded, the proprietor issued forth and tremblingly asked the captain if Gen. Villa had not received proper treatment in his store. The Captain answered that Gen. Villa had been treated all right, but that there was something he had left behind and that was to be sent to him at once, to wit, the pretty cashier.

Crying bitterly, the girl was brought forth and taken under escort to Villa's hotel. Villa shortly appeared, gorgeous in his new attire, and with the aid of a priest and the necessary civil authorities whom he had requisitioned bound to himself in holy wedlock the disconsolate girl. When Villa left Torreon to capture Juarez and Chihuahua he drove off in the handsomest carriage in the town, which he had commandeered, his bride beside him and a guard on the box beside the coachman. Those who saw the carriage start off with the couple on their romantic honeymoon say that the bride looked resigned.

**Villa, who has been doing most of the big fighting of the revolution, has come to look upon himself as the logical successor to the Presidency when Huerta shall be eliminated, and it is understood here that he has recently given Carranza to understand that he no longer recognizes that leader's chieftainship.**

## THE SAME SPIRIT.

You may be sure that the spirit that animated the reprimand to the army and navy officers who dared poke harmless fun at the Administration is the very same spirit that has animated the Administration's attitude toward the government of Mexico. It is unfortunate but not so terribly important that the Carabao diners should have been made the victims of intolerant school-room discipline, but it is a national calamity that the same frame of mind should have shaped a foreign policy that commits a hundred million people to a course fraught with the dangers of a cruel and needless war.

We do not think that there is going to be a war with Mexico. In the first place, because the people of the United States do not want it, and do not see any occasion for it. In the second place, because we confidently believe that in the absence of any more meddling by the Washington Administration President Huerta will speedily bring peace to Mexico. The Administration, if it really is desirous of avoiding war, should give thanks that at the helm of state in Mexico is a man whose courage, ability and patience have stood every known test and who is looming larger every day as the immovable buffer between Mexican nationality and anarchy. The pack of wolves who would rend and tear Mexico if the hand of Huerta were weak would make intervention imperative. Washington surely must know this and, we repeat, should thank its lucky stars that Huerta is the kind of man he has shown himself to be.

# THE UNSPEAKABLE VILLA

**By Herbert Corey**

In *Denver "Times."*

"Villa," said the man who had returned from Mexico, "is half devil and half cur. He is the most unspeakable wretch that ever straddled a horse, but he doesn't expose himself to danger if he can keep out of it. I suppose he has killed as many men with his own hands as any other man in Mexico. I doubt if half a dozen were given the chance to shoot back."

The speaker is one of the wealthiest mine owners in Mexico. He has spent his life in Spanish-American countries, and the last ten years in Mexico. Not many weeks ago his mine superintendent was called out of his house one day by Mexicans who were personally known to him—and supposed to be friendly toward him—and shot down without a word of explanation. His employer fought his way to the border with the murdered man's wife and children.

"The bandits," said he, "outnumbered the men in our escort. But most of our men were Americans and they would all fight. A Mexican bandit is unable to see any profit in getting shot. He will always avoid a fight in which he has a chance to get licked."

Villa is cut from the same card, according to the mine owner.

"My friends in New York," said he, "seem to think that Villa is a sort of leader of irregular horse—a semi-recognized guerrilla chieftain. They do not know that he is a murderer and thief—and far worse."

### Enjoying the Slaughter.

He told of one occasion in the early days of the present insurrection in Mexico when Villa captured twenty men of a band that had been badgering him. He condemned them to death in his usual way, never bothering with court-martials or other flubdubbery. Then he designated himself as the executioner of his own decree. He had the men bound, hands behind backs, but with eyes unbandaged.

"This will seem impossible to you," said the mine owner, "but Villa walked down that line of men, revolver in hand. From time to time he shot a man through the heart, and stood by him until the victim had kicked his last kick. He taunted the bound men.

"'I want you to enjoy this as I do,' he told them. Those who gave way to terror he put aside, to be shot last of all. In that way they savored to the last twinge the full agony of their position. Some of them he half encouraged to believe that he might spare them. Then he killed them, fairly licking his lips as he did so."

There was another story of Villa's garroting half a dozen men one day. For some reason he did not want to shoot. He slipped a short loop over the head of each man, thrust a stick through it and twisted. As the victim gasped for breath he let up on the pressure, so that the death agonies might be as sweetly prolonged as possible. An eye-witness told the mine owner of this series.

"When they were all dead," said the witness, "Villa was so tired he slept like a babe."

### Robs Isolated Ranchos.

"For years," said the man from Mexico, "Villa has made a practice of robbing isolated ranchos or little towns. First he killed every man he could find, both because he liked to kill and because he carries caution to an absurd excess. Then he took the women. He led his men in the excesses that followed.

"For twenty years Villa has been a bandit. In that time he has never exposed himself willingly to bullet or knife. I do not say that the man is a coward. I merely declare that fair play, as Anglo-Saxons understand it, is folly to Mexicans. They hate and fear Villa, but it has never occurred to them that he was anything but superlatively sane in lying behind a rock when he shot down his man or in approaching a man with smile, only to thrust a knife through him when his back was safely turned. They do things differently in these Latinized countries. We have a litle of that spirit in our southern mountains where feuds are decided from behind trees. There is more of it in New York's streets, where gunmen—for the most part of Latin blood—shoot at each other's backs with true Latin hysteria of aim."

A Robin Hood sort of a tradition has grown up about Villa. It has been repeatedly told that he became a bandit because an army officer insulted his sister—whereupon Villa shot the rascal down on the street and took to the hills.

"This is puerile nonsense," said the man from Mexico. "Villa's sister became the mistress of an army officer with the full consent and approbation of Villa himself and all concerned. As a matter of fact the Villa family stepped upward on the social road through this left-handed connection. A knowledge of Mexican affairs is required to appreciate the advantage the Villas made through it."

### Shot Man From Behind.

Villa was on borrowing terms with the officer until his credit was cut off. When he threatened, the officer promised him a whipping if he offended again. Whereupon Villa lay in wait for him, shot him from behind on the street, robbed the body of money and ornaments, and took to the brush. So much for the romance of the bandit's story.

## OUR FATAL MEXICAN POLICY.

There is charity—and God knows there is need of it—in the reflection that Mr. Wilson does not comprehend the extent and the depth of the misery which his fantastic illusions in Mexican affairs are imposing upon a suffering people. While he is waiting in amiable self-assurance for the working out of his amazing policy Mexico is being harried by rival and contending bands of ruffians. There is no sort of cruelty known etiher to civilized or barbaric warfare which is not practiced every day in Mexico. Assassination, murder, human torture, outrage upon women, wanton destruction of property, paralysis of industry involving multiplied forms of distress—these make the order of the day. Only some strong hand can halt this carnival of abominations; and there is no strong hand because President Wilson is enforcing a condition which nullifies every effort at pacification. By his course against Huerta, supplemented by his intrigues with Carranza, he has made a situation which binds poor Mexico hand and foot and subjects her to the scourges of sword, fire and outrage, with no immediate prospect of release. Nero, who in a spirit of sardonic malice fiddled while Rome burned, did nothing worse or more cruel than President Wilson is doing in the spirit of fire-eyed and self-satisfied beneficence. The only practical difference between the two is that between a leer and a smile. The effect is the same.

And supposing President Wilson's policy should succeed—that he should, as he probably will in time, drive Huerta from Mexico—then what is to happen? Carranza is no whit a better man than Huerta and he lacks Huerta's basis of authority. Furthermore he is at the head of forces both savage and rapacious, without really commanding them. The incidents of every day exhibit the fact that he is powerless to restrain his men, even if he were disposed to do so. Villa and Zapata, other factional leaders, are mere bandits, for years active in the leadership of gangs of murderers and robbers. From which of these—assuming that his influence might decide between them—could President Wilson hope to get less cruel, more wise, less selfish, more humane treatment for prostrate Mexico than Huerta? What assurance has he that with Huerta out of the way there would follow a condition more favorable to humanity and peace?

It is the opinion of those having first-hand knowledge of conditions that the removal of Huerta would mean nothing more nor less than elimination of at once the strongest and most restrained factor in a bad situation. It would leave the country subject to the contentions of rival bandit leaders and bandit armies. It would still further confound a cruel and devastating confusion. The reign of terror maintained in every district under the armed forces of rebellion would be spread over the whole country. And who will doubt that this would mean such wholesale destruction of property, such a deluge of blood, as recent times in any country have hardly witnessed?

The logic of such a situation, plus urgencies which would certainly come from other countries having interests in Mexico—and who with incredulity and a contempt poorly concealed have waited upon our policy—would force intervention upon us. We could not avoid military occupation of Mexcio; and military occupation, however justified or justifiable, is war. The very things which Mr. Wilson has pledged the United States not to do would have to be done. Having neutralized or driven forth the one man prob-

ably capable of commanding the situation, we should have to step in and make peace. There would be no other way. Europe would demand it under penalty of nullifying our Monroe Doctrine. We would be compelled therefore to take marching orders from Europe.

In the meantime we can but suspect that there is storing up for us a grievous day when we shall be called upon to answer to the owners of destroyed property in Mexico. **The United States, by staying the hand of Huerta and intriguing with Carranza, is making itself responsible for the continued chaos in Mexico.** It is to be noted that the British government has on several occasions taken note of this fact. Ultimately there will arise a multitude of claimants—English, French, German, Dutch, and what not—for property destroyed. Their demands will be made, not without reason, upon the United States for restoration or recompense. The account will be prodigious, and in the end, we suspect, we will have to pay it.—San Francisco "Argonaut."

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### THE INSINCERITY OF IT.

Arms and ammunition are carried across the border with comparative impunity while most of the United States troops who are available to prevent the smuggling are concentrated in a camp at Texas City, inactive, both officers and men disgruntled. If these forces were really used to stop the transportation of munitions of war across the border, they would be better satisfied, revolution in Northern Mexico would lose its greatest resource and the Administration would convince the world that it is sincere in wishing peace in Mexico. It is very hard to convince anybody that you wish well to the man whom you supply with a loaded revolver when he has shown a suicidal tendency.

Wililam Alden Smith, of Michigan, is head of a Senate investigating committee that, following the Madero revolution, took voluminous testimony as to the relations existing between the revolutionists and American Big Business, especially the oil interests. Senator Smith and his colleagues months ago presented their report to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and expected that it would be made public. Senator Bacon, chairman of the committee, and a spokesman of the Administration, has scrupulously withheld the report from the public's eyes. It is securely pigeonholed and will probably remain pigeonholed for a long time. Is it possible that the publication of the report at this time would embarass the Administration in its efforts to convince the people that morality and not business expediency has dictated its Mexican meddling? If the Administration were sincere in its protestations it would let the people read that report which Senator Bacon is so carefully secreting.

# LEST WE FORGET

Some assert the troubles with Mexico and in Mexico have been caused by Bryan's crude diplomacy.

* * *

The well-informed agree as to the CRUDITY but they substitute PETROLEUM for diplomacy.

* * *

From the championship of the Prince of Peace to the championship of the King of Crude Oil is quite a fall.

* * *

Decensus averno facilis est.

* * *

The buzzards of morality are still hovering over Mexico in watchful waiting.

* * *

The monumental crime of modern times.

* * *

In words the Administration is the friend, nay, the champion of liberty in Mexico. In action and in inaction it is the friend, nay, the champion of savagery—pillage, murder and rape.

* * *

But the tremendous responsibility seems to weigh lightly on the guttapercha consciences.

* * *

They "view with complacency."

* * *

Meanwhile the history of a crime against civilization is daily being written. And history will accuse the Washington Administration as the perpetrator.

* * *

Or the catspaw—just as bad.

* * *

It is more and more obvious from day to day that if Huerta crumbles, as the President in his omniscience prophesied, then Mexico as a nation crumbles.

* * *

Is that what the buzzards want?

* * *

It is a monstrous thought—but what else can you think?

* * *

Has the Administration or any responsible person suggested either how the elimination of President Huerta will better conditions in Mexico or what practical constructive purposes are to follow his getting out?

* * *

Is the bandti Villa to take up the reins of government? Or the gentle Genovevio de la O? Or the angelic Zapata? Or the junta that operates under the name of Carranza? Is there any assurance that any one of these or a dozen other ambitious leaders would submit to any government?

* * *

And can Huerta be ousted except by force? And we have refused to recognize him because he was not elected at a "fair and free election."

Would we recognize his revolutionary successor?

* * *

Would the followers of the present government, including the army, submit to a United States-made ouster of Huerta?

* * *

Then how, in the name of all that is sane, how can we justify our watchful waiting for Huerta to crumble?

* * *

Unless we want to turn Mexico into a shambles.

* * *

Is that what the Administration wants? Is that what you want, Mr. Bryan?

* * *

Well, whether you want it or not, that is what you are in the way of doing.

* * *

The Administration has encouraged bloody rebellion in Mexico and has solemnly announced that it is opposed to revolution and blood-stained governments.

* * *

If that is not insanity, it is criminal hypocrisy. If not hypocrisy, it is deliberate malice.

* * *

A child can see that.

* * *

Has the Administration helped Mexico? The condition of the country today is an answer to that.

* * *

Has the Administration helped the people of Mexico? It has encouraged the incendiaries who have fired the inherited savagery of its lowest elements and these are seeking to bring the whole people down to their level.

* * *

It has encouraged a warfare between barbarism and civilization and ranged itself on the side of barbarism.

* * *

Has the Administration helped the position and the prestige of the United States? It has made the United States the laughing-stock. of Europe and brought into new life a Latin-American distrust that may take a generation to overcome.

* * *

Has the Administration helped anything or anybody in the whole Mexican muddle except the group of Maderists who, under the able direction of the well-known Waters-Pierce attorney, Captain Sherby Hopkins, have cleverly intrigued the Administration into a position that is worth millions—to them?

* * *

Crude petroleum, again.

* * *

It always comes back to that.

# BRYAN'S FRIENDS

## SPANISH NUNS AND PRIESTS ARE DRIVEN OUT BY HUERTA.

El Paso, Dec. 13.—With only enough clothes to cover their backs and a few cherished belongings tied in handkerchiefs, 350 Spanish residents of Chihuahua arrived at Juarez this morning on a special train, being driven out of the capital by General Pancho Villa, who threatened to execute all Spaniards he found in the city after to-morrow.

The priests and nuns bring a tale of revolting cruelty by soldiers that coming from any other source would scarcely be believed.

Among the refugees who arrived were nuns, priests and little children.

The refugees state that Villa has threatened to execute all Spanish residents of Mexico and that men, women and little children, fearing his vengeance, are fleeing to the hills leaving all their belongings behind.

Those who arrived to-day abandoned property valued at more than $2,000,000.

Since his troops took Chihuahua General Pancho Villa has had more than a half hundred persons executed, many of them wealthy Spanish and Mexican residents of that city, according to a statement made this noon by one of the Catholic priests who is now at the Hotel Dieu.

The priest said the rebel general had the priests thrown in jail and threatened to execute them if they did not pay him $5,000 ransom. They did not have this sum, but compromised by giving him all they had.

The Sisters of Charity are also said to have been mistreated by the rebel soldiers. According to the Catholic priests many of them were in rags when they arrived.

They were not permitted to bring any of their belongings or church fixtures with them.

One of the sisters of charity who arrived with the refugees stated that when the train was ready to pull out of the Chihuahua yards General Villa walked through the coaches with his bodyguard and with drawn revolvers threatened to kill all Spanish citizens who returned to Mexico during the time he was in control of that city.—New York "American."

## PRISONERS BUTCHERED BY MEXICAN REBELS.

Civilized people everywhere are shocked at the reports coming from Mexico that the Constitutionalists are killing the prisoners falling into their hands. Not only this, but it is said that in numerous instances the prisoners have been brutally butchered. They are made to dig their own graves and after completing the work they are shot down like dogs. This should be stopped.—Montgomery (Ala.) "Journal."

Dictator Villa seems to have lost his head entirely, if the reports coming from Mexico are to be trusted. This bandit has usurped supreme power, and as he knows nothing about international obligations or the customs of civilized governments, he is acting in a high-handed manner that must eventually bring down upon him a crushing defeat.—Memphis "News-Scimitar."

## THE ADMINISTRATION'S WORDS.

We shall frown upon revolution in Latin-American countries.

We are the champions of constitutional liberty.

We want a free and fair election in Mexico.

We are against the highbinder methods of the Trusts.

We are the sincere friends of peace.

We put morality above expediency.

## THE ADMINISTRATION'S ACTS.

It invites and encourages revolution in Mexico.

It has made possible the atrocious lawlessness of Villa.

It presumes to dictate who shall not be candidates.

It uses against Mexico the Trusts' favorite weapon—financial starvation.

It "views with complacency" the barbarous warfare of Villa.

It finds it expedient to condone the immorality of the Mexican bandits.

## THE NEW ORDER OF LATIN-AMERICAN "DIPLOMATS."

Doubtless John Hay prided himself more upon his achievement in making the beginning of a real diplomatic service than upon any of his specific triumphs in diplomacy, notable as several of these were. And yet an Administration of reckless spoils grabbing has succeeded in destroying in a few months what he and his successors had been four administrations in building up.

Every man without exception that his predecessors have found worthy of promotion he has found worthy only of dismissal from the service to make room for a Bryanite "fresh from the people," to use a favorite phrase of his. For this barbarous proceeding the President himself must take his share of the responsibility.

We have already suggested, as the internal evidence itself suggests, that the President has reserved Europe for himself and given this hemisphere for the "loot" of his Secretary of State.

Indeed, the President's selection, if it was the President's, of a special envoy to Mexico in the person of Mr. John Lind, was nearly as absurd as the best of Mr. Bryan's selections for Latin America. Mr. Lind might conceivably have made a creditable representative to a Scandinavian country. It is only as an envoy to a Spanish speaking country that he is absurd. When President Polk had occasion to select a special emissary to Mexico, in a situation as delicate as that which Mr. Lind was sent to Mexico to compose, he chose John Slidell, who was recommended not only by his general reputation for discretion but by his special qualification of a command of Spanish. Of the present President's unofficial emissary to Mexico it is unnecessary to speak, since Dr. William Bayard Hale has just been "feelingly reminded" by a "Constitutionalist" leader that he has no credentials and no status.

The Bryanites have arrived and begun to operate in Latin America with the results that might have been expected. At least one considerable scandal has already ensued in the Caribbean. It was at a South American capital that the dismissed predecessor of Mr. Bryan's "man fresh from the people" informed his successor that, inasmuch as he himself had taken his official farewell, the incoming Minister would have to present his own credentials to the President, but was dissuaded by the piteous appeal of Mr. Bryan's man not to forsake him in his hour of bitter need and leave him to tackle the President when he did not know the President's "lingo." It was also at a South American capital that an American who had business with the President asked him what he thought of the new American Minister, and received the diplomatic response: "The same as you do." In fact, Mr. Bryan is furnishing the South American capitals with American representatives who, if he tells them to deliver a message to the Presidents or the Foreign Secretaries of the country to which they are accredited will be utterly unable to do so in speech or in writing. They will remain so long as they are suffered to remain, at worst scandals, at best jokes, jokes to the officials with whom they have to deal, jokes to their diplomatic colleagues, contributing to the gayety of other nations and to the shame and disgrace of their own.

It is this miserable state of things that Mr. Bryan has what can only be called the impudence of justifying to the correspondent of the "Evening Post" as an advance upon the state of things which it has supplanted and of pretending that the motive to it has been a desire to improve the diplomatic service. A more brazenly and shamelessly false pretence was never made. President Wilson must groan in spirit when he considers, if he considers, that he must carry such a burden as Mr. Bryan for three years to come.—New York "Sun."

# NAILING THEM

We do not see why the "Evening Post" should have taken such pains in trying to persuade the American public that President Wilson's reprimand to the Carabaos was not due to a lack of sense of humor and that the Administration is not thin-skinned.

Does any one really doubt the happy possession of a keen sense of humor on the part of the Administration? We think not.

That humor may at times be a little grim, but it is there.

Has not the Administration made clear to the people that its attitude toward Mexico is nothing but a consequence of the declaration made last March that it would look with disfavor upon any Latin-American Government which might ascend to power by force of arms?

And has it not made it clear that its opposition to the Huerta Government and its open support of the Villas and their like is based on moral grounds? And has it not asserted that the attempt to establish a financial blockade around the Mexican Government and to ruin Mexico is "moral suasion"?

How in the name of heaven can any one doubt the Administration's sense of humor?

## THE PHELPS-DODGE CASE.

PHOENIX, Arizona.—After ten days of legal activities, during which the merits of the case were thoroughly tested, the jury selected to bear the evidence returned to-day a verdict acquitting the Phelps-Dodge Mercantile Company, the Douglas Hardware Company, W. H. Brophy and F. E. Coles of the charge of conspiracy in transporting arms and ammunition across the international border into Mexico. The verdict was in accordance with the instructions of Judge Sawtelle, who told the jury that the Government had not sustained the charges against the defendants.

The evidence only showed that a sale of ammunition had been made to parties who were buying for the rebel forces in Mexico. It was shown that the Douglas Hardware Company had sold ammunition to the same parties who had bought from the Phelps-Dodge Company, delivery being made in Bisbee.

Of course there is a broad distinction between selling ammunition for the rebel forces and conspiracy to export the goods to Mexico. Of course. It is too bad, though, that the company of President Wilson's friend and adviser, Cleveland H. Dodge, should be mixed up in a case like this, in view of his vast Mexican holdings.

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

Paul Pendleton, mind reader, is given a column interview in the Tucson "Star," in which he declares that thought, if directed by a million people, would drive Huerta from Mexico, or cause a stone wall or even the Pyramids to fall.—Bisbee (Ariz.) "Review."

Paul, look out for a reprimand. You are stealing Washington's thunder. The Administration would not stop at the Pyramids, though. The heavens themselves would present few difficulties if that colossal mind wanted them to fall.

## OIL FUEL IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

British service journals regard the coming substitution in the royal navy of oil for coal fuel as a foregone conclusion. * * *

Apart from a purely naval aspect the question possesses an especial interest for us at this moment if, as reported, the Admiralty has been successful in placing large contracts with producers in Mexico. The newest British destroyers and the latest light cruisers and five battleships—the new "fast wing"—are designed for its exclusive use. Disturbed conditions in Mexico will be sure to affect the supply and proposed great storage, and the consequence of this can never be absent from our calculations.—New York "Herald."

The New York "Herald" is greatly to be commended for its frankness. It was time that a newspaper of international fame like the "Herald" should at last come out in the open and state clearly the motives which have actuated the American press in its support of lawlessness and disorder in Mexico.

No longer can the "Herald," at least, be accused of hypocrisy. The publishing of distorted truths, the launching of false news, the facility with which its columns have been open to the Hopkins-managed junta in Washington are now well understood. The "Herald's" policy (and, we infer, that of other newspapers) will no longer be interpreted as being dictated by an unbounded love for liberty in Mexico.

The support of barbarism and the opposition to the Mexican Government is now explained and justified by the "Herald's" own frank and naive words: "Disturbed conditions in Mexico will be sure to affect the supply and proposed great storage (of oil for the British navy) and the consequence of this can never be absent from our calculations."

Now everything is quite clear, isn't it?

Much of the excitement in Mexico has resulted from poorly substantiated reports. Mere rumors have had the effect of inflaming the imaginations of the people until they were prepared to believe almost anything. A late instance is the alarm of a few days ago over the threatened attack on the oil industry in the vicinity of Tuxpam. Word comes now from the Constitutionalists that they have had no thought of attempting anything of the sort. Another big scare over nothing. If the newspaper men in Mexico would stop hunting for sensations they would help the situation immensely.—Raleigh (N. C.) "News and Observer," Secretary Daniels' paper.

If the Administration, of which Secretary Daniels is so able an official, would stop expressing "gratification" and "complacency" at every report of bandit depredations in Mexico, it is quite possible that the newspaper men here would not find them such good "copy."

London, Tuesday.—Armed with General Carranza's threat to sink foreign vessels carrying munitions of war intended for the provisional government of General Huerta, Miguel Covarrubias, one-time Mexican Minister to Russia and now confidential agent in London of the Mexican revolutionists, appeared at the office of the secretary of Lloyd's Maritime Insurance Agency this evening and formally deposited the pronunciamento of the Mexican constitutionalist leader. The secretary of Lloyds posted the warning on the notice boards, where it attracted the attention of the underwriters.—New York "Herald."

Why did the "Herald" suppress that part of the cable from London which said that the underwriters read the notice with amusement?

It is true that despatches from Mexico City are usually padded by the telegraph editor in the newspaper offices, yet it is also true that correspondents in Mexico City are free to send any news or supposed news they please.

Any one familiar with Mexico City—the greatest rumor-manufacturing place in the world—can easily see every day in the dispatches from that capital that most of the stuff sent is picked up in the streets, in the bar-rooms and in the American Club. We have been correspondents in Mexico City and we know the rose by its color and the fish by its smell.

* * *

## MEXICAN NOTES.

Telegraphic communication has been restored between Ameca, Mexico, and Huauchinango, Puebla; Zacapoaxtia and Cuetzalan, Puebla; Puente de Ixtla and Iguala, Cuautla and Yautepec, with the office at Tlatlauqui, Morelos. This is the section in which Zapatista "control" has been reported in the American newspapers.

* * *

A counter revolution in favor of the Federal government has started in Sinaloa, under the leadership of the Rubi brothers. Concordia, the principal town of the district of that name, has been recaptured from the rebels, and operations are being directed to retake the important mineral district of Panuco. The greater part of the Sinaloa district also has been retaken by these men, working in conjunction with the Federals.

* * *

Calixto Contreras, the principal rebel leader in Durango, has declared that he is neither Carrancista, Maytorenista, nor Villista, nor is he in arms against the Federal government, but had revolted against the state administration. The rebel bands throughout this state are reported operating independently of each other, devoting their principal attention to robbery.

* * *

Eusebio Vasquez, called the terror of the Malitzi, has been captured at San Taldeo, Tlaxcala, by the expeditionary force under Major Francisco Legaspi.

## RIO PAPER ATTACKS WILSON POLICY.

(By Mexican Cable to the N. Y. "Herald.")

Rio Janeiro, via Galveston, Texas, Tuesday.—The newspaper "Noite," commenting on the Mexican question, again recommends that the government combat the imperialistic policy of the United States as being a danger to the whole of Latin America.

Manuel Ugarte wrote to Luis Gomez approving the idea of forming a corps of Latin-American volunteers to help Mexico in case of American invasion.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## ANOTHER SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

It begins to be apparent that Carranza, the constitutionalist leader, has no control over affairs, and little influence, if any, with the other rebel leaders who are holding the Northern provinces down. He was unable or unwilling to come to an understanding with Personal Representative Hale, but perhaps that matters little in view of the fact that the rebel chief has no real power. The half-breed bandit Villa appears just now to be the dominant personality among the rebels. * * * For years a hunted outlaw and fugitive from justice he now calls himself "General" Villa, has a bigger following than that with which Madero overthrew Diaz, and is in absolute control of Chihuahua, the largest and one of the richest Mexican states.

**Villa is an ignorant, vicious brute, half Indian and half beast—"Pancho, the tiger," he is commonly called—and Huerta and Diaz are haloed saints in comparison.** So atrocious and inhuman has been his treatment of captured towns, and he boasts so insolently of his intention to dispose of all foreigners as soon as he is done with the Spaniards, that the department of state at Washington may be wondering if it did not "put its money on the wrong horse," to use a famous diplomatic phrase.

Secretary Bryan has sent a personal representative to humanize the bandit and soften his heart, by informing him that "his murders will create a painful impression in the United States" and are likely to be criticized as at variance with the principles for which the constitutionalists are supposed to be fighting. It will thus be seen that Mr. Bryan's heart is in the right place. **If any organ is out of order it is his head.** Conceivedly this third personal representative may be quite as successful as Lind and Hale in getting back alive; especially if he has had the forethought to take with him a copy of the lecture on "The Prince of Peace." That might be effective to soften the heart of the swaggering ruffian, and if the envoy insisted on reading it to him every day, even that case-hardened cutthroat might be brought to his knees.

What Mexico needs is a resolute ruler who will enforce order with a firm, strong hand, stamping out anarchy as Diaz did by any means, legal or illegal, at command. **Huerta would have done this had not Washington checkmated him financially and hampered him in every possible way for the last ten months. The numberless lives and the millions of property which have since then been destroyed will be charged up by the Mexicans to the good man with an impracticable theory who has unwarrantably interfered in their internal affairs**

## RAVAGED MEXICO.

The bloodthirstiness of the so-called Constitutionalists in Mexico exceeds even their greed for gold and their contempt for the most primitive principles which the rules of civilization have enforced for a century. It is exceeded only by the practices of the Turks who were accustomed to put whole villages to the sword, the savage soldiery through whose monstrous barbarities a former Sultan earned the title of Abdul the Damned.

The notorious "Pancho" Villa did not kill all the people whom he found in Chihuahua when he entered that unhappy town a short time ago. According to the reports, he wreaked his wrath on only a few score as an example of what any "Federal" or Federal sympathizer who fell into his hands might expect, and he permitted several hundred refugees of various nationalities to leave for the border with what they could carry on their backs, adding as evidence of good faith that so far as the Spaniards were concerned he would kill them all if they were not out of the country in ten days. In the meantime all the property, public and private, of the city has been confiscated by this illiterate ex-bandit who has proclaimed himself absolute dictator there, and a reign of terror now prevails in the devoted place.

It was the same when the rebels took Durango. It was the same in Juarez. It is the same in and about Tampico to-day, where Admiral Fletcher saw as many as twenty-five corpses swinging from the telegraph poles in portions of that city temporarily captured by the rebels. **Wherever in Mexico there are rebel forces anarchy reigns and slaughter goes on unchecked.** There is no longer even a pretense of respecting the rights and property of foreigners Even their lives are no longer safe.

It is easy here on this side of the Rio Grande to shrug one's shoulders and say that it is a family quarrel and none of our business. But this wanton ravaging of their own property by men who have shown themselves to be worse than beasts is a spectacle which shocks the civilized world.—Philadelphia "Press."

## IN THE INTEREST OF WALL STREET.

Every movement of President Wilson in Mexico has been in the interest—seemingly solely—of great Wall Street financial interests. "The Republic" is not disposed to blame those interests for seeking to protect themselves from the encroachments of foreign financial interests in Mexico and Central America, but it feels justified in exposing President Wilson's Pecksniffian and hypocritical attempt to hide his real purpose behind platitudinous preachments about constitutional rights, civil liberty, etc. The New York "Herald" and "Sun" were vigorous at first in demanding recognition of the Huerta Government, but since the real purpose of Great Britain in Mexico and Central America has been disclosed, they are both now violent in the demand for the removal of Huerta.—Texas "Republic."

Professor Wilson's idiotic policy is bearing fruit. Had he recognized Huerta, or had he pursued a dignified and proper course of non-interference in the internal affairs of Mexico, that distracted country would be at comparative peace to-day, and posterity as well as the impartial historian will hold Wilson as the responsible party for much of the bloodshed and devastation wreaked upon the unfortunate country since the death of Madero.

And while millions starve and perish, the pedantic Professor, with unctuous hypocrisy, glibly sends forth perfunctory platitudes and delivers himself of pharasaical cant upon the beatitudes—"Peace and Brotherly Love."—Texas "Republic."

## WILSON AND CARRANZA.

President Wilson has become a partisan of Carranza and is seeking to aid him. So far as anybody can make out there is no reason for this favoritism—if we except his hatred of Huerta—beyond the fact that Carranza with subtle judgment has chosen the name of "constitutionalist" for his faction. A party designation so happily chosen makes appeal to an American President predisposed to estimate things by their names, and who finds it difficult to distinguish between pretensions and facts. Now for some weeks President Wilson has been giving moral support and encouragement to Carranza, and he is obviously hoping for some turn in the situation under which he may be able to contribute directly to his revolutionary efforts. The spectacle of the American government trafficking with and seeking to promote a provincial rebel whose only title of authority is his sword is not a pleasing one. **It bears all the marks of conspiracy with assumption and treason without even the merits of candor and courage. It's a mighty shabby business.**

Let us reflect a moment upon what will happen if this intrigue with Carranza shall work out successfully. It is essential first to survey the geography and to consider the interests involved. The State of Sonora, the seat of Carranza's revolutionary activities, is one of three rich Mexican states whose northern boundaries coincide with the American line for nearly two thousand miles. In soil and climate these three states of Sonoro, Chihuahua and Coahuila approximate the general conditions of the American states of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. It is a group of fine countries. Years ago American enterprise discovered this fact and has long been active there. There are in the country large American ranch interests, mining interests and oil interests; and this is only another way of saying that in each of these states there is an industriously promoted and liberally endowed "American party"—that is, a party eager for annexation under any conditions.

In each of these three states there is organized rebellion against the Huerta government and, in so far as it may be dared, rebellion against any Mexican government. Large property interests in the hands of Americans are anxious to fetch over these Mexican states into the American Union. This is why rebellion in Sonora, Chihuahua and Coahuila is always well organized and liberally financed.

Now in trafficking with Carranza President Wilson is in effect conspiring to the end of robbing Mexico. Justice to Mr. Wilson requires it to be said that in his innocence of practical affairs he doesn't understand the situation and doesn't realize the effect of what he is doing. His purpose in dickering with Carranza is to strike a blow at Huerta. **But the purpose of those in relation to whom Carranza is a mere agent and tool is that of American annexation.** And this purpose will not be put aside in respect of any scruples Mr. Wilson may cherish or on account of any pledges he has given. The success of Carranza will mean just one thing—a gigantic grab of Mexican territory by the United States. And Mr. Wilson, however he may be disposed, will be powerless to prevent it.

Long ago, under compulsion to make apology for an act of unpardonable rudeness, he confessed that his was a "one-track mind." He sees only one thing at a time. At the beginning there got into his head a quixotic view of Mexican affairs and he has not been able to get any other view. Facts and arguments make no impression upon a mind snugly disposed upon its single track. He can see neither to the left nor to the right. To a congenital narrowness he adds an academic cock-sureness. And so, because we have a theorist instead of a man of practical wisdom in the President's chair, we are rushing headling into violation of established principles and of solemn promises and into a position where the President's own professions must suffer discredit and dishonor.—San Francisco "Argonaut."

## AFTER HUERTA—VILLA?

A month ago the alternative to Huerta was Carranza. Carranza himself does not seem to be a really objectionable character. We could, then, confine our attention to getting Huerta out of office. But it is significant of Mexico's difficulties that a few victories by one of the Constitutionalist leader's lieutenants should have thrown the leader himself out of the limelight.

This morning's reports of Villa's behavior at Chihuahua are probably much exaggerated. We may doubt whether that town contains a $1,500,000 department store to be looted. But his record from Juarez on has been increasingly bad, and with it, unfortunately, his importance as a personage with whom this country might sooner or later have to deal increasingly great.

The whole American public has long been vaguely asking itself: "After Huerta, what?" and postponing the answer in favor of the sufficiency of the day's own evil. But the glimpse of the possible future we are now getting is not a pleasant one.—Washington "Times."

## THOSE MEXICAN MILITARY OPERATIONS.

Before the recent activities of the Mexican Constitutionalists began it had been asserted repeatedly that their territory included the six northern states, and the claim was extended to the borders of the Federal district. But every conquest that has been credited to them has been in those six northern states that were supposed to belong to them.

Juarez is just across the river from El Paso and farther from the City of Mexico than Boston is from Chicago. Chihuahua is about a thousand miles from the national capital. Torreon is in the extreme northern part of the State of Durango, near the boundary of the State of Chihuahua. Victoria is the capital of the State of Tamaulipas and Tampico is a port of that state. Monterrey is the capital of Nuevo Leon.

The latest news is that the Constitutionalists have been driven back from Tampico and that they have abandoned Torreon under the fire of the Federals. There have been conflicting reports concerning both Victoria and Monterrey. The conquests appear to be reduced to Juarez and Chihuahua, though there is unquestionably desultory fighting over a large area of thinly populated country, all of which lies within the territory that was "claimed" by Huerta's opponents some time since.

# PUBLIC OPINION—Continued

Carranza, the chief of the Constitutionalists, remains at Hermosillo, where his energy is devoted to issuing pronunciamentos. This city is much farther from the capital than Chihuahua. It is on the Pacific coast side of the mountains.

The principal military operations of the Constitutionalists are carried on by Francisco Villa, a brigand who is profiting by the unsettled condition of affairs, and who announced that he would be in the City of Mexico by Christmas. The tone of the dispatches generally has been much more favorable to his party than to the Federals, but he is now so clearly convicted of murder and robbery that the enthusiasm over him is likely to be short-lived. It is manifest that recognition of such cattle is impossible and that the country can never have peace until the banditti who are masquerading as patriots have received the only discipline that they can understand.—Chicago "Record-Herald."

Doubt as to the wisdom of President Wilson's policy of watchful waiting in dealing with the Mexican situation was expressed by Herbert S. Hadley, of Kansas City, former governor of Missouri, in an address before the twenty-eighth ward Republican Club of St. Louis last week.

"If the policy of the Administration is such as will prevent the calamity of war," said Mr. Hadley, "then the President can be assured that we will support him to the utmost. If through bungling diplomacy and an attempt to impose unfamiliar moral standards upon the people of Mexico and to inject ideals into their management of public affairs which they cannot comprehend, he shall bring upon us war, then for such a result the present Administration must answer. I would be unwilling to see sacrificed the life of an American boy in order to protect the oil wells and mines which may have been developed by American capital in Mexico."

## NO GENUINE CONSTITUTIONALISTS.

It is somewhat wide of the facts to say that Constitutionalists in Mexico now control about two-thirds of the area of the country. Various bands of insurrectionists, outlaws and plain bandits, differing much in degree and purpose, occupy and terrorize enough territory to make that proportion when all added together, but they have not a common purpose nor are they under a common headship. There is no assurance that they would or could work together in the event of the overthrow of the present federal government. If the future may be judged by the past, we may be sure they would not. When Madero overthrew Diaz, and by the usual military controlled election was chosen president, all the elements of insurrection did not unite with him in giving stability to his government. They will no more unite now. Each leader must be appeased with something worth while in the way of personal aggrandizement.

There are not wanting plain indications of a break between Villa and Carranza even before Huerta is overthrown. Villa is showing symptoms of desiring to become the figure head of the revolution, and the chief dispenser of patronage and wielder of power, and to relegate Carranza to a secondary place, if not to eliminate him entirely. Other rebel leaders are likely to develop like personal ambitions. There is nothing hopeful in the situation whatever, and there is almost a certainty that the fall of Huerta, and the success of the inharmonious and disconnected insurrections, would create a situation even more difficult to be met by the United States than any that has existed since the first outbreak against the Diaz Administration.

As a result of a policy which appears to have been founded upon a determination to oust Huerta from power regardless of the consequences to Mexico herself or to our relations with that country, or the effect of such action upon other American republics, we may be called upon to take military action which the entire country desires to avoid. The approval we could not give to Huerta and his methods we could scarcely extend to Villa, Carranza and other rebel leaders. Assuming that our implacable hostility to Huerta is founded upon repugnance to his cruel, dictatorial and usurping methods, as it is and must be, we should be brought face to face with the choice between indorsement of other leaders with as black a record, or of taking the entire situation into our own hands, and setting up a government in Mexico by the bayonet, and under the color of our own election methods, however much the spirit of them might be wanting. It would be such an enlargement of our military tutelage as we should be anxious to avoid.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

## INFORMING THE "WORLD."

To the Editor of "The World":

As "The World" is the leading educator of the American public, did it ever occur to you that the people and the world at large are in total ignorance on the following points:

1. Is there an organized revolution in Mexico, or are there various bands of bandits fighting and looting in their localities?

2. What is the biography of the supposed leaders, Carranza, Villa, Urbina, Chao, Herreros? Do they recognize a cause, a common leader, and what have they done for or against their country since January, 1911, up to the present?

3. What men are there among the so-called Constitutionalists who have shown themselves capable of ruling Mexico by their ability, education and public record for the last ten years?

4. What is to prevent one man with a horse, a gallon of coal-oil and some matches from keeping a hundred miles of railway closed when there are at least five culverts and trestles, all of wood, per mile? Ten men will keep a thousand miles closed. If you can solve this last question, there will be peace in Mexico in two months. You cannot guard them, so the only way is to shoot the man. Did you ever consider that ten determined men with automobiles and nitro-glycerine could cripple transportation out of New York for several weeks by one night's work destroying bridges and tunnels?

Your help along this line will do more to restore peace and business and save lives in Mexico than any other policy.

A. D. WATTS.

Bridgetown, Barbados, Dec. 10.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Those educated Americans residing in Mexico who have an intimate knowledge of affairs in that country are profoundly convinced that the policy of President Wilson has been demonstrated to be not only erroneous but disastrous.

The present deplorable conditions and unrest in the neighboring Republic are the direct result of the unjustifiable refusal of the Administration in Washington to recognize the actual Government of Mexico. By refusing recognition to the Provisional President of Mexico the only thing that Mr. Wilson has accomplished to date has been to encourage the enemies of law and order and to continue a state of affairs fatal alike to the well-being of Mexico and to the large foreign commercial interests established in that country.

For several months President Wilson has sought means of imposing his will on Mexico and the only result of his personal activities has been the spread of the worst features of bandit warfare.

While Mr. Wilson may be perfectly sincere in his desire to promote the spread of text-book

methods of government among an alien people over whom he has no juriadiction, it is obviously a most dangerous delusion to believe that the rebels in Mexico are warring in defense of any fundamental principle, although the name "constitutionalist" tinkles so sweetly to the ears of a sentimental group of idealists in Washington. The primary object of the various armed bandits in Mexico is undoubtedly naught else but loot, and among the leaders the gratification of ambition to wield power, and it is likewise perfectly obvious that lacking aid from wthout that these rebel "movements" could be put a stop to, and peace reestablished, but such outside aid is not lacking—the Madero faction aids the petty leader, certain well-known large interests aid the Maderos, and the tendency of the Professor in the White House to idealize the rebels merely smooths the way for all the sordid game of intrigue along the border.

Policies announced as humanitarian seem to have dwindled down into a personal animosity toward the government of a friendly country at present in great distress, no word of sympathy or encouragement for the people of Mexico in their trouble, only carefully turned phrases about the origin of government, elaborate personal insults for the man at the head of the Mexican nation, and finally instead of some definite announcement of policy an entire evasion of the whole question by the establishment of the ghoulish Watchful Waiting!

C. M. T.

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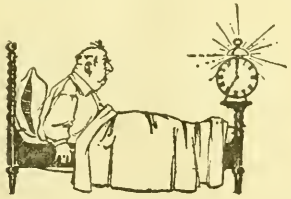
Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: In pursuance of his "policy" toward Mexico President Wilson has recently achieved several vicarious triumphs. Through the activity and energy of one Francisco Villa, a product of "constitutionalism" as interpreted by Carranza and encouraged by Washington, the city of Juarez has been captured and one hundred and fifty prisoners wantonly slain in sight of citizens of El Paso, Texas; in Torreon fourteen Spanish subjects, non-combatants, were shot down in cold blood, and finally the long list of barbaric outrages committed in Chihuahua has come to crown the work of the group of rebels who are receiving support from the United States authorities not only on the frontier but directly from Washington.

Thus the first fruits of Watchful Waiting are being harvested, and the first triumphs of the higher morality are becoming known to the American public, and perhaps now, in the full light of that "pitiless publicity" mentioned by President Wilson, that same public will begin to realize the full significance of what such a policy and such a victory means not to the people of Mexico alone but to civilization. How much longer will the American people permit the starry banner to be defiled by being made the symbol on this side of the border of the deeds of Villa, the outlawed assassin?

Baltimore, Md. M. C.

1913 WASHINGTON 1914
SUGAR BUREAU
1915 MUNSEY BUILDING WASHINGTON, D. C. 1916

Invites correspondence from all who are professionally interested in the sugar legislation.


## FEARFUL IN WASHINGTON.

Washington.—Democratic members of both houses of Congress are fearful of the outcome of President Wilson's Mexican policy. They do not know just what to make of it, and they say freely enough privately that while the morality of the President's plan is all right that the result is likely to be a continuation of political immorality in Mexico with a last condition as bad as the first. Briefly, Democrats do not seem to think the President, with a mere insistence on morality, will be able to produce stable conditions south of the Rio Grande.

It is still understood the European powers will be asked to indorse definitely Wilson's plans. The President's prime desire apparently is to get rid of Huerta and to avoid the clothing with power of any man bent on an Administration like that of the present Mexican chief. The Democratic officials are asking if the Administration's "face will be saved" by action which simply will eliminate Huerta and keep one of his immediate chiefs from office. They believe no election in Mexico will be a real election, and that any man who is chosen will be indebted to the present controlling interests for his advancement. So the reasoning is that the conditions following Wilson's morality propaganda will be those which exist today.

The State Department knows well enough that what England, France, Germany and the rest of the countries desire in Mexico is a reign of order which will enable business to go on and keep their mercantile and mining interests safe, at least temporarily. The great European powers on the surface of things of course are strong for morality, but under the surface they are strong for anything which will enable their subjects to make money out of their Mexican holdings and to go about their business without fear of being killed by a bullet intended for some Mexican who has ambition to climb. * * *

The Administration has been trying to find out if it is not possible that Mexico, if its affairs are properly directed at this time from without, can become a real republic with governmental order and business stability moving hand in hand. The reports which are received are all of a kind to give a negative answer. Confessedly most of the men who say no are those who have business interests in Mexico, and who would prefer a dictator to a president of true Democratic principles. Representatives of big business in Mexico say that the constitutional leaders are little better than bandits, and that all they want is loot, and that if one of them should get into power he would fall out with the other leaders of his kind within twenty-four hours, and that the rows would begin all over again.—Chicago "Evening Post."

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**The elimination of President Huerta seems to be the aim of the Administration in its Mexican policy. But will this mean the solution of the Mexican situation? Just what guarantee the Administration has that any other leader would be an improvement on Huerta is hard to understand.—Bridgeport (Conn.) "Standard."**

### ARBITRATION TREATY.

What such a treaty is, or could be made worth, under existing cooditions, becomes an interesting question. The persistent refusal to recognize any Government in Mexico complicates matters materially for any purposes of arbitration. Consideration of the limited possibilities in the case soon puts one abruptly up against the question of what there is for either country to arbitrate. This question inevitably opens a wider field of inquiry. What is our grievance against Mexico, so peculiarly ours, as distinguished from that of other nations whose citizenship is represented in the Mexican population? What is the bother all about, the talk of ultimatums, invasions and mobilizations? Could we enter a court of arbitration, which is essentially a court of equity, with clean hands, if showing nothing more than complaints relating to Mexican government, and not vitally affecting us, or our interests in that country? On the other hand, could the Mexican Government consent to submit to any arbitration court the question of its right to exist, under Mexican law? Mexican law is the only law which could govern the action of an arbitration court, since there is no law of nations which could possibly apply to an arbitration of our demand that the Mexican Government shall cease. We are rather pleased than otherwise at the prospect that it never can be, although confident that the same friendly and peaceful disposition which led to our making of the Mexican arbitration treaty is still our prevailing one. In the dozen arbitrating decisions rendered by The Hague Tribunal, none deals with any question at all resembling this one our diplomacy has raised for us with the government in Mexico.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."


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# "MEXICO"

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## A FATAL BLUNDER.

There is a constantly growing number of persons in this country who are convinced that in dealing with Mexico the Wilson Administration has made a fatal blunder, the only tangible result of which has been the prolongation of barbarous rebellion and the encouragement of the lawless elements of the Mexican people. These persons have compared the Administration's protestations of morality and big purposes with the actual immorality of the conditions which the Administration has helped to foster. It would be utter folly for the most ardent partisan of the Administration to contend that its attitude has been one even approaching impartiality. Its open and virulent antagonism for the Huerta Government has been as obvious as that of the Villas, Zapatas and all the other bandit leaders. Every one who knows Mexico and the Mexicans can ascribe the blunder to only three things, colossal ignorance, egotistical blindness, or pernicious advice. Every one familiar with Mexican conditions and problems knows that one or all of these has been responsible for the Administration's attitude, even though admitting that in a mentally superficial way its purpose was one of good intention or idealistic impulse.

## THE BLOOD OF A FISH.

It can hardly be believed but it is a fact that some persons claiming to be American have upheld the Administration's vulture policy of watchful waiting with the argument that it will give the Mexicans a chance to exhaust and destroy themselves, to the end that instead of a war of intervention being necessary the United States can easily absorb Mexico—peacefully.

It is almost unbelievable that any enlightened product of American civilization could propose so monstrous a national crime. The fact is that we have actually heard this "solution" of the Mexican problem suggested by a certain speaker, whose name in charity we shall not mention, at a New York club dinner at which the subject of Mexico was discussed. It must be said for the true Americanism of the other diners that the heartless, fish-blooded proposition was received in frigid silence.

The awful criminality of such a course in the name of the American people is only too apparent when it is remembered that American money and American guns, supplied by American interests, have been, with the assistance of some unpatriotic Mexicans, an important factor in the internecine strife that has devastated Mexico in the last three years.

Unfortunately on careful analysis it is at times forced on our reluctant belief that the Washington Administration is as cold-blooded and perverse as the speaker mentioned above in its policy of "watchful waiting" while the forces of greed and the forces of ignorance and barbarism loot and wreck and destroy the beautiful country on our border.

But we know that the vast majority of the American people, when they realize the true situation in Mexico and the relations between the United States and Mexico, will rise in their might of fair-minded, square-deal opinion against the enormity of any Administration's holding to so un-American an atttiude.

Therein lies the hope of Mexico.

## A SENSE OF HUMOR.

Villa and Zapata, those worthy men who owe such a debt of gratitude to the Washington Administration, have revealed a sense of humor that must have proven very edifying to their benefactors who so sedulously have endeavored to explain and even justify their actions.

Villa has declared that he had confiscated the Spaniards' property and expelled them from the country in order to protect them from the ire of the populace! Also that the property will be returned to those Spaniards who can prove that they have not been favorable in any way to the Federal Government. Villa—of course—will be the judge!

Zapata issues a proclamation announcing that after he captures Mexico City General Huerta and all his adherents will be tried by a court martial and then hanged from the palace balconies.

What is the use of a court martial if the sentence has been decided upon beforehand? Well, they are great jokers, and Bryan is their prophet!

## "REBEL BLOOD."

The desolation in Chihuahua under the bandit rule of Pancho Villa is a fairly good sample of what the fate of all Mexico would be if the forces of "Constitutionalism" should gain the upper hand. It is the peculiar faculty and the "Times" to wade merrily into the mire unspeakable crime of the Maderos and their ilk to be able to start a conflagration and to destroy, all in the high-sounding names of the Constitution and liberty, but immediately they get into power they can neither control the destructive forces they have brought into play nor inaugurate the constructive, which is the true business of responsible government. They are of "rebel blood" as the indiscreet Escudero so naively revealed recently. Their business is to tear down, not to build, and a profitable business it is. If it were not profitable they would not be in it. As they looted the public treasury during the Madero regime, so they would loot all Mexico, and so they are looting and destroying and will continue to until they find the business of looting so unprofitable on the one hand and so dangerous on the other that they will be forced to yield to the forces of law and order. That this happy day for Mexico seems to many far in the future is due more than anything else to the efforts of the Washington Administration, enamored of the name of "Constitutionalist," to help the looters in their career of destruction.

## DEGRADING.

In our issue of September 27th we rendered a just tribute to the fairness and honesty of the El Paso "Times" in deprecating the enormous amount of "war dope" and "Mexican rot" published in southwestern newspapers or sent out of El Paso.

We regret to be compelled now to record a newspaper "feat" of the "Times," which reveals in itself to what depth of degradation even an American newspaper can sink.

We refer to the eulogy of Pancho Villa published by the El Paso "Times" in its editorial columns. While the whole country was shocked to its innermost at the barbarities committeed by the infamous outlaw, the El Paso "Times" was upholding him as a great Mexican patriot, one of the greatest, in fact, not even excepting Juarez, and as a man worthy of the love and respect of the "Times'" readers!

It is quite unnecessary for us to comment on this disgraceful performance or to seek the motives which actuated the "Times" to cast such a blot on a supposedly civilized American press.

The fact that many El Paso merchants profited by the purchases made by Villa with stolen money could never be sufficient justification for the glorifying of a bandit whose exploits shocked even the somewhat dulled sensibility of border inhabitants.

The finger of scorn is already pointed at those Americans whose greed has made them disregard all ethics of honest business and induced them to buy stolen cattle or bullion. In this country as well as abroad they are becoming known as receivers of stolen goods.

It remained, however, for the El Paso and eulogize the thieves' chief as a great Mexican patriot!

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 20 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1914 FIVE CENTS

## DEMOCRACY OR AUTOCRACY.

"World's Work" realized the urgent necessity for making a defense of President Wilson's Mexican policy. The effort was commensurate with the necessity.

The President's apologist, even though reluctantly, acknowledges that the President's policy has not met with the American public's approval. This he attributes to the fact that the President's conceptions of the Mexican situation have not penetrated the public's mind.

Our conception of a true democracy is —perhaps erroneously—that the President of a democratic country should not adopt a policy which is neither understood nor approved by the people.

For the President of a democratic nation is supposed to be the representative of the majority of the people and the upholder of the wishes of that majority.

When there arises the necessity of explaining (not effectively as we have shown in another column) a policy and defending it on the ground that after nine months of watchful waiting the public mind has presented such a corneous cortex that the President's conceptions have been unable to penetrate it, then we say we are not living under a representative, democratic form of government.

We must be living under a more or less autocratic form of government in which the head of the nation adopts a policy first and then, for the sake of forms and peace, endeavors to explain it to a public that does not understand it.

---

John Lind to Pass Christian!

Let's hope he passes some Christian advice.

And not merely the suggestion that Protestant missionaries alone can save Mexico.

Which is Mrs. Lind's Mexican policy.

How much the more Christian to stop putting arms in the hands of the Northern bandits.

If this were done and John Lind returned to Mexico City as a duly accredited ambassador the Mexican problem would be settled in short order.

And we would make Mexico our sincere friend.

Which would not hurt us and would reassure all Latin America.

# NOT QUITE ALL ABOUT IT

The January number of "World's Work" contains a series of articles on Mexico, embraced in this modest title: "All about Mexico."

The publication of these articles is peculiarly interesting in view of the fact that before and since the appointment of its editor, Mr. Walter Page, as Ambassador to Great Britain "World's Work" has been an ardent supporter of President Wilson and the most enthusiastic exponent of his theories.

Although on the whole these articles appear to be written in a fair spirit and contain truthful statements of Mexican conditions, the straining to find justification for the President's Mexican policy is quite evident, particularly so in the first article, which purports to be an explanation of that policy. The errors of fact embodied in the other articles are doubtless due to their writers' lack of time to investigate conditions or to a careless acceptance of others' opinions, either formed hastily or maliciously expressed.

The title of the first article, by Edward G. Lowry, is: "What the President is trying to do for Mexico." Perhaps it would have been more appropriate under the circumstances if the "for" had been substituted by a "to." But no matter.

The President's apologist begins thus:

> The first item of President Wilson's Mexican policy has been: Huerta must go. That is but a preliminary detail and an incident of the larger general conception. A second item of his policy, and the ultimate end, is: The concessionaries and foreign interests must go. Not that foreign capital must leave Central America, but that it shall cease to be a dominant special interest. This policy is to apply not only to Mexico but to all the Latin-American republics to the south of us.

President Wilson has served plain notice that foreign interests and concessions are no longer to be the first consideration in the relations between the United States and the Southern republics. Material interests are to be set aside entirely. They are dominating forces to-day in most of the Latin-American republics. They have caused most of the troubles of those republics. They are at the bottom of the disorder and strife in Mexico to-day. To President Wilson it is just as intolerable that Mexico should be dominated by English oil interests or American mining interests or German commercial interests or French banking interests as it is that the United States should be dominated by these interests, or by the Standard Oil interests, or the Steel interests, or the Tobacco Trust, or any other manifestation of so-called Big Business. He has clearly set out to decrease the potency and power of these foreign interests in Mexico and, incidentally, in the adjoining Latin republics. He has lucidly stated his policy:

> "Politics," says Mr. Wilson, "is made up in just about equal parts of comprehension and sympathy. No man ought to go into politics who doesn't comprehend the task he is going to attack. He may comprehend it so completely that it daunts him, that he doubts whether his own spirit is stout enough and his own mind able enough to attempt its great undertakings, but unless he comprehend it he ought not to enter it. After he has comprehended it there should come into his mind those profound impulses of sympathy which connect him with the rest of mankind, for politics is a business of interpretation and no men are fit for it who do not see and seek more than their own advantage and interest."

"Foreign interests must go." "Material interests are to be set aside entirely. They are dominating forces to-day in most of the Latin-American Republics." True, but material interests are dominant in the United States and all over the world.

How are they to be made to go? Merely by President Wilson's words? Or is

(Continued on Next Page.)

## NOT QUITE ALL ABOUT IT---Continued

this country going to compel by force of arms or financial starvation every Latin-American Government to enter into no contract or financial arrangement with any foreign interests unless approved by the American State Department?

In any case, how are the countries mentioned to be developed without concessions to foreign capital? And we say advisedly without concessions, because, however sincere may be the sentiments of Mr. Wilson, capital will not go to those countries unless assured of higher returns in compensation for greater risk. We still fail to see how President Wilson can change by his sole "fiat" a fundamental economical law: that the return is in direct proportion to the risk.

"They (the material interests) are at the bottom of disorder and strife in Mexico to-day."

They are, and particularly the American interests opposed to Huerta and endeavoring with the assistance of the Madero family, their former ally, to restore the Madero regime, an easy instrument in their clever hands. **By opposing General Huerta Mr. Wilson is encouraging armed strife caused by these very interests which he professes to abhor.**

"To President Wilson it is just as intolerable that Mexico should be dominated by English oil interests or American mining interests or German commercial interests. * * *"

In the first place, no one is yet convinced that President Wilson was elected President of Mexico and that any domination—if it existed—need necessarily be intolerable to him.

However worthy of praise the President's intentions may be, **the right of Mexico to be a sovereign and independent State cannot be set aside.**

Secondly, we note that the President's apologist fails to mention here the domination of American oil interests, and therefore fails to mention the real cause of discord. This evidently intentional omission is very significant. As to the assertion that the President has lucidly stated his policy, as explained in the last paragraph of the foregoing quotation, we shall let our readers decide. For our part we cannot for the life of us interpret a scholastic declaration of what a politician should be as the enunciation of a Mexican policy.

But let us proceed. The author goes on to say:

President Wilson has tried at least twice and in the most public way imaginable to make clear the basic conceptions on which his Mexican policy rests. It is larger than a mere Mexican policy, it is a Latin-American policy. Dollar diplomacy has been supplanted by diplomatic welfare work, but Mr. Wilson's concepts of our duties, our responsibilities, and our opportunities with respect to Mexico and Central-American republics have not penetrated the popular intelligence.

The fundamentals, the framework, the broad, essential, and salient points of that policy are not far to seek. President Wilson has been to this juncture reticent only about details. He has not submitted to the country step by step all the plans and all the negotiations that have gone on, looking to the ousting of Huerta. President Wilson has said time and again: "Huerta must go." Why must Huerta go? Under all the precedents of international law and usage, this Government would have been justified in according him diplomatic recognition and acknowledging his headship of affairs in Mexico. President Wilson did not recognize Huerta because he is looking beyond the present. He has proclaimed a new Latin-American policy so bold, so simple, and so original that not yet is it understood. The President is seeking to put an end to revolutions in Latin-American States. As the simplest way of preventing revolutions, he is seeking to remove the root cause of most of them. What he is trying to do is to cure the revolutionary disease in Mexico and to discourage it in the Latin-American republics. Mr. Wilson is assured that he has discovered the germ that causes this revolutionary disease and his present task it to isolate that germ and then to destroy it.

**Mr. Wilson's concepts have not "penetrated the popular intelligence"—which judging by the author's statement, would appear to be very obtuse—because President Wilson's words and the practical results of his policy are so diametrically opposed that the American public cannot find in these results any proof or evidence of the vague purpose expressed in the beautiful words.**

While it is stated that the President is seeking to put an end to revolutions in Latin America the fact remains that the President's attitude has encouraged, more, fostered rebellions in Mexico.

While he is said to have discovered the germ of revolutionary disease, and his present task is said to be to isolate that germ and then destroy it, **the practical result of his policy has been to create a most fecund culture of that germ.**

The author makes a frantic effort to answer the question that every one has been asking of late: "Why must Huerta go?" and we quote again his reply:

Under all precedents of international law and usage, this Government would have been justified in according him diplomatic recognition and acknowledging his headship of affairs in Mexico. President Wilson did not recognize Huerta because he is looking beyond the present. He has proclaimed a new Latin-American policy so bold, so simple, and so original that not yet is it understood. The President is seeking to put an end to revolutions in Latin-American States. As the simplest way of preventing revolutions, he is seeking to remove the root cause of most of them. What he is trying to do is to cure the revolutionary disease in Mexico and to discourage it in the Latin-American republics. Mr. Wilson is assured that he has discovered the germ that causes this revolutionary disease and his present task is to isolate that germ and then to destroy it.

If, after reading this reply, our readers or those of "World's Work" know just exactly why Huerta should go, their power of comprehension is infinitely greater than ours.

But in this paragraph, as well as throughout the article, the truth is twisted with an ingenuity worthy of a better cause. The meaning implied is that Huerta must go because he encourages foreign interests. Of course, we all know that this is not the "real" reason why President Wilson wants Huerta to go, but supposing it were, how could his apologist explain the support given to rebels who receive money and arms from American interests?

What is the underlying cause of the present troubles in Mexico? Foreign interests and concessions. They have been at the bottom of most of the Latin-American troubles.

President Wilson and the author hit the nail on the head when they state that foreign interests are at the bottom of Latin-American troubles but they fail to explain that American interests are at the bottom of the Mexican trouble. That the opposition to General Huerta and the support to the revolutionists have come from the disinclination of General Huerta to be the instrument of those interests. That encouragement was given by the Diaz Government to European capital simply to offset the dominance which special American interests were acquiring in Mexico and to prevent the greedy absorption of the whole country's resources by these very interests. They fail to explain how the present struggle is fostered by these interests, that will let nothing stand in the way of their regaining the dominance lost through the fall of Madero.

Yet it is not to be supposed that either President Wilson or the author has lacked means to ascertain the truth.

Further on we read:

He is trying to prove to Mexicans and to Latin-Americans that the United States can do both a service that apparently they have not dreamed of doing for themselves.

And almost in the same breath:

Mr. Wilson has said, as plainly as it can be said, that while Mexican affairs are in their present posture, that the time has come when Mexico and all the Latin-American countries must be allowed to manage their own affairs and be free of the domination of foreign business interests.

If Mexico is to be allowed to manage its own affairs why then has President Wilson interfered in the affairs of that country? If not by force of arms, at least with the force which his exalted position gives him? Why is he insisting on rendering a service which is not wanted? And—what is more important—why is it that no Latin-American country, no Latin-American government, no Latin-American people has risen in grateful appreciation of the President's words?

Why is it that his Mobile declaration of policy instead has caused a recrudescence of antagonism on the part of those people and created a feeling of mistrust stronger than it ever existed before?

Is it because all Latin-Americans are as obtuse and as idiotic as the author would have us believe the American people are into whose "popular intelligence" President Wilson's concepts have not penetrated?

**Or is it because the Latin-American people perceive clearly in the words of the President a menace to their sovereignty and one more evidence of the grabbing tendency of the United States?**

(Continued on Next Page.)

## NOT QUITE ALL ABOUT IT---Continued

Mr. Lowry's article wtih so promising a title is nothing more or less than an attempt to justify the Wilson policy by using President Wilson's already well-known words.

Hence, in common with the "popular intelligence" of the American public and of the Latin-American people we are still just as much in the dark as we were before as to the real meaning of that policy. **It is too much to ask a whole continent to be contented with words. The judgment of the people is passed upon consideration of facts, not words.**

Again more words:

Could anything be more plain-spoken than his own deliberate, premeditated utterance:

"There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin-American States which I am sure they are keenly aware of. You hear of 'concessions' to foreign capitalists in Latin America. You do not hear of concessions granted to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. They are invited to make investments. The work is ours, though they are welcome to invest in it. We do not ask them to supply the capital and do the work. It is an invitation, not a privilege; and the States that are obliged, because their territory does not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and action, to grant concessions are in this condition, that foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable."

In the comparison of Mexico or some of the Central American Republics with the United States we see again that ignorance which has been so much lamented in all quarters.

"Foreign capitalists are not granted concessions but are invited to make investments in the United States."

It is true, but conditions are vastly different here. Although it would take volumes to explain in detail this difference, yet it is self-evident. Again we must repeat that the trouble in Mexico has been fostered by American interests who were checked in their monopolistic purposes by the Diaz Government, which realized that American interests were "apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable."

The author continues to quote President Wilson, this being the best means he can find in his effort to penetrate the public intelligence. Then exclaims:

The day is imminent when Mexico and the other Latin-American States will lie, to use the President's phrases, "within the main field of modern enterprise and action." The day of the opening of the Panama Canal for traffic will mark their entrance to that field. The President thus says as plainly as he can that that day should mark the emancipation of these countries from the foreign capitalists who provide the capital for exploiting and developing the natural resources of these countries. Mr. Wilson sets forth compactly the position in which the Latin-American countries will find themselves when the Isthmian waterway is an accomplished fact. "The Latin-American States which, to their disadvantage, have been off the main line, will then be on the main line." As he says, "We shall presently find that some part, at any rate, of the centre of gravity of the world has shifted."

This tremendously vital change in the whole aspect of Latin-American affairs is of immense significance to the United States. To President Wilson it means that we must prove ourselves the friends and champions of these countries to the south of us upon terms of equality and honor. We must show this friendship "by comprehending their interest whether it squares with our own interests or not." Or, as he phrases it again: "Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity, as against material interests, is the issue which we now have to face," and we "must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity." President Wilson's policy is to fight for the Mexicans the fight we have been and are fighting for ourselves, to divorce Big Business from governmental affairs. He says it himself in so many words: "We have seen material interests threaten constitutional freedom in the United States. Wherefore, we will now know how to sympathize with those in the rest of America who have to contend with such powers not only within their borders but from outside their borders also."

Beautiful, splendid words! We can only exclaim on our part, "Amen!" **But the facts?**

When the day shall come when certain American republics find themselves in the "main line," those republics will no longer find it necessary to grant concessions, or to pay subsidies for the building of railways or the development of their natural resources.

The people of the United States, in spite of their power and wealth, in spite of their higher standard of public education, are not yet emancipated from the domination of big business. **Also it is not very many years since the United States Government paid enormous subsidies for the building of transcontinental railways.**

The writer goes on to state:

President Wilson does not pretend that the present negotiations with relation to Mexican affairs are mere questions of policy and diplomacy. He expressly says that they are not questions of policy and diplomacy, but are "shot through with the principles of life." He acknowledged that it would be more convenient to recognize Huerta. To have recognized the provisional Government of Mexico would have saved all the negotiations that have gone forward, saved all the turmoil and stress and apprehension and the possibility of an armed clash, but Mr. Wilson takes the ground that he "will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so." What he is trying to do in Mexico has a meaning, a bearing, and a significance to the head of every Latin-American State.

**By the support given by his Administration to the Mexican rebels is not President Wilson condoning the iniquities of Villa, of Urbina, and others?** And these are proven iniquities, while the "iniquity" attributed to General Huerta has never been proven.

The iniquities, the unspeakable atrocities committed by rebels and bandits, received the official seal of approval from the Washington Administration when leaders of these rebels were received with official honors on board an American man-o'-war by an admiral of the United States Navy.

How will the heads of all Latin-American States interpret these facts, when they learn from the distinguished apologist that:

"What he (President Wilson) is trying to do in Mexico has a meaning, a bearing, and a significance to the head of every Latin-American State!"

Against all evidence we see repeated the feeble excuse that "there is no reason to suppose that prompt recognition of Huerta would have put an end to the chain of succession; and, "He, too, would have been killed or driven out in time as others have been killed and driven out."

**Then why the tremendous efforts of the United States Government to drive him out now?** Is there any reason to suppose that the triumph of Carranza, Villa and Zapata will put an end to the chain of succession? On this point the author is silent, of course. Yet thereon hangs the justification or the indictment of President Wilson's policy.

No fault could possibly be found with the abstract meaning of the last paragraph of this article, an article truly remarkable for its fatuity.

There will never be any peace in Latin America so long as the Presidents of those States are put into office and maintained in office by one set of concessionaries, while another set of concessionaries, being out of favor, is striving by every expedient to pull down the Government and erect another more friendly in its place.

True, gospel.

General Huerta was not put in power by a set of concessionaries. He did not take part in the revolutionary movement engineered by General Mondragon and headed by Felix Diaz. That, we believe, is conceded even by his enemies, for he was the leader of the Madero forces until the last day.

**But the concessionaries that with the fall of Madero lost their monopolistic grip, being out of favor, or rather, being incapacitated to exert supreme influence in the present government, are striving by every expedient to pull down the government and erect another more friendly in its place.**

And despite all the beautiful words we were compelled to read once more the fact remains that the most potent pulling is being done by the Wilson Administration which has decreed: "Huerta must go," and which has erected a financial blockade against that government!

---

## THOSE BRITISH MARINES IN HONDURAS.

Great Britain's action in landing marines in British Honduras to "police" the northern border adjoining Mexico need cause no excitement.

If this step has been taken to prevent aid and comfort being given Mexican revolutionists at the south it is nothing more than the United States is doing along the northern border of Mexico—at least ostensibly.—New York "Herald."

That word **ostensibly** is surcharged with significance, coming as it does from the esteemed "Herald"—so concerned that the British may get any oil wells near the Panama Canal, and so terribly overwrought with indignation that Huerta will not be dictated to by American oil interests. Ostensibly! That's a good word.

# THE FICTION FACTORY

One would think that in the Mexican situation as it really is and the larger international situation of which it forms part there would appear so much drama and interest that the newspapers would serve their readers best by serving them the truth. But for various reasons, which we have explained many times, they still carry on their merry campaign of lies, misrepresentations, and half-truths—merry to them but tragic to poor Mexico. Keeping in mind that the great object of the press campaign is to discredit the Mexican Government, both to justify the Administration's hostility and to injure Mexico's financial credit, let us review some of the highly imaginative falsehoods concocted by the correspondents, news agencies and editors since last we went to press.

Most of the false news that comes from Washington is created in the fertile and resourceful mind of Captain Sherbourne G. Hopkins, who manages the Washington junta, of Maderist and Pierce Oil affiliations. From all accounts he has the run of the State Department and, unlike so many others, has no doubts in his own mind as to what the Mexican policy of the Administration really is.

As to the reports that come from Mexico City, Minister of Foreign Affairs Moheno within the last week has had to caution the correspondents against sending out absolute falsehoods to the injury of Mexico. In justice to some of the correspondents it must be said that they are not to blame, as the cables they send are usually in skeleton and are "doctored up," distorted and twisted in the offices of their newspapers and agencies here, much to their own discomfiture. This we actually know to be the case and have letters from Mexico City correspondents to prove it. Not only that, but we have personally had New York editors, handling the Mexican "story" daily, boastfully admit to us that they have "fixed up" the Mexican news to suit the policy of their papers. "It's all in the newspaper game," they say.

As to the El Pasograms and border news generally, lying is a profession and a meal-ticket down there and some wonderful fiction writers have been developed along the Rio Grande. Munsey, take notice.

The New York "Herald" of December 23rd scareheaded this wild dream: "Huerta Said to Fear Banks are Trying to Force Him Out." We'll let it go at that, without comment.

From Washington two weird yarns were given out by Hopkins, one about the "constitutionalists" controlling more than half of the National Railways and sending a representative to deal with the New York management of the company to reorganize the lines and "arrange for credit." The only control the "constitutionalists" have of Mexican Railways is dynamite in the hands of bandits. Of course the object of this "story" was to frighten the Railways bondholders and injure the credit of the company. A little speculation in bonds may have been back of that. The other "story" was one of Federal atrocities to offset the effect of Villa's doings. There was not a fact or detail to back it up, but it was couched in bloodcurdling generalities, made out of whole cloth.

Another "story" most of the New York papers fell for was that the interest on the National Railways bonds would not be met by the Mexican Government on the first of January, despite the official statement previously of the bankers concerned that the payment had been satisfactorily provided for.

Really, there are too many of these lies to enumerate. To do so would take up more space than we care to give and dignify most of them more than they deserve.

You may remember the following and by comparing what has really happened since they were published so short a time ago you can readily see how much there was in them:

"Huerta to resign in favor of Gorostieta and go to the front to fight the Northern rebels."

"Rebels about to attack Tampico." (This one is repeated every day when nothing else can be made up on the spur of the moment.)

"Huerta hears the booming of the enemy's guns at the capital's gates!"

"Envoy de la Barra fails in his Japanese mission." He went to Japan to give the formal thanks of his country to Japan for the latter's participation in the Centennial Celebration of Mexican Independence. He was received by the Mikado and welcomed by the Japanese people. So he failed!

"Rebels in control of the oil zone!"

"Line from Tampico to San Luis Potosi cut!"

"Shortage of fuel in the capital and all railroads tied up in two days."

"Train blown up at Charcos, North of San Luis Potosi, and 150 Federals killed."

"Mazatlan and Tepic again captured."

"Many Mexican banks and commercial houses will fail before the first of the year."

"Federals desert at Guaymas."

"Zacatecas captured."

And so on.

All of which did not happen and was later denied in the same newspapers, although inconspicuously.

**You did not read, however, that the whole State of Coahuila is at present under the absolute control of the Federal Government. That the trains are running regularly between Mexico City and Laredo. That customs receipts are as high as they have ever been and that business in the South of Mexico has never been as good as it is now.**

## FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.

### By Colonel George Harvey in "North American Review" for January.

It is a cardinal principle of foreign powers, and of Great Britan particularly, to protect the persons and property of their citizens the world over. The patience which they have manifested, at our solicitation, at the devastation in Mexico is unprecedented, as an evidence of special consideration. But how long can it be maintained by any Government, however friendly? How soon will it cease to be regarded as a virtue by a powerful Opposition?

The Tory journals of England are becoming more critical daily, French newspapers are drawing sharp contrasts between the "ineffectual idealism" of our "watchful waiting" and the shocking brutalities which characterize the fighting in Mexico, and the spokesmen of Germany constantly and caustically inquire how we can justify the policy announced by the President at Mobile.

And how, in truth, can we? Because foreign investors have driven hard bargains in South America in the past, are we warranted in prohibiting the granting of concessions which presumably tend to development of resources in the future?

"What these States are going to see," declared the President, "is an emancipation from the subordination which has been inevitable to foreign enterprises. * * * I rejoice in nothing so much as in the prospect that they will now be emancipated from these conditions, and we ought to be the first to take part in assisting in that emancipation."

"It is a policy," added Secretary Bryan, "that has been substituted for Dollar Diplomacy. The foreign capitalist has too often been a disturbing factor in Latin America."

Now, what can this mean? That literally we shall forbid South American Governments to make further concessions to European capitalists? Or merely that we shall insist upon supervising the trades and fixing the terms?

Countries like Peru and Ecuador and Bolivia cannot uncover their vast resources without the use of quantities of money which they themselves do not possess. If they are not to be allowed to obtain the requisite capital from England or France or Germany upon the best terms they can obtain, where are they to get it?

Surely not from the Treasury of the United States. Not even Secretary Bryan would propose that.

From American investors, then, upon most modest terms fixed by the State Department? Hardly! Our people have never shown a disposition to embark in South American enterprises, even when offered the extraordinary inducements which attracted foreigners. Are they

(Continued on Next Page.)

### FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS—Continued.

likely now to hazard their fortunes for profits, not only prospective but restricted, in far-off lands, when billions of tested securities at home are awaiting absorption? Whence, then, is the "emancipation" by considerate lenders at easy rates to come?

Is it emancipation? Is it not enslavement? By what conceivable right or upon what fancied theory can the United States assume a suzerainty so complete and so farreaching? That is the question which some South American or European Government is bound to raise, and soon too, with respect to a definite transaction.

What will be the answer of the Administration? What can it be? Shall we, if pressed, recede from the Mobile declaration? Or shall we fight, if need be, in defense of a doctrine which is obviously untenable? In either case, how would Bolivia or Ecuador or Peru profit from such interposition in favor of "human rights, or national integrity, and opportunity as against material interests?"

We cannot but conclude that President Wilson did not perceive the ending of this extraordinary proposition when he launched its beginning. And we can but hope that contingencies likely to result in embarrassment, if not humiliation, to both the country and himself may not arise."

### NOT TOO LATE.

There is a tendency on the part of some newspapers and individuals to sigh self-complacently and, seeing only hopeless anarchy ahead in Mexico, assert that, anyhow, it's too late to recognize Huerta now.

It is not too late for recognition. But recognition is not so important in itself as that it would indicate to Mexico and to the world the intention of the Washington Administration to withdraw its support from the bandits who are terrorizing Mexico, to enforce the neutrality laws so that arms, ammunition and money could not be supplied by the American fomenters of revolution, and to keep hands off Mexico's internal affairs.

The honest enforcement of the neutrality laws alone would do more to restore peaceful conditions in Mexico than any other single factor.

That's where we are not "straight" in this Mexican situation. We rail at the conditions in Mexico which we, at least some of our respectable corporations, have helped to bring about. We rail at Huerta because he hasn't improved conditions, and we try to tie him hand and foot.

**Never has there been a case of more blatant national hypocrisy.**

**No wonder European nations question our motives.**

**No wonder Latin-American nations are suspicious.**

# WHY WE ARE PROUD

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir:—In that searching of the heart which is enjoined on all good Christians on such occasions as the opening of the New Year, I humbly suggest that we Americans have cause to be proud of our Government in general and our State Department in particular. Let me particularize:

In diplomacy we have seen the introduction of an entirely new conception of the duty of one State toward another, and that is not the customary, time-honored, universally recognized principle of international comity of which misguided text-books on international law are fond of prating, but the entirely new principle of the personal likes or dislikes of one ruler to another. To be specific, Mr. Wilson does not like Huerta; therefore we Americans must believe Huerta a villain and a scoundrel engaged in ruining his country; Mr. Wilson says so.

In the next place, we Americans should be proud of the way in which Mr. Wilson casts off the ancient trammels of an outworn system of logic. He says Huerta became president because of the assassination of Madero. As a matter of cold fact, Huerta became president before the death of Madero. To most human minds a man cannot become a thing which he already is; and, by the same token, Huerta could not become President because of Madero's death inasmuch as he was already President at that time. We Americans have just cause for pride in Mr. Wilson for emancipating himself from the shackles of logic in this masterful fashion, and a college professor, too! Princeton, Princeton, Princeton, yip, yip, hurrah!

As patriotic Americans our admiration for Mr. Wilson is further enhanced by the attitude of our Government toward our beloved cousins across the Rio Grande, our beloved friends to honor whose President our Mr. Taft crossed the border and shook hands all around. And, not to be outdone, that horrible man, Porfirio Diaz, returned the visit, passed over into American soil, where he was feasted, acclaimed and honored. And an astonished and envious world beheld these two adjacent nations fall on each other's neck and weep—in love and peace and amity. But Mr. Wilson has changed all that. Buttressed with a consciousness of his own rectitude, he issued but a short time ago these five peremptory commands:

1. Huerta must resign.

2. Huerta must not be a candidate for the Presidency.

3. The Mexican people must not vote for Huerta.

4. The Mexican Congress must not assemble.

5. The Mexican Congress must not transact business.

To be sure, no attention was paid to these ukases from Washington and the wicked world laughed at the edifying spectacle of President Huerta **avec le doigt au bout de nez** at President Wilson. Additional point was lent to the jest by the fact that Huerta ruled a weak, distracted nation of fourteen millions, most of them Indians, while Wilson ruled some 100 millions of wealthy, prosperous white people. All this tends to fortify unkind critics—coarse practical men of affairs who know Mexico by personal experience—in the belief that we are regarded by Latin-Americans as a nation of cowardly hypocrites and bluffers, soft, overgrown babies, muddle-headed theorists, slaves to a shibboleth, a treacherous friend and a contemptible foe.

But we should worry! Other—benighted—nations place at the head of Foreign Affairs their best scholars long-trained and tried in diplomatic matters under the—misguided—idea that a nation's reputation among the rest of the world is worth looking after. Not so we, who breathe the free air of the prairies. What do we do? We take from the plains—the wind-swept plains of Nebraska—a corn-fed half preacher, half country editor, thrice discredited by the voters of this country, a Chautauqua attraction who appears with yodlers and trained dogs at so much per performance—and set him at the head of the State Department—where he can do the most harm in the most conspicuous manner. We thus demonstrate to the world our complete emancipation from the silly idea that any training is necessary for the highest offices of government. A loud voice, a copious vocabulary and an itching for posing in the limelight—surely these valuable assets render a man fit for directing our relations with foreign nations. Mr. Bryan's loud voice connotes acquaintance with, say, Mexican history and character. His copious vocabulary fits him to perceive the justice and intricacy of international questions. His itching for the lecture platform—with yodlers and trained dogs—proves conclusively his sense of justice toward resident Americans in Mexico and his comprehension of the world's opinion of American diplomacy.

Hence we Americans should be proud of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bryan and our attitude toward poor distracted Mexico.

In other times it was a proud boast to call oneself a Roman citizen. With equal pride I subscribe myself.

CIVIS AMERICANUS SUM.

Chicago, 29 December, 1913.

## WAITING AND BLUNDERING.

As one who has some acquaintance with Latin-America and who in 1912 advocated the election of Wilson, may I be permitted to express a feeling—common, I fancy, to many who had the privilege of voting for him—a feeling of wonder and of amazement that in electing a President of the United States we unwittingly chose, it appears, an arbiter of morals and a political dictator for the Western Hemisphere.

To assume to criticise the course of our able, conscientious and scholarly President may be lese majeste, yet I venture a few observations.

As a mere question of good manners, not to say diplomatic etiquette, what could be less likely to secure a desired result from a proud-spirited or almost any sort of people than to dispatch an unofficial agent to demand of a nation's ruler that he step down and out? Were any influence possible in the domestic affairs of an independent nation a regular ambassador who might with absolute secrecy present suggestions of so delicate a nature might seem to have the only infinitesimal chance of success.

Precisely why our President felt called upon to interfere at all is a graver problem. True, many Americans believe that we are competent to rule the universe, that Mexico should be ours to exploit and to enrich our existing and our would-be millionaires. They hope yet to see our flag wave from pole to pole. Such, however, is not the view of the President. At least by conquest he has said we shall never again take a foot of territory. Just how he is able to speak for his successors it is difficult to understand. We may take his word for his own administration, though Latin-Americans may feel less implicit confidence, remembering our professions of altruism at the outset of the Spanish War and our subsequent taking of Porto Rico and the Philippines, in which they may fail to see our purely altruistic motives.

But where did we gain the right to dictate to other nations as to the moral character or the mode of selection of their rulers? Are we to pass judgment upon the rulers of Europe, or of America only?

The first function of government would seem to be the preservation of public order. This Huerta for some time largely secured. We insist upon a constitutionally elected President? Who was Porfirio Diaz but a dictator, whose repeated elections were a farce, although his regime, by no means free from assassinations, was long satisfactory to the majority?

Madero was constitutionally elected. What profit, with fighting in the streets of Mexico City and the slaughter of hundreds of innocent non-combatants? Any ruler strong enough to keep the peace might well be preferred. The prompt recognition of Huerta as de facto ruler, enabling him to procure the necessary funds, would probably have brought peace long ago. Is the slaughter of thousands, for which our President's course may be largely responsible, a desirable sequence to an oversensitive attitude of one or two persons? Are we certain that Villa, Zapata and Carranza are more excellent men than Huerta, who will more strictly follow the constitution, and that is the vital question?

With our own country reeking with corruption from one end to the other, despite valiant efforts here and there to clean the Augean stables, with more murders, fatal accidents and disappearances than any other civilized country on the globe, would it not be more becoming not to insist upon our own particular brand of righteousness, but to permit other nations to govern themselves after their own fashion, at least, till we can set them a better example?

Shall we drift until the calamity of Mexico becomes our own and we are involved in an expensive war with a people with whom we have no quarrel?—Annie S. Peck in Baltimore "American."

# LEST WE FORGET

Still "Watchful Waiting."

* * *

For black to become white and white black.

* * *

For the sun to rise in the West and set in the North.

* * *

For the leopard to change its spots and Bryan his "complacency."

* * *

If Huerta were everything they have said against him—and not proved—he would be an angel child in comparison with the outlaws this Administration is supporting.

* * *

"Constitutional!" Summary executions and confiscation of the property of the rich. Very, very constitutional.

* * *

The old bewhiskered gentleman Carranza was a man after Bryan's heart—he sent out such high-sounding programs of principles. But the mask was removed and back of the whiskers was Villa.

* * *

And the benevolent old gentleman condoned his atrocities—in most beautiful words.

* * *

That's one thing Huerta lacks—a flowery vocabulary.

* * *

But not a stout heart. Nor a mind that can see beneath pharasaical words.

* * *

Meanwhile Carranza is reported sojourning at Hermosillo, mountains between him and Villa. Also he has been reported dead. He might as well be as attempt to break in on Villa's little game.

* * *

The deplorable condition of brigandage in certain sections of Mexico is an obvious fact. Madero with the assistance of American Big Business made it a fact and could not check it. Huerta has striven nobly to do it against tremendous odds and if any one can succeed he is the man. But the Administration lends its moral support to the brigands and Big Business supplies the material support.

* * *

But "constitutionalism" as a force or a popular political movement is a fiction—written for the American papers by those past masters of fiction writing—Captain Sherby Hopkins and his Madero-Waters-Pierce junta in Washington.

* * *

And the newspapers swallow the fiction whole. Maybe it's because they and their readers like good fiction—maybe fiction brings a good price these days.

* * *

And back of all the fiction is the insatiable desire of American interests to control the oil fields of Mexico and the National Railways.

* * *

Competition and contest for material advantages are not criminal in themselves.

* * *

But they are criminal when they would destroy a country and its people and cloak their purpose in "morality."

* * *

Their are just two purposes behind the campaign of misrepresentation against Mexico in the press of the United States. One is to destroy the credit of the Mexican Government. The other is to create public feeling in favor of intervention.

* * *

If either succeeds the hope of the precious managers of the campaign is in the mix-up to "get their hooks in" Mexico. Oil and railways. Oil and railways. The Maderos, the Hopkins', the Carranzas, the "constitutionalists"—that's all. Oil and railways.

* * *

Does the United States want to shed its blood and sink its treasure for the purposes of such as these?

* * *

No, emphatically no. That's why they have to talk "morality," and "usurpation" and Constitution, and "foreign concessionaires," and all that buncombe intended to deceive the people.

* * *

All signs indicate that the people have not been deceived.

* * *

And they won't be.

* * *

The campaign of lies and misrepresentation could never have amounted to anything had not Bryan in the beginning been taken in as a country bumpkin is taken in by a confidence man.

* * *

He's probably been trying to justify himself ever since. We have heard of some confidence victims who come back for more after drawing their last sou from the bank.

* * *

They never learn—there's one born every minute.

# AS TO ATROCITIES

As to the atrocities that have been committed in Mexico in the last three years of strife and internal disorder, these facts must be kept in mind:

**The vast majority of the Mexican people are peaceable and have been the sufferers from rather than the perpetrators of these atrocities. They should be the recipients of our deepest sympathy rather than the indiscriminate condemnation that is heaped on the entire Mexican people for the barbarous deeds of the lowest element in the population.**

In every case where an atrocious crime has been committed, the facts and details reported, it has been the work of the bandits and brigands, so-called rebels and revolutionists.

To offset the effect of these reports on the mind of the civilized world, the political and financial interests who are fomenting and seeking to take advantage of the disorder caused by these bandits and brigands issue statements couched in general language, incapable of proof, charging that the Federals are guilty of outrages of equal barbarism. Such a statement was given out the other day by Captain Sherbourne G. Hopkins, "legal representative in Washington for the Constitutionalists," and published by many newspapers as a statement of fact. Is this fair to the law-abiding Mexican people or to the forces of law and order who are trying to prevent these very atrocities, when these statements are made without a single fact or detail to support them?

Here is an account by an eye-witness of what he saw as war correspondent with Federal troops. It is by N. C. Adossides in the New York "American."

It was late at night when we left Mapimi to march against the enemy. Many soldaderas—wives and sweethearts of the Federal privates—accompanied this march across the Durango desert. Most of these Spartan creatures were demoralized by the crushing defeats of their army, and many of them crazed by the loss of sisters or other relatives who had been taken prisoners by the rebels.

At dawn as we were emerging from a ravine we came upon fourteen female bodies hung to telegraph poles. The bodies were naked and frightfully mutilated.

"Good God!" cried Captain Taloca, an artillery officer who was sitting next to me on the gun carriage. "This kind of thing will be the finish of our country!"

A moment later a wild-eyed soldadera tried to climb the wheel of the carriage.

"Look, senores!" she shrieked at us. "They are not dead—they stare at us! Save them—save them!. Senores—we might all be hanging there with no one to save us!"

I closed my eyes to shut out the sight, but the hysterical wail of the women photographed it on my brain. Even when we had passed the dreadful spot I heard the nerve-racking screams, finally silenced by whom or what I did not know.

Violence to the Federal women is a part of the rebel plan for settling scores.

**Such atrocities and worse are constantly happening in blood-spattered Mexico, but it is the South, the territory dominated by Zapata, holds the record.**

It was a band of Zapatistas who murdered the young wife of a German engineer and hung her body in the doorway of her own home, and, not content with so much horror, waited for the husband and after a terrible scene, in which he was forced to figure, strangled him on the door step.

An American living in Mexico City and well versed in Mexican affairs told me of an encounter between a noted rebel general whom he named and a Mexican woman who was the wife of a wealthy Belgian rancher in the State of Chihuahua.

Both the Belgian and his wife were naturalized American citizens, who had been living for some years on the outskirts of the town of Santa Rosalia, where they had considerable land and cattle. The husband had a fad for fine racing horses, and was raising them on the hacienda.

The general, at that time a common mountain bandit, knew of the horses and with a few of his cowboys visited the ranch with a view of selecting for himself a steed of good blood.

The master of the ranch being away the general ordered a servant to announce his arrival to the mistress, insisting that he wished to see her in person.

Before appearing, the woman, who was exceedingly handsome, ordered the servant to hoist the American flag. The flag raised, she appeared beneath its fluttering folds.

The general saluted—not the flag, but the woman.

"With your permission, Senora, I should like to visit the ranch; especially the stables, as my men and myself are in need of good horses."

The woman, with great self-possession, informed the bandit that her husband was absent and it would not be possible to visit his property.

"Then," retorted the soldier with devilish urbanity, "would you permit me to smoke a cigarette and gaze from near at your beautiful eyes?"

She pointed to the flag.

"But you are my country-woman," insisted the general, advancing.

Unabashed, the woman covered the brigand with a pistol, an action which startled and subdued him to a state of profound apology and admiration.

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One of the greatest obstacles to the restoration of normal conditions in Mexico is the damage done to railroads by bandits. Ten men with dynamite can destroy a bridge that has taken months to build. There are about twenty thousand miles of railroad in Mexico to patrol which, especially in wild places, would require a force of men equal to the combined standing armies of the United States and Mexico. The responsibility for the destruction of railroads rests, not so much on the misguided, irresponsible criminals who do the actual work, as on those who to keep Mexico in a turmoil hire the bandit leaders and make the work of destruction profitable. And the truth is that most of the money that pays for this hire comes from the United States. **Let the report of the Senate Investigation Committee of which William Alden Smith was chairman be released for public reading by Senator Bacon, of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the source of most of Mexico's woes will be revealed to the world.**

## AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S LETTERS.

From "World's Work."

An American woman's letters from Saltillo, Mexico, form the third article of the all-embracing "All about Mexico." These letters are interesting and apparently written by an unbiased witness of events in Saltillo, the former residence of Carranza. Whatever judgment this woman expresses about events in Mexico City is based on hearsay while her opinion and statement of facts as viewed by her in Saltillo are based on first-hand information.

We have no comment to make on these letters but reproduce here some paragraphs which are, as the editor states, "a vivid portrayal of conditions":

Saltillo, March 4, 1913.

Sunday, the 23d, the Governor (Carranza) got all the troops (Maderistas) in the city, and all volunteers together in the plaza, and after a brilliant speech the whole "pueblo" (populace) was ready to follow him. He headed the march, saying he was going north * * * Since then he comes in to conferences with the business men; sends his messengers and soldiers into the city. He took all the arms and ammunition; arms from the pawnshops, too, and all the State's funds. Then one day he took 150 men from the penitentiary—took the policemen's revolvers and what horses he could from the public coaches for them. Another day he took the Federal funds—$20,000 (Mexican, equal about half that sum in gold). Then he sent in a demand for $50,000 from the merchants. When they parleyed he sent in and held up one of the banks and a hardware store, but got nothing, though they promised to pay on conditions.

(Later)

They say the bankers have given today $50,000 (pesos) to Carranza, and tomorrow the merchants will have to give.

March 6th, 7th, 8th.

Situation about the same except the Governor got $100,000 out of the merchants yesterday, and is collecting all arms from private citizens and collecting tents. It was reported 300 bandits were coming from Arteaga last night, but they did not come.

(Noon.)

Just now shots were fired, bells rang, and people began to run for the plaza. General Basquez came into the city with 450 Federal soldiers—well armed and, as the Mexicans say, took the plaza. We hope he will keep it. I suppose he will be acting-governor. Carranza and his men evidently gave Gen. B— the opportunity to enter. They say he has gone farther north after getting all the money he could out of Saltillo. We hardly think he will come back here. He may go to Cuba to form a plot to take the Presidency.

March 9th.

There is quite a story about that $100,000. Carranza's aide was left behind to get what he could after Carranza had got $50,000 out of the bank and $50,000 in other ways. This man first got all the arms he could out of private houses, then demanded the $100,000.

Friday A. M. the citizens had collected $70,000 and it seemed impossible to get more, for the rebels demanded it in paper money. So they sent a committee of four to confer with the rebel chief and

(Continued on Next Page.)

## AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S LETTERS—Continued.

ask him to accept that ($70,000), but he refused and put the committee under guard. He sent word that if the rest of the money was not forthcoming one man would be shot and the others carried off. So fifty citizens scoured the town for more money and at midnight made up the amount, and the four men were set free. In the meantime the rebel chief had taken $40,000 of the taxes collected. At one o'clock he and his men left the city. **They were in a hurry to get out because they knew General Basquez was here.** Last night about 8 o'clock General Basquez sent a detachment out to hunt up these rebels and try to get back the $140,000. Nothing has been heard from it yet. Really, it is astonishing how much Carranza got out of the town—about $1,000,000, people say. Won't the taxes soar now?

March 11th.

Really, some of the things have been dreadful, now that we know things. What I feared the most was a mob, and if General Basquez had not come as he did we would have been at the mercy of one.

March 23d.

Things here in the North look serious, and if the Central Government can't control this situation in a couple of months it will mean the downfall of the Huerta Government and a bigger revolution than ever.

May 12, 1913.

Oh, my, will this ever end! And now tension is being strained to a breaking-point by President Wilson's refusal to recognize the Huerta Government. It is bringing up again that anti-American feeling—just these last few days. I hear the young men here (upper class) talk of nothing else on the street, and talk bitterly against us.

October 4, 1913.

* * * A very dreadful thing happened near Catorce two weeks ago. The trains from here to San Luis Potosi had only been running ten days after being interrupted four months when the rebels blew up a passenger train. They placed dynamite on the track and killed all but five of the fifty composing the military escort on the train and a good many second-class passengers. Then they robbed the first-class passengers. It was horrible.

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The improvised experts who prate lightly of Mexican affairs have acquired the habit of stating that the Huerta Government is composed of elements of the old Diaz regime. That is, that the Huerta Government is a reactionary government.

This statement is often made in general terms, yet there is never a proof advanced—no names, no specified instances are ever offered as evidence to prove this contention.

The fact is that the supporters of the Diaz regime are mostly old men now, exhausted by years of work and political struggle, men who are living either in Europe or in retirement in Mexico.

Very few of them take any active part even in business. General Huerta has surrounded himself with young men who under Diaz were "yet to be." Some of them, like Minister Moheno, belonged to the opposition and spent many dreary months in jail for having opposed the old ruler.

# CONSTRUCTION WORK

Plans recently prepared by the general staff of the Mexican army for the complete reorganization of the army of the country, and submitted to President Huerta, have been approved by him. A decree has been issued by the chief magistrate, through the Department of War, ordering the reorganization of the army in accordance with the plans of the general staff.

In his decree President Huerta states that he has taken these steps in order to concentrate the command of the different divisions of the army and for the purpose of obtaining better results in military operations.

The federal army in the future will be used solely to continue the campaign against the rebels in the north, leaving the protection of the different States to the State troops that have been organized.

According to the decree of the chief magistrate the 150,000 men that will compose the army of Mexico will be distributed in six army corps, one division, and several corps of cavalry scouts.

Each of the army corps will be composed of two divisions, and these divisions will have 10,000 men each. Each division will be supplied with artillery, engineering, transportation, ambulance and other detachments.

The most experienced generals of the Mexican army will be appointed to command the different corps, while the divisions and brigades will be commanded by officers recently promoted. Military authorities here believe that this new organization will result in the success of the present campaign against the rebels, as well as in a successful defense of Mexican territory in case of a foreign war.

The decree of President Huerta, ordering the reorganization of the army is the following:

"Victoriano Huerta, ad-interim president constitutional of the United Mexican States, know ye:

"That in use of the faculties granted to the executive by the congress of the union and considering that having increased the number of the divisions of the army, and for the purpose of concentrating the command and for the better result of the operations in the regions where they are stationed and also to make more effective the action of the army, all the different detachments will be called to their respective headquarters, leaving the State troops to defend their own territory. The location of these State troops to be left to the judgment of their commanders. I have decreed the following:

"Art. 1.—The territorial military division of the republic shall be by army corps, composed of two divisions each one. When mobilizing these corps commanders are to count upon one additional composed of the State troops of their respective jurisdictions.

"Art. 2.—Each army corps on the frontiers shall have an extra division of exploring cavalry, composed of four or more regiments beside its regular cavalry allotment for each division.

"Art. 3.—The headquarters of the army corps, divisions and brigades shall be established in the places designated by the ministry of war, and according to the requirements of the service.

"Art. 4.—The army corps shall be distributed in the following order:

"First Corps.—Comprising the States of Sonora, Sinaloa and the territory of Lower California.

"Second Corps. — Comprising the States of Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

"Third Corps.—Comprising the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas.

"Fourth Corps.—Comprising the States of Jalisco, Collma, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosi, Guanajuato, Queretaro and Territory of Tepic.

"Fifth Corps.—Comprising the States of Michoacan, Mexico, Hidalgo, Morelos, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Vera Cruz and Federal District.

"Sixth Corps.—Comprising the States of Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas and Tabasco.

"Art. 5.—There shall be a division called Division of the Peninsula, comprising the States of Yucatan and Campeche and the Territory of Quintana Roo.

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## MEXICAN NAVY IS TO BE INCREASED.

The Mexican government is taking preliminary steps for increasing the strength of its navy, that at present time consists of about a half dozen of gunboats and several transports.

The naval department of the war office has been instructed to make plans for increasing of the navy. The first steps that will be taken are to establish two naval schools, one on the Pacific and another in the Gulf coast, where sailors will be turned out in a relatively short time.

Plans also are being prepared to buy several more modern vessels. It is said that the war offices shortly will ask for prices and estimates of construction in foreign countries.

The government also is planning to establish a naval base on Clipperton island, now in dispute with the French government. The government of Mexico hopes that King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, the arbiter in this case, will render a decision favorable to Mexico.

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## TRADE GOOD.

W. F. Sturges, traffic manager of the Gulf Coast Fruit and Steamship Company, who also returned on the Atlantis, has spent some four months in southern Mexico, but is now back to stay with the home office for some time. Mr. Sturges says that everywhere he has visited recently things have been quiet and that business is going on as well as any one could wish. The business of this company has increased at a rapid rate during the last few months and is very satisfactory.

Around the ports of call for the Gulf Coast Company there has been little interruption to business on account of the trouble between rebels and federals and traffic has been moving regularly, says Mr. Sturges.

The Atlantis brought no fruit on this voyage, coming directly from Vera Cruz to Galveston and bringing nothing except eight passengers and some freight cargo. No cattle were brought this time, but it is stated by officials of the company that beginning soon each arrival of their line will see between 100 and 130 head of cattle landed at Galveston, the first ventures in this business having proved successful for those backing the movement.—Galveston "Tribune."

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## A CATHOLIC VIEW.

Secretary Bryan announces that "he does not think that the situation could be better than it is."

Well, as the Sun says, every man may cuddle his own Utopia. Mr. Bryan is free to have his own opinion. But we can hardly see how the situation could be much worse.

We have every reason to believe that President Wilson was sincere when he reached the conclusion that Huerta must go. * * *

But the moment President Wilson declared that Huerta must go, that instant he was guilty of undue interference in a friendly nation. It was really an act of intervention and was so interpreted by the world at large. * * *

But it must pain the heart of a sincere idealist and it should worry the soul of one who never tires of announcing that he loves peace for peace's sake, to see brother fighting brother on the Mexican battlefields. The whim of an idealist is dearly paid for by the slaughter of thousands and the destruction of immense properties.

And when Huerta is gone, who looms up as the man of the hour, as the real ruler of Mexico? A blood-thirsty bandit chief, who is ignorant of civilized amenities, knows nothing of the science of government, slays at will and with manifest delight in the shedding of human blood, a monster whose history is the record of outrage against human rights and Christian civilization.

Will General Villa satisfy the idealism of President Wilson?

Or may it not be destiny that the new year about to dawn will look down upon a harvest of American dead bleaching on the bare hillsides of Mexico?

There is a suspicion that will not down in the hearts of the American people that this whole Mexican situation from the very beginning has been produced and fostered by warring financial corporations. It is the curse of modern commercialism that hovers like a spectre today over unhappy Mexico. British shillings and American dollars have become the Nemesis of our sister republic. Foreign lust of gain is driving the foolish Mexicans who are all fighting in order to forge more closely the chains of the commercial despotism in which their land is ensnared.

President Wilson, in his history of the American People, describes our former onslaught on Mexico as "a war of inexcusable aggression." Will a future chapter of his history describe the present series of revolutions as the result of a "degrading commercialism which the idealism of a sincere and high-minded President was powerless to avert or heal?

In the meanwhile, with characteristic hypocrisy, let us blame it all on Huerta!

When it is all over, the blood money of Mexico may be used to build a godless univerity or two or, mayhap, a "peace" palace!—Catholic "Monitor."

## MR. WILSON'S REBEL FRIENDS.

An expression of opinion from President Wilson on the atrocities of his erstwhile friends, the Constitutionalists, would be appropriate at this time. They have not as yet murdered Huerta, confining their slaughter to less prominent persons and directing their outrages against priests and nuns.

Mr. Wilson let it be known that he was strongly attracted to their cause because Huerta was not a model gentleman. Gen. Carranza was represented as an inspired, Kosciusko-like patriot, magnanimously battling for freedom. Huerta was the personification of Thersites and Ganelon. Huerta climbed onto a wobbly Presidential chair and proceeded to legislate without consulting a text-book. President Wilson cannot conceive of any President being either intelligent or honest who does such things.

But now the rebels have discarded their patriotic garments; they are plundering and murdering like any other brigands; they are treating their enemies with the savage brutality of church-wreckers and cut-throats, and between them and the control of the Mexican republic stands the solitary figure of Huerta—somber, resolute, fierce and unafraid—wielding some sort of authority to crush rebellion and establish a government that will endure.—Los Angeles "Times."

## RESULTS OF CHAUTAUQUA DIPLOMACY.

Are Britain and Germany combining to check the growth of American commerce abroad? So we hear, by way of Washington—in a press story of uncertain inspiration.

At first glance it does not seem at all likely that a government which includes Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Haldane would enter into any anti-American understanding with the German government, or into any kind of an understanding that would be likely to promote German commerce abroad. But we already have evidence that the boycotting of the Panama fair by Great Britain and Germany is the result of such an understanding.

The policies of nations with regard to commerce are mutually hostile. There is no getting away from that proposition. There is no such thing as a "gentlemen's agreement" between them in these matters. Each nation must push its own trade, and if its pushing limits the activities of other nations, so much the worse for other nations.

It is to be expected that the other nations should take advantage of the era of Chautauqua diplomacy in this country to promote their own economic advantage at our expense. But it is unlikely that a German-English combination, even if it existed—which is not very likely—would be able to do our commercial interests as much harm abroad as the Bryan diplomacy has already inflicted upon us in Mexico and China.—New York "Evening Mail."

## AN UNPLEASANT INCIDENT.

The wisest international policy is liable to continual misinterpretation, but it is well in a critical situation that officers of our Government should avoid all actions which are likely to lead to heated controversy. We had confidently expected, in view of the untrustworthy character of many of the reports from Mexico, that the tale of the reception by Admiral Cowles on board the Pittsburgh at San Blas of certain Mexican Constitutionalists would be authoritatively contradicted, but it has been confirmed in later dispatches, and, although the excitement the incident has caused among the supporters of Huerta in the City of Mexico may seem exaggerated for political effect, sober-minded Americans will feel sorry that an American naval officer has been so indiscreet. No announcement has been made that the United States is supporting any one of the rebellious factions in Mexico. The reception of Manuel Bonilla and his lieutenant, Lee Christmas, aboard an American war vessel off the coast of Honduras some years ago, when Bonilla was endeavoring to overthrow the legally constituted Government of that State, caused much unfavorable comment. The fact that the success of Bonilla's "revolution" thereafter was generally credited to American interference is not forgotten.

We have no idea that the affair at San Blas has any political significance whatever, but the Administration must know that our Mexican policy is not invariably attributed to lofty and benevolent motives in other countries. It is to be hoped that the San Blas incident will be the last of its kind. As for the hostile comments it has inspired in Mexican newspapers, they need not bother us, while the tales of the landing of arms from American ships for the use of the rebels will gain no credit here. The naval officers on American ships in Mexican waters should be cautioned, however, that acts of courtesy are liable to be misunderstood. In pusruing the policy which the famous peace advocate, Alfred Fried, calls "diplomatic postponement," and praises for its humane intent, we cannot be too careful to avoid the appearance of taking sides.—New York "Times."

## THE EXTENT OF MEXICO.

It is harder to govern a large country than a small one, and some allowance should be made our Mexican neighbors for any shortcomings in government on that account. A person leaving El Paso, Tex., by railroad for Mexico City, and finding that he must travel 1,224 miles to get there, begins to realize the extent of the country. In area Mexico is ten and a half times larger than the State of New York. It is larger than the German Empire, France and Spain together.

It is an elevated plateau, divided by mountain ranges into vast plains and numerous valleys. In the 263 miles from Vera Cruz to Mexico City the railroad climbs 8,330 feet, Mexico City itself having an altitude of 7,400 feet. While there are over 15,000 miles of railroad—just about the same number of miles that Texas has—and 25,000 miles of telegraph lines in the country, wagon roads are scarce and poor—some States not having any—and the means of communication difficult. The population is said to comprise 14,000,000, of which 2,000,000 are pure whites and the balance Indians and mixed bloods. Lack of education makes many of the people an easy prey to falsehood and prejudice. Let us be thankful that they are as good as they are.—General C. C. Andrews in New York "Evening Post."

## FOREIGN COMMENT.

London, Dec. 27.—In an article on the world's unrest, the "Spectator" sums up the Mexican situation thusly:

"President Wilson is still trusting to the financial collapse of Huerta. But the new candidate for the Presidency, be it federal or rebel, is not likely to be less bloodstained than Huerta, against whom, by the way, assassination never has been proved.

"We recognize the fine intentions of Mr. Wilson, but can't see how his policy can end ultimately in anything but failure or effective intervention. You cannot order daily conduct of any country without establishing such control as will be indistinguishable from a protectorate, which in turn is often indistinguishable from annexation. Yet annexation is repudiated by Mr. Wilson as something inconceivably wrong."

In an article similar in tone the "Outlook" says:

"Mexican scandal and misery remain, of course, where the unscrupulous cupidity of the northern neighbors of Mexico called them into being. The ineffaceable sanctimoniousness of politicians at Washington continues also to make the frank brutality of the Standard Oil agents comparatively—can we say?—respectable."

## ALL BANDITS.

Perry Chief: John P. O'Malley of the People's National Bank has returned from a trip to Brownsville, Corpus Christi, and a few other border Texas towns. While in the south he went across the border, talked with the rebels and the rebel sympathizers and got an insight into the Mexican situation which he otherwise would not have had. The Perry man was in a party of Americans who ventured into Mexico and saw what the ravages of war were doing to the country.

"It is very unpopular to be a federalist in northern Mexico. In fact nobody admits that they are. The loyal federalists are robbed of all their property and if they haven't got enough of that they pay for their patriotism with their lives. Without entering into the merits of the Huerta Administration, for I don't know much about that, I have my doubts if the Constitutionalists, as the rebels are called, will ever restore peace in Mexico. The rebel army is made up of bandit bands. The members and oftimes the leaders are men who have a price hanging over their heads and who during the Diaz Administration were held in subjection. The rebels are not the ones who represent peace and law in Mexico in the past, and their actions would indicate that they will not in the future.

"When a rebel army captures a town, the first thing done is to pillage it. The officers then visit the banks and the bankers are forced to turn all their funds over to the rebel cause. Federal sympathizers are robbed of all their property, and if the officials of the city and those who have aided the government in any way can be captured they are killed. There are no prisoners taken. The federal soldiers captured are given a chance to join the rebel army, and if they don't they are lined up with the officers captured with them and are shot."—Des Moines "Capital."

## BLAMES POLITICS FOR MEXICAN ROW.

"The present trouble in Mexico was caused by political jealousy and not, as most people suppose, by discontent among the common people," said Mrs. Mattie Locke Macomber, of 3120 Kingman Boulevard, who has made no less than sixteen trips to that country, and has been familiar with conditions there for years.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

"Many will disagree with me on this point," continued Mrs. Macomber, "but the truth is that at the time internal strife broke out in Mexico the nation was enjoying a period of extraordinary prosperity. Five years ago it would have been hard to imagine a gayer capital than Mexco City. Its citizens were riding in $5,000 imported French automobiles while we in America were still in the $2,500 class. The country was rolling in wealth.

"About twenty-five years ago French, English, German and lastly American capital began to find its way into Mexico. From that time on a steady stream of gold poured into that land. The foreigners bought up plantations, mines, sugar cane farms and ranches. The Mexicans sold much of their property. Marvelous developments took place. Work was plentiful and times were good among the peons. Of course, now all this has changed and Mexico is in a most pitiful condition economically.

"I have no patience with people who go into spasms of concern over the deplorable state of the peons. They are really the contented class of the country. The great mass of them have no political aspirations. They never have had any say in governmental affairs nor do they seem to desire political power.

"Wages among the laboring classes are more nearly proportionate to the cost of living than they are in our own land. It is wrong to think of the Mexican as being poor. He makes seventy cents a day, and he can buy a meal for one cent, which includes a tortilla and gravy, half a yam, lettuce, chili and a radish. The same menu would cost perhaps ten cents in the United States. The peon has at his door bananas and cocoanuts, and eggs are generally about five cents a dozen.

"Mexico was ostensibly given a republican form of government under Juarez, but under Diaz the constitutional republic became a mere farce. While there was an election every six years, Diaz had no opposition. The governors of the different States were under his hand and were ratified by him.

"The younger generation of energetic, scholarly Mexicans not realizing that Diaz had brought order out of chaos, became disgruntled because they were denied a voice in the government, and the present trouble is the result.

"The common impression that the Mexicans are treacherous and dishonest is unjust to them. I have found them to be trustworthy, and have never lost a penny in my dealings with them. As a rule they are gentle, polite, intelligent and cultured. They are also gay and witty, although they never rush through their pleasures and business transactions as we do in the North."—Des Moines "Capital."

## "SAD CONDITION OF MEXICO."

The marvellous capacity manifested by some American women in absorbing instantaneously a vast amount of information without any visible help, is insisted on at least indirectly by the Boston "Herald" of November 29, in an article entitled "Sad Condition of Mexico." Mrs. John Lind, the wife of the extraordinary United States Envoy to Mexico, informs the world that "she never saw anything so abject as the condition of women in that country," and that "it is a common report in Mexico that well-to-do Mexicans keep harems." The "Herald" then proceeds to unload some of its own discoveries about the peons and the illegitimacy of the Mexicans in general.

Now there are several reasons why it is more than likely that the lady in question never made the remarks attributed to her. In the first place, while she was with her husband in her brief visit to Mexico, she had no time to learn anything about the conditions that prevailed there. Even he has so far learned very little. Secondly, as, like her distinguished spouse, she did not know a word of Spanish, all her knowledge must have been second hand. Thirdly, she could not have had any acquaintance with Mexican women. For we have it on the best authority that even the most cultivated and charming foreigners, among whom Mrs. Lind of course must be counted, might be a resident for years in the country without ever being able to penetrate into the houses of the wealthier Mexicans. Had she been able to do so, she would not have found their condition "abject," but, as one of her Protestant countrywomen says, "she would have seen them educated, graceful and beautiful, and cultivating the virtues of love, charity and self-denial taught to their ancestors by the old Franciscan missionaries four centuries ago."

Again, we refuse to admit for a moment that such a delicate subject as the "harem," was ever discussed by her with the reporters. It is, however, possible that she read carelessly a passage of Carson's "Mexico" in which he speaks of the Mexican household as a harem, not, however, because it was a seraglio; far from it; but, because it was considered a veritable sanctuary which he and other outsiders and particularly Americans were not permitted to enter. Or perhaps the information came from some hotel clerk who foresaw a tip. For although the desire for knowledge manifested by foreigners about social and political affairs makes as much impression on the average Mexican as a pocket-knife on the sides of Popocatapetl, on the other hand, a thriving trade is carried on in relating fairy stories to satisfy inquirers.

About the oppression of the peons, we Americans should not be too vociferous, when we face the industrial slavery that disgraces our own country. On the whole the peon is having a fairly good time of it, and will continue to enjoy himself unless Carranza drafts him into the ranks of the revolutionists.

The charge of illegitimacy is more serious, for the Boston "Herald" informs us that: "The offical statistics of the Mexican Government shows that in one year there were 204,327 illegitimate children born, almost as many as of legitimate children. But as many illegitimate children are not recorded the probability is that more than one-half of the children born in Mexico are illegitimate."

The record looks pretty black, at first sight, but as the United States very discreetly keeps no official records of such things, we are unable to find out how much more virtuous we are than the Mexicans. Perhaps the statistics are withheld, just as were those of divorce, which were particularly shameful.

Moreover, there is always a difficulty even for statisticians to determine what constitutes illegitimacy. In Italy, for instance, only civil marriages are considered valid by the State and such is the case in Mexico. But the question naturally arises, are the offspring of church marriages to be stamped as illegitimate because a few rancorous anti-Christian politicians who have seized the machinery of the State will have it so? Evidently not.—"America, a Catholic Review."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: For some time past I have been reading your paper and in the name of the Mexican people I wish to thank you for the good work you are doing in trying to prevent an unjust war between the United States and Mexico.

I notice that everywhere the leading question is: Why does President Wilson refuse to hear the opinion of people who are well informed as to the real conditions in Mexico, and why has he evaded an answer to the Congress of the United States in regard to the Mexican situation, a situation that has been created by himself?

I think I can answer those questions.

President Wilson, for reasons best known to himself, has decided to entangle his country in a war with Mexico and, having decided, refuses to listen to people who are familiar with the true state of affairs in that country, as he is well aware that were he to listen to them, those same persons would some day confront him with that same information. Not receiving the information, he then can claim—when things are brought bome to him—that he was misinformed, was deceived, very sorry, but had he known it, etc. etc.

He has refused to inform Congress of his intentions because he has no valid pretext for war, which is just what he wishes, notwithstanding his repeated declarations to the contrary. But has he declared or will he declare that there will not be war no matter what provocation he may have from the Government of Mexico? Or if Mexico, tired of Wilson's butting in, should declare war on the United States? I guess not.

Mr. Wilson's waiting game is simply this: He will harass the Mexican Government until it will be forced to declare war on the United States. We Mexicans are very proud, especially in matters that touch upon our national honor.

When war is declared by Mexico, Mr. Wilson, pretending great indignation, will inform Congress and that high body will be compelled to accept that unjust war to uphold the national honor.

Mr. Wilson's diplomacy has been criticized as amateurish. If the above deductions are correct, it will be seen that he is not so much of an amateur diplomat as people think. There is a reason for his seemingly amateurish acts.

I don't think that any man, whatever his power, has the moral right to get his country into a war that will involve the loss of thousands of lives and millions in money.

If there should be war will he not have on his conscience all the lives lost in that war? Being of a religious nature, would he not suffer? I should not like to be in his shoes.

Mr. Wilson refuses to recognize President Huerta or any other President elected by popular vote, while he, Huerta, is in power. But does he suggest how an election can be held with no one at the head of the Government? Shall General Huerta and his Cabinet abandon Mexico and leave the people have an election all by themselves? Even if General Huerta should leave the chair, who would take his place? Whom does Mr. Wilson suggest? Carranza? Villa? Or perhaps he has in mind a Governor General and wishes the job for the meek but sanguinary Mr. Hale or Mr. Lind? Maybe Mr. Rockefeller would be best suited for the post, as he or his company started the trouble in Mexico. It may be that Mr. Wilson might put Mrs. Madero in a trance and consult the spirits for the right man to step into General Huerta's shoes. Or, who can tell, perhaps he will consult Mrs. Lind and her missionaries. Really, Mr. Wilson has been so impudent to the Mexican Government that such a proposition would not surprise us.

Mr. Wilson refuses to recognize the present Government of Mexica and at the same time holds that Government responsible for damages to American lives and property, thereby inciting his friends, the rebels, to commit such acts. Can any one hold a Government responsible for acts committed by other persons when that Government is not recognized as such? Heads, I win; tails, you lose.

But enough of this. People of the Carranza and Villa type who, under the cover of revolution, give free rein to their low animal passions and commit crimes and atrocities which my pen refuses to describe but that are, nevertheless, known to the whole shocked civilized world—with the exception of Messrs. Wilson, Bryan, et al, of course—will never be tolerated in Mexico and as true as there is a God they will be strung up to the handiest telegraph pole, and we, people of Mexico, will string them up, even if Mr. Wilson puts them in power and if it takes years to do it.

A MEXICAN

who holds the welfare of his country above all governments, past, present or future.

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To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Enclosed herewith please find draft for $2.00 to cover a yearly subscription to MEXICO, which I will thank you to send to my address.

I have seen but one issue of your paper, but that looks good to me. I am an American; have been in Mexico thirteen years; and am general manager of this company, which is a French-Mexican corporation. I know Mexico from the Rio Grande to the Isthmus, her people and her history, and believe I have a thorough knowledge of the political, social and industrial problems which have confronted her during the past three years.

I congratulate your editors on having gotten at the truth about Mexico and hope they will keep up the good work.

L. L. S.

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"I know nothing about General Huerta except what has been printed in the papers. But I am convinced from a very complete study of the situation through the newspapers that Huerta is by no means the worst alternative down there and that the quickest means to a settlement of the Mexican difficulties, with conditions as they are, is the best means.

President Wilson's attitude would be almost laughable, if it was funny, which it isn't. Huerta is at least a fairly respectable military man, and there can be no doubt that many decent Mexican individuals believe him the best man available for the position he wants. But President Wilson doesn't want him, and that settles it. Mexico be blamed, Mr. Wilson must be pleased.—W. P. HAYES in New York "Herald."

## WILSON ERRS, SAYS BEARDSLEY.

(Special Cable to New York "American.")

London, Dec. 27.—Henry Beardsley, president of the Beardsley banking concern in New York, gave to the New York "American" correspondent to-day his opinion of what he termed "Wilson's dilatory policy in Mexico."

Mr. Beardsley, who has first-hand knowledge of the conditions in Mexico, said that in his opinion the President had made a bad mistake at the outset by not recognizing Huerta.

"Until President Wilson learns that it is impossible to govern Mexicans except with a hand of iron, he will fail to solve the great problem. Already he has allowed the situation to get so bad that it seems now to be impossible to handle it with anything but armed force.

"Had Huerta had the support of the United States in the first place, various brigand leaders would have felt but little confidence in the ultimate success of their selfish aims, and consequently would have allied themselves to the existing government."


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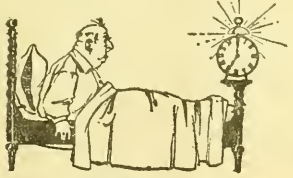

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## HOW MUCH IS BRYAN?

Just how much of the Mexican "policy" is President Wilson's and how much Bryan's? It is quite possible that when the clouds are lifted it will be found that the Chief Executive, with the single purpose of devoting his mind to the promised measures of internal reform, let himself be guided in the handling of the intrusive Mexican problem by the Secretary of State, whose position, if not his qualifications, would bring it entirely wthin his province. If a President cannot depend on his Secretary of State for the formulation of a workable foreign policy, what business has the Secretary of State to hold office?

The first open move made by the Administration toward a solution of the vexing Mexican problem was the sending of John Lind to Mexico City with his absurd and impossible proposals, which in the opinion of every thinking person at the time were foredoomed to refusal and failure. It is definitely known that John Lind was recommended for the idiotic mission by Bryan. Outside of loyalty to Bryan and a locked jaw, John Lind's special qualifications for a delicate diplomatic mission to a Latin country were not obvious to even the most optimistic, even to those who wished him well. John Lind was Bryan's man. There are many who would like to think, in justice to the President, that the demands carried by John Lind were Bryan's too.

It is true that President Wilson has personally expressed them as his own ideas and feelings, but might not this be in a measure the result of a natural reliance on his Secretary of State in matters of foreign affairs, and his conception of a duty harmoniously to back up with all the force of his position and personality Mr. Bryan's novel venture into international politics, hoping it might be successful? Certainly it would never do for the chief and the premier of a Democratic Administration to be at loggerheads, especially in view of their mutual obligations, dating back at least to the Baltimore Convention. At any rate, the President was very, very busy with pressing internal matters, as witness the complexity and the successful passage of the tariff and currency bills.

There are many loyal Americans who would breathe heartfelt thanks to know that the country was committed to a horribly blundering attiude toward a friendly nation in distress, not by a President whom they have every reason and every wish to trust implicitly, but by a subordinate whom the country has three times repudiated, and who through political necessity had to be placed in a position where his inexperience and his peculiar casuistry could injure the whole Administration.

If this were the case, the country could feel sure that if any mistake has been made, it is not irreparable, that the last word has not been said, committing us to a course that means a war with all its horrors if we persist in both meddling in Mexico's internal politics and encouraging the forces of anarchy who are seeking to destroy Mexico.

## THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF "WATCHFUL WAITING"

### As They Affect the United States.

We are without an ambassadorial representative in Mexico, one who could take his honored place in the diplomatic corps and with authority advance and protect the interests of his country and countrymen.

Thousands of American citizens, ordered by our Government to flee Mexico, have left their all in that country, in many cases at the mercy of the roaming bands of marauders who call themselves revolutionists. We cannot hold them responsible for the damages to the property of Americans, for they are not responsible and have no responsible head. We can hardly in equity hold the Mexican Government responsible, for the action of the Americans in fleeing was wholly inspired by the attitude and words of the Washington Administration. The entire loss, amounting to millions, must fall on our own Government.

At a moment when every nerve should be strained to promote closer commercial and social relations between this country and all Latin-American countries, in view of the increase of trade that is expected to follow the opening of the Panama Canal, we have assumed an arbitrary attitude toward one of those countries that has aroused tremendous resentment and distrust of our purposes in Central and South America. These feelings have been strongly reflected in the press of the Latin-American countries, and have added greater difficulties in the way of our getting their trade in competition with the more tactful and far-seeing England and Germany.

We have given to England, Germany and other foreign nations in competition with us for Latin-American trade a powerful weapon of national sentiment to use against our advances.

Our dog-in-the-manger insistence on having our own unreasonable way in dictating to Mexico has naturally aroused a more or less repressed irritation among the European nations who have nationals and interests suffering by the prolongation of internal disorder. This irritation has worked to our disadvantage in such reprisals as the refusal of England and Germany to exhibit at the San Francisco Fair, and the popular demonstration of hostility in Japan.

Is it worth while to suffer all these material losses that the theoretical whim and the personal dislikes of the Washington Administration may have their fling?

We think not, and we are sure that the sober common sense of the people, aroused to the huge blunder we have made, in the name of a morality which works immorality, will repudiate it.

## NOT LIKE THE SOUTH.

It is absolutely beyond our comprehension that any Southern statesman, Congressman or Senator, or anybody with Southern blood in his veins, should countenance for an instant—let alone lend moral support to—the barbarous Villa and his crew of cut-throats and ravishers of women and girls. It is one of the strangest anomalies of a so-called Southern Administration that it should have ranged itself on the side of men, or monsters, who would swing from the nearest tree or lamp-post in Southern States. Surely the Southern spirit, the Southern fire and the Southern chivalry have not died in those who have come to be powers in the nation! We may not strictly advocate lynch law as the only way to handle such villains, but is it not believable that, because they happen to be in another country, we should give them "moral support"? Which we are doing. Which is a crime against civilization. Only ignorance of the true conditions in Mexico or the misrepresentations of the press, guided by rapacious Northern interests, can account for such a thing. This ignorance, we are happy to say, is being overcome daily by unsuppressable facts and the press campaign, we venture to prophesy, will crumble from the weight of its own fabrications.


**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE**

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## TRY IT.

Suggested as a formula to aid those who would understand what the Administration's attitude toward Mexico means.

Repeat the following at intervals of five minutes, each day for six months, until it takes. Then the Administration's point of view will be perfectly clear.

There is no Mexico.
There is no Mexican Government.
There is no other nation.
There is no international law.
There is no such thing as diplomacy.
There is no Mexican people.
There is no Villa.
There are no bandits.
There are no killed and wounded.
There is no responsibility.
There is no history.
There is no national sovereignty.
There is no matter.
All is I and grape juice.

## PERFECT ANTI-CLIMAX.

How the News is Written.

1st Day—Rebels attack fiercely in overwhelming force. Federals in panic. Fleeing across border. End of Huerta regime in North. Victorious rebels will press on to Mexico City.

2nd Day—Rebels driving Federals back into the Rio Grande. Last remnant of Huerta's army hopelessly routed. All who do not escape will be executed on the spot.

3rd Day—Federals fighting a losing fight. Panic-stricken, hundreds are deserting. Others are kept in the trenches at the point of their officers' guns. Huerta's rule in the North doomed.

4th Day—Rebels make gallant charges against tremendous odds. Federals seem to be holding their own, but cannot last much longer. Not so many desertions.

5th Day—Rebels play waiting game. Their desperate charges against the Federals' impregnable positions result in heavy losses. Federal ammunition nearly exhausted.

6th Day—Rebels' victorious leader on way to renew the attack. Vows he will kill every Federal. Federals on defensive. The last desperate stand of Huerta's army in the North.

7th Day—Rebels retire. No disorder. Will renew the attack some other time.

**The Administration is right in not intervening by force of arms in Mexico, but it is wrong in stubbornly making intervention a possibility.**

# THEY CAN NOT DESTROY

Day by day it is becoming more and more apparent that our newspapers have been extremely fortunate in securing the co-operation of great political economists who, disguised as correspondents or editorial writers, have generously condescended to impart to the public their inexhaustible knowledge of Mexican financial conditions.

These economists have shown, however, a certain disregard for the swallowing capacity of an already surfeited public.

During many months they have tried to force down the reader's throat—or whatever the mental counterpart is—cocksure statements to the effect that Mexico is on the verge of bankruptcy and the Government on the brink of financial starvation.

In support of their gloomy contention these economists have presented an array of crushing proofs, such as: The Huerta Government has decreed that paper currency shall be accepted as legal tender. It has forced the acceptance of 50 cent coins, together with the silver peso, etc.

That financial conditions in Mexico are far from being as satisfactory as they were before the fall of the Diaz Administration no one can deny. That they have been made difficult by the unwarranted interference of the Washington Administration is well known to every one familiar with the efforts of this Administration to blockade Mexico financially.

That owing to this attitude of the Washington Administration a whole people—a friendly people—is made to suffer, also is a matter of common knowledge.

But to understand that in spite of all these fiendish destructive efforts, financial conditions in Mexico are far from being critical, it is sufficient to compare them not only with those prevailing in Mexico thirty years ago, but also with those prevailing in this country during the Civil War.

It is foolish to assert that because the Washington Government has used its powerful influence to prevent the lending of money by foreign bankers to the Huerta Government, Mexico will be starved into submission to President Wilson, the self-appointed overlord of all the Americas.

**Mexico is a self-supporting country,** a country of wonderful resources.

But leaving this aside, even if the present disturbance should continue, it will be a very long time before financial conditions in Mexico will sink to the level of those existing in this country during the Civil War.

The extremely high cost of gold, the forced use of scrip money, of paper currency in denominations as low as 10 cents, 5 cents and 2½ cents are still vivid in the memory of many who were alive in those desperate years.

Yet this country survived those trying times.

Mexico may have to endure worse conditions than those she is enduring at present, but Mexico also will survive—in spite of the croaking economists.

## BRYAN'S PRAYER.

"The peace movement—God speed it in its passage around the world. I pray God that He may help me to make it unnecessary that this Government shall go to war with Mexico. I do not want men to die before guns for their country; I want them to live for their country."

## BRYAN'S ACTS.

He has helped to make possible the conditions in Northern Mexico, costing hundreds of human lives, and giving the jingoes an excuse to talk of war.

# THE POISONED PEN

When one picks up a magazine of the character of "The American Review of Reviews," of which Dr. Albert Shaw is the distinguished editor, it comes as a distinct shock to find that its monthly resume of the progress of the world chronicles as facts some of the most outrageous of newspaper lies about Mexico. Of course, the field of the resume is limited to a digest of the news as it appears in the daily papers, but it seems that the editor who culled the Mexican data for the latest issue had a marvelous digestion as far as the lies of the press was concerned, and a terrible attack of acute indigestion when he came to anything remotely favorable to the Mexican Government.

Here are some of the things served to the magazine's readers as gospel:

"In the South Zapata and his bandits were menacing the capital and occupying one town after another in neighboring States."

"The victories of the rebels in Tamaulipas and Chihuahua have given them practical control of the Mexican oil fields."

"Huerta having changed his abode from the National Palace to the strongly fortified Castle of Chapultepec * * *"

"Mexico's paper constitution forbids a provisional president from continuing in office more than six months."

"His (Huerta's) Administration was constantly disgraced by assassination and by shameful abuse of authority. He was growing weaker every day. It had long been evident that he had no idea or desire to re-establish government by the people. Yet he continued to defy the expressed wishes of the United States Government, the displeasure of the American people, the financial unfriendliness of Europe and the armed revolutionists."

Ye gods! Some defier, that!

With these and many other equally false statements the magazine published a shaded map showing virtually all of Mexico in the "control of the constitutionalists." Of course. Also a picture of a group of northern rebels. The caption of the picture indicated that the group includes General Venustiano Carranza, General Jesus Carranza, General Blanquet and General Pascual Orozco, "the famous outlaw chieftain." All of these together, mind you, in perfect amity. No explanation at all as to what the Mexican Minister of War, General Blanquet, would be doing with the northern rebels, or when Orozco had turned his back on Huerta and become an "outlaw chieftain." One of the group really was Jesus Carranza, but the caption writer did not even pick out the right one for Jesus.

The civilized world is ruled to-day in a large measure by the public opinion of the average man, and the average man takes much of his opinion from just such publications as the "Review of Reviews." It would seem fair and reasonable to expect some sense of justice and responsibility in those who mold this public opinion.

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The New York "Herald" of January 5th had to announce the failure of the rebel attack on Ojinaga. It was hard to do, but it had to be admitted, however reluctantly. But the "Herald" was not dismayed. Next to the account of the rebel defeat it ran a three-column scarehead, as follows: "Huerta Regime is Believed Tottering; 10,000 Bandits Menace Mexico City," and underneath was a letter purporting to be from the "Herald's" Mexico City correspondent, dated December 27th. It was a very lugubrious account of conditions in Mexico, and the conclusion the writer drew was something awful for General Huerta. A striking peculiarity about the letter was this: It was dated December 27th. No mail left Mexico City for the United States between December 27th and December 31st. If the letter came on the boat leaving December 31st, which was the soonest it could get on its way, it could not possibly have reached New York City before January 7th, even by way of Havana and Key West. But the "Herald" published it on January 5th. And there you are. The "Herald" simply had to do something that day to offset the rebel repulse at Ojinaga. A few days later when it developed that the brave defense of Ojinaga was creating the impression that the Mexican Federals really could fight and fight hard, the "Herald" had another letter, this time from Tampico, dated December 27th also, in which a United States Army officer—no name given—is made to say at great length that the recent successful defense of Tampico was not as good as it ought to have been, that the Federal generals did not get all they might have out of the forces at their command, and so forth.

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Really sane editors gave space to the absolutely absurd rumor that President Huerta was on board the "Chester" with John Lind when he came to Pass Christian. It simply shows to what lengths the rumor-mongers will go.

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The "Herald" of January 3d had a despatch from Hermosillo, where the Carranza crowd hangs out, to the effect that the "constitutionalists" were going to reorganize the National Railways in their territory, and increase the train service from Hermosillo to Nogales. Now, the fact is that the only railroad in the State of Sonora is the Southern Pacific, which has not the slightest connection with the National Railways of Mexico.

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The New York "Times" correspondent at Presidio is a master of fiction writing. That fellow could write an epic about the fight of two tomcats in a backyard. The Ojinaga siege was a positive inspiration to his flights of fancy. Here are some samples of his classical style:

"The beginning of the attack came as a complete surprise to the Federals, enjoying their noon day siesta and cigarettes in the trenches. Care free, the men in the ranks were chattering to their wives and sweethearts who had huddled together behind the breastworks. The Federal generals, Castro, Landa, Orozco and Martinez, were mapping out their plans for further defense.

"The explosion of a rebel shell brought the generals to their feet and off they rushed, buckling their swords as they ran. With field glasses they saw the main column of Ortega's wing moving south as if in retreat to Lamula Pass.

"A note of victory was sounded on the trumpets, but before it had ceased to echo in the hills the rebel column swung around and the Federal commanders realized the purpose of the foe. Quickly the junction with Rodriguez's men was made and the attack was on.

"The combat was spectacular. Off to the west of Ojinaga, against the green woods on the river banks, appeared high hats, bobbing up and down like little sailboats in a breeze."

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The New York "World" has been making virulent attacks on the British Ambassador to Mexico, Sir Lionel Carden, evidently inspired by the same sources as the "World's" previous attacks on Henry Lane Wilson. Also it has started a series of "Who's Who in Mexico," in which it describes everybody in the Mexican Government from Huerta down as somehow bad and everybody opposed to the Government as somehow good.

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## MORE OF THE LIES.

**Sir Lionel Carden removed on demand of Washington.**
**Foreign bankers would seize Mexican customs.**
**Line to San Luis Potosi in hands of rebels and San Luis Potosi menaced.**
**Huerta seizes oil tanks.**
**Huerta to resign.**
**Oil Supply for Railways Fails.**

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## EVERYBODY WRONG BUT—

Washington, January 3.—There is some reason to believe if statements made in reliable quarters are to be believed that the principal reason for the conference was the desire of John Lind to convey directly to the President certain ideas which have been forming in his mind during his long exile in Mexico.

**President Wilson's special agent is reported to have become more of the mind of practically all Americans and other foreigners in Mexico regarding the policy of the United States.** From the brevity of his conference with the President and the lack of any important announcement from the latter after the conference it is assumed here that if Mr. Lind ventured to make any suggestions of a change they were not accepted by the President.

The apparent lack of results from the conference has served to remind Washington of another notable conference which President Wilson had last summer with a man who was supposed by virtue of his long residence in Mexico and experience in dealing with the Mexican Government to have special information on the subject. This was the conference with Henry Lane Wilson.

A similarity between the President's statements to the press following these two conferences was noted with interest here. After his talk with the former Ambassador the President said with unmistakable emphasis that his conference with the diplomat neither had changed his analysis of the Mexican situation nor altered his view as to what should be done.

He told the newspaper correspondents practically the same thing, though it is presumed his words were without a certain acrimony which marked those following his talk with Henry L. Wilson.

**In other words, it is the opinion here that the President has his own ideas on Mexico and is not particularly interested in what any one else has to say about it.—New York "Sun."**

# RECOGNITION URGED

## BY PROMINENT MEN

(From New York "Sun," January 6.)

### Carnegie Says U. S. Should Have Recognized Huerta.

The following communication was received yesterday from Andrew Carnegie in reply to a request from the "Sun" that he express an opinion regarding the London "Spectator's" suggestions as to the attitude of the United States toward Mexico:

"In reply to your request, my opinion is entirely opposed to that of my friend Mr. Strachey, editor of the "Spectator." We should not interfere in Mexico. We should have recognized Huerta after the European Powers did. The man who interferes in a family quarrel usually ends in arousing the enmity of both opponents and they unite against him. In the words of the immortal bard, beware of entrance into quarrel.

"ANDREW CARNEGIE."

### White Urges Recognition.

Ithaca, Jan. 5.—"Now that we have got ourselves into this fix I can see nothing to do but await the course of events," declared Dr. Andrew D. White to-day in response to a question from the "Sun" correspondent as to what the United States should do about the Mexican situation.

The venerable statesman and scholar, who has served his country as Minister to Russia and Ambassador to Germany, and who at 81 still manifests a keen interest in public affairs, evidently disapproves of the policy of the Wilson Administration in failing to recognize the Huerta Government, but now that the fat is in the fire he seems to think that the country must make the best of it, because, as he says, "we are hung on the course of events and must trust to time and good luck to get us out of it."

Dr. White is unable to understand why the Huerta regime was not recognized. "We have recognized," he said, "many other de facto governments and rulers who at the time held executive authority, both in Central and South America. In fact, if my memory serves me, we recognized a few years ago in Santo Domingo a man who was said to have been a murderer, and we have recognized in Hayti men of the same type."

Dr. White added that Gen. Huerta at this time was in no worse position than was Porfirio Diaz when he began his regime.

Asked about the outcome of a Constitutionalist victory he said:

"If the Constitutionalist successes continue the time may come when we might recognize them, but when I consider Carranza, who ordered that no Federals be spared, and Villa, whose practices regarding the treatment of prisoners are well known, I wonder if either of them are any better than Huerta and if we will be in any better position in recognizing them than we are in refusing to recognize Huerta."

In reference to John Lind Mr. White was asked:

"What do you think about the policy of sending a special representative to Mexico?"

"Well," he said with a smile, "I hope if we send any more we will send a man who knows something about Mexico and can speak Spanish and French."

Of Henry Lane Wilson he said: "Our former Ambassador in Mexico has a good record in the diplomatic service. He seemed to be familiar with conditions in Mexico. He seemed to know what he was talking about when he urged that Huerta be recognized. I think we should have acted on his advice."

### Foraker for Recognition.

Cincinnati, Jan. 5.—Ex-United States Senator Foraker when asked for his ideas as to what the United States should do in the Mexican trouble said:

"I have not changed my mind since the expression of my opinion in my Hamilton, Ohio, speech of a couple of weeks ago. On that occasion I expressed my views in the matter as follows:

"Huerta is at the head as provisional President of the established Government. No matter whether it be the Government de jure, as it is forcibly claimed to be, or a mere de facto Government, it is the only national Government that has been recognized as such.

"He has been recognized as provisional President by the unanimous vote of both the Senate and the House of the Congress of the Republic of Mexico, and by all the army and by all the departments of the Government. He has been so recognized by Great Britain, France and Germany and many other nations. I know of no reason, at least I have heard of none, why he should not also be recognized by us, except only, to use a common expression, that there is 'blood on his hands.'

"It may be there is blood on his hands. It would be hard to find a Mexican of distinction who has no blood on his hands. Some of them are bloody from head to foot. But suppose Huerta be driven out of office, as he probably will be, in consequence of our policy with respect to him and what our Government is doing in hostility to him, then what? After the deluge what comes next? Who then will be recognized? Will we still wait for some one without blood on his hands? Then surely we will not recognize any leader of the Constitutionalists.

"The record made by them is one of blood and waste and anarchy and ruin. The inhuman and brutal murder of captured prisoners has been such as to shock the whole world. The newspapers account for these brutalities by describing Villa and other generals as bandit chieftains who have been officially outlawed for years.

"If Huerta drops out, then some of these chieftains will probably succeed to the Presidency.

"If the fact that a man may have blood on his hands be a reason why he shall not be recognized, then the same trouble will arise. In the meanwhile as now our treaty will continue suspended, for if there be no Government we can recognize, there is, of necessity, only anarchy. Anarchy like war suspends treaties of peace and amity for the simple reason that there is no Government in existence responsible for their enforcement, and therefore nobody against whom we can assert a claim of violation of a treaty and secure redress for the destruction of American life and American property. If it were calculated to avoid war, otherwise inevitable, it might be justified, but it is not. On the contrary it makes war, otherwise improbable, almost a certainty, if not now later, for the seeds of strife have been sown.

"The whole situation is most unfortunate. A bad feeling toward Americans already existing has been made worse, and at best years will pass before relations that are cordial in fact will again be restored.

"There is much more that might be said. For the present I leave it with the expression of regret that a President who, although entertaining views with which I do not agree, with respect at least to this phase of our foreign policy, should make the mistake of putting our country in such an indefensible attitude as that which we have assumed in this matter."

## NOT SO BAD.

The City of Mexico still shows few signs of hard times and is far gayer and more animated than at any time during the Madero regime. **Confidence in Huerta seems to be growing.** The military situation begins to look brighter, with the failure of the rebels to take Nuevo Laredo, their disappearance from before San Luis Potosi and their evacuation of Durango.

Moreover, the morale of the army is visibly improving, **and of its devotion to Huerta there can be no doubt.** It is believed here that Huerta has only to hold on to win, as there is too much disunion and too little cohesion among the rebels for them to evolve an adversary surrounded with the necessary prestige and authority.

The dog Togo, mascot of the Federals at San Luis Potosi, has had the unusual honor of promotion to the rank of first sergeant. This reward is for the dog's gallantry in the Bocas fight, where the rebels were routed. Togo pursued a rebel mule laden with three thousand cartridges, knocked it down, and held it until soldiers came up and secured the booty.—New York "Tribune," January 5.

## JUST A LITTLE HABIT.

Every time a rebel victory has been reported some of the newspapers have immediately proceeded to publish long editorials demonstrating with copious arguments how that particular victory of the rebels means the impending downfall of the Huerta Government and the "breaking up of the remnant of the Federal Army!"

Whenever a Federal victory is reported those newspapers are strikingly silent on the subject and one never reads that the Federal victory means the breaking up of the rebel army.

## ANOTHER.

Whenever the jingoes run out of other ammunition they insinuate a close understanding between Japan and Mexico. It hasn't been very long since the papers announced in big headlines that on de la Barra's reception in Tokio fifty Japanese army officers had offered their swords to Mexico, the inference being that they wished to fight for Mexico against the United States. Of course, as usual, the fiction was denied later, inconspicuously, but the effect desired had been created in the minds of the American people. If there is a subtle understanding between the Mexican Government and Japan why is it that whatever Japanese are fighting in Mexico are among the rebels?

# NAILING THEM

Chicago, Jan. 5.—Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury in the Taft Administration, had the following to say to-day on the Mexican situation:

"I believe that President Wilson has been entirely right in refusing to recognize Huerta. President Taft, had he continued in office, would never have recognized Huerta's claim to the Presidency of Mexico. I am convinced that I express the sentiment of the entire Taft Administration in saying that."—New York "Sun."

Mr. MacVeagh is presumably sure of his ground when he asserts so definitely that President Taft would never have recognized Huerta. At the same time we say—on the authority of men who were as close officially to President Taft as was Secretary MacVeagh—that only a delay in settling certain outstanding differences as to boundaries and claims between Mexico and the United States held back recognition of the Mexican Government during the last days of the Taft Administration.

Had Mr. Taft remained in power the question would have been speedily settled and Mexico today would be on the way to tranquility. * * *

His strong common sense would have prevented him from inquiring too closely or pedantically into the title of a President of a Spanish-American State in a time of revolution. So long as the new head of the State gave proof of resolution and capacity—and General Huerta has given proof of both qualities—Mr. Taft would have treated with him, even though he was unable to produce a certificate of his election from the receiving officer, and even though charity itself could not pretend that he was anything more than a successful military adventurer. As for my second assumption, that an early recognition of General Huerta would by now have brought Mexico within sight of peace and security, the whole course of events in the past half-year appears to justify it. As Mexico's immediate and most powerful neighbor, with a stake in the country greatly in excess of that of any other nation, America's attitude toward the Republic necessarily means more, and carries with it greater implications and significance than the attitude of all other Governments put together. * * *—Sydney Brooks in October "North American Review."

## INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS.

Gulfport, Miss.—While the President was on the pier he was observed with great interest by the throng of oyster shuckers busily toiling in the draughty shed of the packing company. He saw children 7 or 8 years old working their ten-hour shift in steam and blustering wind, their little hands sore and bleeding from the action of the acrid juices and the brine.

The President started to take a walk through the oyster packing plant, but a whiff of the noisome steam struck him and he retired to the motor car.—New York "Sun."

If this had been reported from Mexico, what a thrill of virtuous indignation would shiver the press of the United States. Non-recognition would be justified—intervention the only way to end such intolerable conditions!

## POST-HYPOCRISY.

Upon the outcome of the obstinate battle still under way at Ojinaga events of critical importance for the future of Mexico may depend. The present upflare of pro-Huerta sentiment is directly to be traced to this unexpected check which the Constitutionalist forces in the North have encountered after a series of dramatic victories. Francisco Villa has recognized the vital importance of a victory at Ojinaga by hastening to take charge of the operations. More than the rebel repulse at Tampico, a Federalist triumph in the north would be a body blow to the Constitutionalist cause. For even if the rebel forces were to fail in their advance against the capital and the southern provinces, there remains the possibility of a secession by the States under Constitutionalist control and the setting up of an independent republic in the north. But with the presence of a large Federalist army on the northern frontier such a bold stroke is not to be thought of, and the Constitutionalist campaign would have to be fought over again. For the future of Mexico, any temporary strengthening of Huerta's power is ominous. By this time it is plain that the people of the republic as a whole will not accept his rule.—New York "Evening Post."

If this last assertion is true, why is it that wherever the Federal forces go to the relief of a bandit-ridden town they are welcomed with open arms? Why is it that the "constitutionalists" are a terror and a scourge from which the inhabitants flee—if they can? The "Post" is fearfully concerned because Huerta's power is growing. The "Post" as a well-known peace advocate is worried because there is every indication that Huerta will bring peace to Mexico. Selah!

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List to R. V. Pesqueira's defense of the "patriotism and character" of Villa. Pesqueira is one of the go-betweens of Carranza and the American oil interests. He is vociferous in championing the cause of the poor people of Mexico. In his suite at the Hotel Vanderbilt, where there are no poor, he gave the following remarkable statement to a reporter of the New York "Times."

"Any story that Gen. Villa will try to seize the primary power for himself or that he has not subordinated himself to Gen. Carranza is false," Mr. Pesqueira said. "Gen. Villa has proved his loyalty to Gen. Carranza and the Constitutionalist cause many times. He was an ardent supporter of Madero in the revolution against Diaz and after the success of the revolution until the murder of the President. In 1912, because of the hostility of Gen. Huerta, who was the commander of Madero's forces, Villa consented to go to prison for his own safety and for the sake of internal peace. While he was a prisoner leaders of the Conservative party offered him money and support if he would lead a revolution against Madero, but he refused. These same men later enlisted Huerta in their cause, so that, had Villa accepted their offers, he would now occupy the position held by Huerta."

The reason given for Villa's term in jail is a gem! "For his own safety and the sake of internal peace." Why, the notorious bandit was jailed for stealing a horse. And Madero let him out. Madero liked horse thieves. The ingenious last few lines, designed to place an outlaw like Villa in the same category as a regular army officer of Huerta's class, are a masterpiece of perversion.

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Nations are not destroyed, national independence is not surrendered on the verbal or mental say-so of an alien meddler with even the best intentions.

* * *

That is the law and the prophets, and all the theorizing and mentalizing in the world cannot change it.

# Lest we Forget

It's a long road from the border to Mexico City.

* * *

Especially as all the supplies for the rebels come across the border.

* * *

And the border newspapers and correspondents are good press agents. It would be a shame for Villa to leave them. What would the "revolution" be without them?

* * *

And Villa was at Juarez, only two hundred miles away.

* * *

Trying to collect ransoms and dispose of stolen silver bullion.

* * *

While Carranza spends his time putting out fiat money in Sonora.

* * *

Patriots for what there is in it.

* * *

But, never mind. We have some of the same kind of patriots and "friends of the peepul" on this side of the border.

* * *

We lend moral support to the atrocities of the Villas and the Zapatas and then our jingoes call for intervention to put an end to them.

* * *

There is nothing so false as the assumption of minds like Bryan's that anybody with material interests in Mexico cannot tell the truth about it.

* * *

Every time an American with property in Mexico expresses public disapproval of the Administration's cruel and destructive attitude toward Mexico, the New York "World" goes to extreme lengths in its efforts to discredit the statement. Taking its cue from the Administration it so blindly worships.

* * *

The "World" certainly ought to know just how far material interests may warp the judgment—even the judgment of metropolitan newspapers.

* * *

If Huerta doesn't crumble by March 1st, the Washington Administration is going to do something real drastic, the "World" says.

* * *

Whaddoyu mean, drastic? Hasn't the Administration egged on the East Side thugs of Mexico to "get Huerta"? Hasn't it dickered with the money lenders to starve him out? Hasn't it called him names and told the world that he was positively hateful? Hasn't it circled over him like a buzzard? But nary a crumble.

* * *

As we have remarked before, if Huerta crumbles Mexico as a nation crumbles.

* * *

That's why Huerta hasn't crumbled. That's why he can't crumble. That's why he won't crumble.

# WHO'S A DESPOT?

To the Editor of MEXICO:

Congratulating you on your splendid work in the cause of justice and peace, I take this opportunity to let you know of a marked change in my point of view.

Until about two months ago I tried to make myself believe that the "high moral plane" was something more than empty words, but now it seems strange to me that I, or anyone else, could have fallen for the high moral buncombe.

When one considers the decided difference between deeds and words, it is evident that in the Mexican policy (so called), the "cloak of respectability has been used to cover nefarious designs." **Deeds and words differ as much as the professed doctrine of "pitiless publicity" differs from actual practice of what might be termed "pitiful secretiveness."**

It is impossible for any thoughtful man to believe otherwise than that the deliberate design has been, from the first, to place Mexico prostrate and helpless, in order the more easily to seize her territory. Think of the huge number of offices that will then be available for the hungry office-seekers!

The crafty hand of the "Apostle of Peace" is clearly seen. He has been known for many years to many millions of Americans as the apostle of insincerity, and of hypocrisy. His solicitude for the Maderos, relatives of the arch-criminal who committed the arch-crime of arming the peons of Mexico, and his composure and calm in regard to the many who have been robbed and murdered by the rebels (our allies), under such cutthroats as Villa, Zapata and de la O., makes one tremble for the future of our country under such guidance.

**Frederick the Great said: "If I wished to ruin a province I would place a philosopher to rule over it." A year ago last November at the polls the minority of voters who elected a Democratic President might well have profited by the wisdom of this great man.**

In less than a year of philosophic rule it began to appear that America is now face to face with a despotism as far reaching as that of George the Third.

Mexico has been surfeited with high-sounding words, and in a recent inspired newspaper article one reads: "Department officials declared that dispatches from Mexico were highly satisfactory. This suggests that the 'financial starvation' policy of the United States is rapidly approaching fruition." **Is not this the acme of meanness and treachery!** In addition to this, the suggestion as to the financial situation of Mexico is manifestly false.

Looking back once more to the early days of last March, it seems that it is not an opinion but a certainty that **if General Huerta had been recognized as the de facto President of Mexico there would now be no Mexican problem confronting the United States.** Since that date the protection General Huerta has given to foreigners and to property in all parts of Mexico under the control of the Federal troops, has strengthened his right to such recognition day by day. **General Huerta has been termed a despot, but even the blind will soon awaken to the realization that the despot sits in Washington, not in Mexico city.**

"There will be no war!" The "Apostle of Peace" says so. However, there is a fleet of United States battleships off Vera Cruz, Tampico and Tuxpan, a United States Army concentrated on the Southern border.

For moral effect, of course! Thoughtful citizens of the United States have been searching to detect the influence on the so-called revolution of these militant moves. **If they had any determined effect on the looting, the destruction and the murder carried on under the land-pirates Villa, Zapata and de la O., one fails to detect it.**

It is said that any one who begs to differ on the Mexican problem not only gets no hearing, but gets a short shift and a swift exit.

**To my mind the highest patriotism is to one's country.** If the United States were attacked by any great power, an appeal to patriotism would be decidedly in order, but in the case of Mexico we are the aggressors. **We have nagged, goaded and interfered. If war comes it will be an unjust and unnecessary war, in which no self-respecting American will care to bear a part.**

What folly to talk of financial starvation for Mexico! Trade reports show that during the past three years both the exports and imports of Mexico have increased. I wonder if Americans realize the fabulous wealth of the Republic of Mexico, and the enormous sources of money that patriotic Mexicans can provide, to maintain their government and their independence. General Huerta grows stronger every day. After the turn of the year it is certain that active operations will begin against Villa and his fiendish kind—it would be an honor to any honest man to be present at his capture and to be the first to put hand to the rope that will end his miserable existence.

Meantime it is becoming so clear as to be pellucid that **America needs to be saved, not Mexico.**

Yours truly

B. A.

Washington, D. C. December, 20

## BY WHAT RIGHT?

The basis of the misunderstanding in the United States regarding the situation in Mexico to-day is due to the misleading accounts of recent events. Your representatives, your writers and the others who have gone to Mexico to investigate conditions have had the wrong attitude. I will be specific: To you Madero is a martyr, because he was shot; General Huerta is an assassin because he is supposed to have killed Madero.

This would not be significant if it were merely a popular opinion, but it is the reason behind the action of President Wilson in denying recognition to Huerta. I can understand the feeling that prompted the action. I could not kill or order a man to be killed, because it is against the beliefs of my soul. President Wilson's feeling about such things are no doubt the same. It is different with a soldier in Mexico. But I do not admit that Huerta is responsible for the death of Madero.

Madero was not a martyr. He was a—what you call a faker. I have said to you before that Madero was a traitor. He is so looked upon in Mexico to-day by people generally. But to judge Madero in the same way that Huerta has been judged, he was also an assassin. He imprisoned and later killed General Bernardo Reyes, his rival for the Presidency, and he killed others.

However this happened before President Wilson took office. It was following the Tragic Ten Days in Mexico, when the streets ran blood. It has been said on this account that President Wilson inherited the situation in Mexico from the Taft Administration. I do not think that is the case. President Taft wisely, I believe, took no action, so that Mr. Wilson would be left free and unembarrassed when he came to dealing with Mexico.

What did he do? I will make for you a case, and construct a plausible hypothesis as a foundation of President Wilson's action. I believe that with all the sensational demands on the part of certain financial interests and a portion of the "yellow" press for intervention at different times prior to the overthrow of Madero, that President Wilson entered office with a fixed purpose of refusing any such unreasonable demands.

We see, then, that President Wilson was first of all against intervention, and for peace. I believe that he is still opposed to intervention, and that he earnestly desires peace in Mexico. But it was his subsequent acts that has made peace impossible. He was within his rights, clearly, in refusing to recognize Huerta, and in refusing to intervene with arms. But he did not stop there. He went beyond. He did not remain neutral. Instead he placed upon Huerta a boycott, and used the force of his government to prevent Huerta getting money in Europe. That is the wrong. He did not stop at refusing to recognize Huerta. He declared that he would never recognize him, and has endeavored to "starve him out!"

By what right does he do these things? Huerta is called a dictator. Is not President Wilson, by his action, a dictator, not only of the United States and Mexico, but of South America and the world? He tells Mexico that he will not recognize the only government that exists there. He tells all of Latin-America that civil war is not allowed. And he tells Europe that she shall not lend money to a government that is in his disfavor. By what right can these things be?—R. de Zayas Enriquez in Brooklyn "Daily Eagle."

# AS IT REALLY IS

"Constitutionalism" in Action.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir:—I beg to enclose several newspaper clippings regarding conditions in Mexico, on which no doubt you can intelligently comment. I shall only inform you of the following of which no doubt you are well aware, as these are private things only known to rebels or Americans, which here amounts to practically the same thing. Of course there are many Americans, like myself, who respect our Government o..cials, but at the same time we are in favor of a square deal—and Mexico is not getting it from the United States now.

When Carranza was in Cananea recently it was generally understood he was during all these days under the influence of liquor, and although his followers tried to cover it, they could not do it altogether. I was in Nogales a few days after and I myself saw Carranza under the influence of drink in a carriage the day the report came of the defeat of the Federal troops at Culiacan. I was informed that he was celebrating that important event, and that was the way he did whenever good news came. I was also in Nogales during the days of the interview between the representative of President Wilson, Mr. W. Bayard Hale, and Carranza, and I am informed on good authority that Carranza was drinking heavily those days, this being the real reason why Hale could only see Carranza personally once; although the President's representative insisted in other personal conferences with the chief of the "constitutionalis:s," even threatening to break negotiations. Escudere and the other officials kept Carranza under guard in a room of the Custom House building, as otherwise there would have occurred a scandal.

Escudera, himself is another inveterate celebrator, although he managed to keep sober during those days, but some days later, I am informed, that being sent on a mission to bandit Pancho Villa by Carranza, recommending the former not to kill so many people on the border as he did at Juarez, Escudero got celebrating at El Paso, and from there he went to New York, with about $100,000, which had been entrusted to his care by Carranza. Escudero never came back to Sonora and he does not seem to want to come any more. Carranza in anger has taken away from him the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Finance. The flight of Escudero is considered a great loss to the rebels.

Although apparently the State of Sonora is quiet, conditions are terrible. The system of forced loans continues as well as the issuance of fiat money by the State as well as by the State of Sinaloa; besides, Carranza has flooded all this part of the country with fiat money he has issued at Hermosillo as coming from the State of Coahuila, this last issue amounting to FIVE MILLIONS PESOS. As the people are compelled to receive these bills under penalty of imprisonment, etc., the consequence is that all the real money (silver coin and gold, as well as bank bills) have been gathered by the rebel government, and the fiat money is the only thing circulating, there being bills of every denomination from 25 cents to $1,000. It is easy to see the condition of ruin and misery which will come to this country with such high finance methods. The matter of collection of taxes, import duties and all other revenue is done in such a way that it is no exaggeration to say that probably one third of the money goes into the treasury; the other two-thirds is taken by grafters. The service of mail and telegraph is only for rebels and their friends. The majority of letters are opened and thrown away unless they belong to foreigners.

Quite a number of men, I am informed, have been executed without the formality of a trial, here and in other parts of the State, one of the most scandalous executions being that of a Mexican newspaper man of Nogales, Arizona, who I am told, was dragged from the Arizona side of the line by two rebel sentries, in plain view of American soldiers patrolling the line. This man was executed by direct order of Carranza, who I am assured, is as bloodthirsty as Villa or Zapata. It is well known that the murders at Juarez, which reached approximately 300, the majority being non-combatants, were ordered by Villa with the approval of Carranza. In Chihuahua, I am told, there have been killed about 400 in the same way, and the end is not in view. It is really incredible that a man of President Wilson's high moral principles should assist these murderers and cutthroats, when he should help to exterminate them as they are a menace to humanity.

I am an American citizen, engaged in mining in Sonora and in other States of Mexico, where I have all my money invested, and I would like to see peace restored in this country; and I do not see any reason why it can not be done in a short time. The cause of the present conflict is purely personal, it seems, and it ought to be ended, without delay, before the country is definitely ruined. I have never meddled in politics in Mexico, and probably this is the reason why I always manage to keep out of trouble. In the present instance I could not help giving you the information, as I believe it is only right that our countrymen should know the conditions of this struggle as they really are from an unprejudiced business man's point of view.

Respectfully,

M. J. M.

Cananea, Sonora, Mexico,
December 22, 1913.

P. S.—With regard to the repeated report that Americans have sustained great losses in this revolution, will say that there is no such a thing. The great majority of our investments are in mining and, and while there may be some trouble and inconvenience in operating under present disturbed conditions, there is no real loss, as the values in the mines are not taken away, but remain in the property to be taken later. These are real facts and they can be supported by any miner in Mexico who wishes to be honest and truthful. Europeans in proportion have suffered considerable losses, as their investments are in mercantile and industrial business, many of which have been looted and totally destroyed by the rebels.

## THEY LOVE THEIR TEACHER.

(By Telegraph to the New York "Tribune.")

Juarez, Mexico, Jan. 1.—Juarez College, the leading agricultural college of Northern Mexico, was seized by General Pancho Villa to-day and converted into quarters for his rebel soldiers. The professors, including the president of the college, Romulo Escobar, and the students were ordered out of the buildings, and many took refuge in El Paso. All of the college buildings, the experimental farm and the extensive barns and corrals have been occupied by rebel soldiers, and the college has been designated by Villa as a reserve troop barracks.

Villa gives as his reason for seizing the college that it has always been a Federal institution, conducted by Federal sympathizers and teaching Federal doctrines, and he considers it a menace to peace in Northern Mexico.

Because of the revolutionary troubles in and around Juarez the college recently had lost most of its pupils, but still was being conducted when Villa took it by force.

## WHY BANDITS CAN OPERATE NEAR MEXICO CITY.

Zapata is now believed to have his headquarters between Cuautla and the capital not forty miles from the latter. This is one of the most rugged bits of country in the whole world, spider-webbed with deep defiles between almost perpendicular mountains a mile high from which the rebels can pour their fire down upon the invaders of their fastnesses while themselves in perfect safety beyond the range of their enemies' rifles.

On one occasion when Gen. Robles penetrated this region he found himself fired upon from one of these perpendicular heights, eight men of his immediate escort being wounded. Looking up and locating the cliff above his head from which the bullets dropped, he asked his guide how he could reach the place. The guide answered that it would take two days of most difficult climbing. It had taken Gen. Robles and his command six weeks to reach the spot upon which he then stood, starting from the city of Mexico, only forty miles distant in a straight line.

### MORE SMALL BUSINESS.

To Hon. Woodrow Wilson,
President, United States,
Washington, D. C.

The Mexican Republic, through me, has the honor of wishing a happy New Year to the glorious people of the United States, so worthily represented by Your Excellency.

(Signed) V. HUERTA.

"President Wilson said in his message to Congress, 'There is no government in Mexico.'" said Acting Secretary of State Moore. "Therefore this government cannot send any message to Huerta or other Mexican officials concerning the new year."

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The weakness of the Washington Administration is that its slaps are directed at Huerta, the person. (Read what the President said in his last message, in which the personal animus is unmistakable.)

* * *

The strength of Huerta lies in the fact that he stands as the representative of Mexican national sovereignty.

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### WHY WASHINGTON RUMOR FORECASTS INTERVENTION.

This is the point of view of the Hearst newspapers, quoted from the N. Y. "American." The "American" is right as to its premises but wrong in the conclusion that the remedy is intervention. The remedy is the recognition of the Mexican Government. The people do not want a war with Mexico, and that is the only other alternative.

The increasing force of the Washington rumors that the Administration is on the verge of abandoning its futile policy of "watchful waiting" and taking steps toward intervention in Mexico is easily enough explained.

Probably the Administration has said nothing officially, even to the representatives of foreign powers vitally interested. But what other possible course is open to the United States in the existing situation?

Huerta's hold on the reins of government is not shaken. It is true that the rebels are winning victories and occupying territory, but Huerta is still the government de facto and as such has evidently been able to borrow money enough to keep the wheels of his administration moving. Reports of his negotiation of a very large loan stubbornly persist, though denied, but it is at least apparent that the Wilson policy of subjecting the Mexican president to a course of financial starvation has as yet shown no signs of success. * * *

So far as the United States is concerned the repeated triumphs of the insurgent forces bring no promise of relief. A government by Carranza and Villa would be no more inspiring to confidence than that of Huerta, which we repudiate because founded upon blood. Villa, the man of blood and iron in the insurrection, would probably in the event of success repeat the tactics of Huerta. Could the United States more gracefully recognize him?

It is the way in which Mexican events are shaping themselves that make the Washington rumors of intervention plausible. Doubtless the President himself will be quick to deny them, but events are becoming too strong for him. At no time since embarking on his disastrous policy has he rightly considered the end, but that end, inexorable and inevitable as fate, now immediately confronts him.

# The Facts About Mexico

By John Rockwood Phillips.

In "Pioneer Western Lumberman."

The author of this article visited Mexico for business purposes soon after the first election of Porfirio Diaz as president. He lived on the border for many years, was in the midst of the Apache campaigns during the early eighties, has had large interests in Mexico in the past ten years, has good friends and bitter enemies in both countries. He has recently visited London, Paris and Washington for the purpose of confirming in his own mind, by interviews with the principal actors in the international drama, impressions formerly obtained by conferences with members of the financial world of New York and Boston, by personal acquaintance with several members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, by contact with residents of Mexico, foreign and native, and by a study of the testimony given before the sub-committee of the Senate Committee appointed to investigate the causes of the Madero revolution. He has also a personal acquaintance with Porfirio Diaz.

While earnestly desiring a continuance of the integrity of the Mexican Republic and the avoidance by the United States of a shameful act, he will not knowingly misstate any fact and believes that his conclusions are fully warranted and that the fairness and unprejudiced portion of the American public will, when fully informed, concur in his conclusions.

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Victoriano Huerta, provisional president of the United States of Mexico, under a positive provision of a constitution designed to meet just such an emergency as that which faced the Republic after the death of President Madero is reported to have said that the people of the United States of America were not in sympathy with the policy adopted by their President and State Department in dealing with the Mexican problem.

The truth is that the people at large, either because of ignorance of the facts, or by reason of the mass of misinformation which has been fed to them through press agencies for the past six years, have been up the air on the Mexican question, and are seeking information which is denied them by the Government at Washington. It is no wonder there is a confusion of opinions, because the situation is extremely complex even had the facts not been shaded and clouded and completely obscured by the press agencies of the most powerful financial force on this continent, if not in the world.

The reader who desires knowledge may perhaps best understand the situation by putting himself, for a time, in the place of a patriotic Mexican and taking a view from that position. He may be assisted in taking this place by the suggestions of a no less patriotic American, the author of this article, who assumes the right to present the composite result of views taken from many angles, first, because he is a patriotic American, and, as such, entitled to criticize the Government administration in the presence of his fellow citizens; second, because as such he considers it his duty to help inform his compatriots of the real situation, and, third, because as a sentimental friend of Mexico, and of elemental justice, he desires the continuance of the integrity of the Republic of Mexico, almost as fondly as if it were of his own nativity, and he deprecates an interference by our Government that might eventuate in acquisition of territory at the cost of our honor, as powerful and friendly neighbors of a struggling Republic.

The information given and the views expressed herein will not be relished by the ardent annexationists in the United States and Mexico, who are owners of property which would be quadrupled in value were their hopes realized; nor by Government contractors throughout the country and business men in the border towns who would profit directly in the event of hostilities. The so-called Constitutionalists in the Northern States of Mexico would lose the remittances now more or less regularly received from across the border should the public of the United States wake up to a knowledge of the whole game. Public opinion would compel our authorities to break up the industrious revolutionary juntas, which are actively propagating unrest and treason in Mexico, from their headquarters at Los Angeles, San Antonio, Washington and many border towns. With an established government in Mexico, their vocation and means of subsistence gone, these paid disturbers might be obliged to go to work for a living at some honest employment.

An exposure will not be relished by certain Democratic politician-statesmen who see in a continuance of disorder an opportunity to intervene in the right way at the psychological moment before the next presidential election.

The Interests which started all this trouble in the effort to depose Diaz and set up in his place a tool of their own will pay little attention to this, which is an old story, many details of which are known only to themselves; and they are too sure of their omnipotence to doubt the outcome of their wonderfully clever plans.

The Taft Administration, which by its vacillating weakness, contributed much to the plight in which both Mexicans and Americans in Mexico find themselves, like Madero the weak and fanatical tool of the Interests, is dead, but the subsequent disorder, due directly to two good but weak men in power, is a heritage for a new administration, which may yet bring disgrace upon our great nation if not probated promptly and properly.

One of the cleverest moves of the master minds in charge of this gigantic conspiracy of the Interests to steal a whole nation was the arrangement by which President Wilson obtained his first information concerning the death of Madero and the state of affairs in Mexico from the widow of the dead president through an interview purposely and carefully arranged, and we have since beheld the spectacle of a national policy regarding a foreign power inspired by a grief-stricken widow's account of the death of her husband, of which she was not a witness.

And now an Ambassador of the United States, qualified above all other officials by reason of his personal knowledge of events, has been made the "goat" to carry off the mistakes of an

(Continued on Next Page.)

## THE FACTS ABOUT MEXICO---Continued

Executive and State Department committed in haste and ignorance, and continued in self-righteous stubbornness. And then we behold the trial for murder of the head of a foreign nation by a jury of two men at the head of the Government of the United States, and his conviction (to their satisfaction) as an assassin.

But we are getting ahead of our story, and a recital of recent events may interfere with the perspective intended to be fully developed for the purpose of conveying the details of information to the public as promised. If the reader is interested, he will have an opportunity to learn the tale from the beginning of the conspiracy until the present time.

First, let us learn from our patriotic Mexican friend an outline of his part of the story. He will tell you of the conspiracy to wreck our neighbor, Mexico (a nation with a population double the size of our neighbor, Canada), which had enjoyed a peaceful existence for thirty-five years, and to set its sixteen million inhabitants to fighting each other without cause, reason or reward. A nation trying to lift itself from the position of barbaric savagery of three hundred years ago by emulating our former example of independent prosperity and our Government Constitution, and which made a longer leap toward improvement from 1876 until disrupted by a venal financial power than any other nation ever made from the same starting condition in any thirty-five-year period.

A carefully devised program began a press agitation in Mexico and the United States over four years before the resignation of Diaz was forced by circumstances brought into being by this campaign of agitation as conducted in the press. It can be proven that the money for this continuous performance was furnished by American financial interests.

It is impossible, perhaps, to bring positive legal proof which would be accepted in a court of law to convict the most powerful influences of America of a conspiracy of such gigantic proportions and consequences. But the American public usually bases its final judgment upon the equities of a case rather than upon legal technicalities.

You will be convinced that, knowingly or unconsciously, certain high officials of the United States Government were accessories before, during and after the deposition of Diaz and the elevation of Madero.

You will learn that the death of Madero was the first serious setback encountered by the conspirators, and that Huerta was the first Mexican to stand strictly for the integrity of the Republic, and that after the mercenary Maderos had emptied the national treasury you will agree that the failure by the United States to recognize the Provisional Government was because of a lack of knowledge of the true state of affairs on the part of President Wilson. He sent one representative after another to Mexico to gather information for his guidance and presumably for dissemination among the people of the United States, and you will wonder why the people were not informed of the facts.

President Wilson presented as a precedent for his refusal to recognize the Mexican Government and its Provisional President the refusal of President Hayes in 1876 to recognize Porfirio Diaz as President, but Hayes' own election had been questioned almost to the point of a revolution in the United States, and he could ill afford to sanction the removal by force of the illegally elected Lerdo, whom the Mexican people, with Diaz as leader, recalled in a summary manner. If the President of the United States had been looking for a parallel precedent he might have considered the decision of President Lincoln in the case of President Juarez, who continued in office beyond his term, when Mexico's internal affairs were too upset for an election, thereby saving the Republic, although temporarily violating a provision of the Constitution, so that both the Republic and Constitution were saved. And when we come to think of it, what is the use of the Constitution of a Republic after the Republic has been annihilated?

However, President Wilson in effect said to President Huerta: "You are nobody, but you must put down this revolution. You must have a Constitutional election, but, of course, under the Constitution no election can be held until the revolution is ended. You cannot put down the revolution unless you have money. You cannot get money unless your Government is recognized by the United States. At any rate, you must resign, and then under your Constitution your Congress must appoint another Provisional President, just as you were appointed; then your Government will be 'constitutional,' as we desire to interpret your Constitution." Can you beat it?

Our Mexican friend insists that the laws of neutrality were allowed to be broken for the benefit of the Maderos, to the chagrin and surprise of President Diaz, who had implicit faith in the friendship of the United States Government. That every effort had been made at Washington and elsewhere to keep the real facts from the American public while misleading stories were circulated by nearly all the leading journals to prejudice the public that it might allow the conspirators' plans to proceed without protest.

You will wonder how and why the sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, after several months of investigating the causes of the revolution, requested another year for the presentation of their report. At the same time, members of this committee had openly stated that they were convinced that the Madero revolution was instigated and partly financed in the United States. Now the United States public was kept in ignorance of this testimony, and yet a printed copy of all of it was in the hands of a revolutionary junta, which was helping to disturb the peace in three Northern States less than a month after the committee had asked for a year's extension of time. Every contention of our Mexican friend and every phase of this composite statement of facts can be proven by evidence now in the State Department. In May last Senator Marcus A. Smith of Arizona introduced a resolution in the Senate requesting the Secretary of State to furnish the documents regarding the Mexican situation and three months afterwards the Senate was informed that it was incompatible with the public service to grant the request.

**You may be sure that the real facts will never be presented to the public until they are demanded with no uncertain voice.**

In the meanwhile the Mexican Republic will work out its own salvation, but at the cost of blood and property, which will be discussed in due course with the other items which are to be explained in this article, most of which cost might have been avoided had the United States Government always acted in good faith and in accordance with the intention and spirit of solemn treaties entered into with Mexico, and had kept the given and implied assurances of moral and material support made by our Executive and State Departments from the time of James G. Blaine and John Hay up to and including those made by President Taft when he met President Diaz a few weeks before he, as our Chief Executive, assisted in the deposition of the Mexican President, to whom he had just given his felicitations and assurances of a continuance of our policy toward Mexico, first made evident by Lincoln.

And believing in the honesty of purpose of President Wilson, there is a chance that help may yet come from that quarter should he have the courage to acknowledge his early errors and decide upon real action which would terminate the already shattered revolution in one day. He might also conclude to invoke the solemn provisions of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which case the whole matter would be cleared up quickly and the former friendly relations renewed between the two countries.

We are given to understand by the course of events that the centralized money interests absolutely control at present the political and financial destinies of our own country of 100,000,000 souls, one Power, controlled by twelve or fifteen directors, practically in charge of our affairs.

This Power controls over seven thousand newspapers, one might say directly, and many others by indirect influence or false news. The press agents of this Power are the educators of the mass of the people on present day political and business subjects, the history we ourselves are making. The instruction in our public schools is largely ancient history, and our children may learn of the past glories of our Flag while the busy citizen is kept in ignorance of the ignominies heaped upon our good name and former glory by the action of this Power in respect to some of our neighboring nations.

Formerly the "Power" confined its operations principally to domestic affairs, but the enormous accretions of wealth and diversity of interests have made necessary the control of foreign affairs, sometimes in conjunction with aggregations of foreign capital and sometimes without them, or in spite of them.

A few years ago the greatest undeveloped oil fields in the world were discovered in Mexico. The early prospecting and partial development of these fields were done principally by an English corporation, commonly known as the Pierson Syndicate, in one section of the oil area, and by a group of Californians, known as the Doheny people, in another section. At this time, the refined petroleum business of Mexico was controlled by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, and all illuminating and lubricating oils were imported from the United States.

When the great extent of the Tampico oil fields had been determined by the prospecting companies the Standard crowd, as usual, planned for control of the output. The Piersons and California companies had discovered such great quantites of petroleum that the problem became that of finding a market. Both companies were in the position of having a world's supply of crude oil with no possible market outside of Mexico without the co-operation or consent of the two combinations which control the petroleum markets of the world.

(To be continued.)

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## KEEP OUT OF MEXICO.

As yet the American people have no specific information of outrages against the persons or property of foreigners in Mexico that would warrant intervention by the troops of this country. It would be criminal for the United States to be carried away on any wave of engendered hysteria and enter Mexico at such dictation. The only possible justification for intervention would be the securing and publishing of a list of actual depredations against persons and property that would show the spirit of the belligerents to be primarily anti-foreign, and indicate that the possessions and persons of foreigners in the republic were not only endangered, but were the specific objects of spleen. Does such condition exist? Unquestionably it does not. There has been adduced no evidence to show that the Mexicans on either side have not been reasonably careful to protect and to respect the lives and the property of foreigners, the exceptions being usually in the case of individuals who were known to be active partisans. Considering the fact that the country is under the cross-fire of a half dozen or more bandit organizations, beside the major contestants, it is rather remarkable that conditions from the point of view of foreign investment and population are not worse. * * *

If the government of the United States is in possession of facts indicative of wholesale depredations upon foreign property and widespread killing of foreigners under the direction of anti-foreign animus, it is its duty to make the facts matters of public knowledge. Lacking such an exhibit **the United States has absolutely no warrant for intervention.** It is folly to say that it should intervene because investments are potentially in peril. It is folly to say it should intervene because in some cases the enterprise of foreign investors has been interfered with or their works shut down and one or two destroyed. These are matters incident to the domestic situation and were part of the risk that foreign investors took when they sought with avidity the concessions that President Wilson is opposed to upon general principles. It is folly to say the United States should intervene to set up order in the republic, as long as the Mexicans themselves are primarily the sufferers from the disorder they are creating. * * *

**War with Mexico would last a generation before the bandit hordes were routed out, killed off or pacified. The United States would be a tremendous loser in life and treasure. It would annex problems graver than any it has ever had in its history and it would create conditions of weakness in the presence of any controversy arising with a foreign power of the first class.** The United States has no obligation to intervene; to do so would be folly. It must not permit its policy to be dictated by those who are influenced by interested motives solely. —Baltimore "American."

## MORE MEXICAN CRISES.

The condition in Mexico is grave and there is no glimmer of light upon a pathway out. The undigested rumor of a coalition between England, Germany and Japan against the United States with reference to Mexico is, of course, moonshine. It is more than likely that England has exchanged notes of inquiry to Germany relative to the interests of their citizens and investors and it may be presumed that Germany has held conversations with England and other Powers, but neither Germany nor England, nor all the Powers combined, will either undertake or dream of undertaking a coalition or of pressing too closely the United States.

England, through its responsible Ministers, has already spoken on this point, and, in addition, has exhibited an eager, almost precipitate inclination to disavow any intent to trouble the waters. England will no more think of interfering with us in Mexico than we should have considered a proposal to balk England's handling of the South African situation in the Boer War, and Germany will be as reticent and careful with respect to Mexico, notwithstanding the magnitude of German interests in Huerta's domain, as we should be in meddling in German East Africa or with the present negotiations between Germany and England for the purchase of Portugal's land in the Dark Continent.

America's "paramountcy" in this crisis is complete and unchallenged; the Administration has a free hand; what will it do with its freedom of action? "Watchful waiting" has thus far avoided the necessity for intervention, which would be a calamity, but the watching and waiting cannot last forever. Perhaps Huerta may be eliminated eventually, but if the principles laid down in rejecting the pretentions of Huerta shall be persisted in the Mexican crisis will, in all human probability, be perpetual; one government after another will topple to the ground; rebellion will succeed revolution; the distress in the country will be succeeded by complete paralysis; Mexico's resources will be exhausted; energy and enterprise will be atrophied; the fair land will be wasted; anarchy will be the order of the day and chaos will "intervene."

Huerta, let it be admitted, is a rough, uncouth man; perhaps his hands are stained with blood; he is taboo. But Villa is an unregulated bandit and under the rule of conduct prescribed for the United States he cannot be permitted even to attempt to create a stable government if he should prove his power and capacity. Oroczo is an outlaw without scruples; Zapata is a bushwacker, and Carranza, with all his professed constitutionalism, can never begin to form a strong government which will inspire respect at home until he has shown that he is even more of a man of "blood and iron" than Huerta himself. Under the policy which the United States is evidently committed to another Porfirio Diaz, offering indubitable capacity to insure peace, order and prosperity in Mexico, would not be recognized or countenanced by Mr. Wilson.

It is a pity, to be sure, that Mexico has no John Hampden at hand. It would be so much better for everyone if only another George Washington, some great patriot and God-given leader, should spring to the front, but there is grave doubt whether even such a man would be recognized by the Mexican people and afforded the opportunity. **We must modify our preconceived notions and adopt a policy possible to the Mexican people as they happen to be and not as we wish they were.**

This country has nothing to fear from European interference in Mexico, but **there is a genuine cause for alarm in a situation and a policy that is likely to prolong rebellion until it becomes an interminable, desolating warfare of bands of guerrillas.** We have been fortunate to be able to keep hands off; intervention would be a national calamity for us, and so firm are wise Americans in this opinion that we should think of abandoning a policy which, by preventing the Mexicans to attend to their own affairs, may lead straight and inevitably to action on our part that will be deplorable.

The Executive should be unhampered in dealing with this grave problem, but it is more than probable that Congress may be forced before long to debate the Mexican situation in the hope that in counsel there may be light.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## THE COMING MAN IN MEXICO.

Our neighbor, the "World," which greatly admires the Wilson Administration's policy of pacific intervention in Mexican affairs for the overthrow of the Huerta Administration because it is "founded on blood," gives an interesting picture of the man who is likely to be Huerta's successor in power should the American government's boycott prove effective:

**Gen. Villa, who commands all the revolutionary forces in northeastern Mexico, with a dozen generals and probably 30,000 soldiers under his authority, is a dashing bandit type, picturesque, not dignified, often full of merriment, sometimes stern and not infrequently cruel. He has been a fugitive from justice, compelled to live by his wits and with a heavy price on his head for nearly two decades.**

It might be added that this noble representative of "constitutional order" has with manly scorn refused to learn the effeminate art of reading and writing.—New York "Evening Mail."

## DO WE WANT WAR WITH MEXICO?

By Charlton Bates Strayer in "Leslie's Weekly" of January 1.

The country will stand behind its President in any foreign complication, but grievous apprehension exists throughout the world as to whether we have pursued the wisest policy in regard to Mexico. The one thing President Wilson has wished to avoid is war. **Yet his ultimatum to President Huerta of Mexico, followed by a waiting policy, leads every day nearer to war.** The motive of the President is above question and were he dealing with any other than a Latin-American people there would be more hope for a successful outcome of his idealistic polity. Even if Huerta is at last eliminated, there is not any great likelihood of anyone taking his place whose hands are less stained with blood.

It is impossible to impress upon the people of Mexico the ethical standards of the United States, unless through an educational process covering many years. Moral standards have never yet been given to people by coercion or threats. Morals are not a matter of bestowal from outside, but a slow growth from within. The character of the Mexican people cannot be made over in a year, nor can a free and intelligent exercise of the franchise be assured through the threatening policy of another power.

The London "Spectator," which criticises President Wilson's Mexican policy as being neither one of complete recognition of liberty nor a complete system of control, uses a homely illustration to show how the policy attempts to control while it repudiates the desire to do so. The "Spectator" supposes a mother-in-law saying to her son-in-law: "As you know, I do not believe in interference, and my principle is that you and my daughter should be absolutely master and mistress of your own house. At the same time, it is quite impossible that you should go on employing your present cook. She is a woman of the worst character, though you seem to be quite unaware of the fact. I must therefore request you to send her away at once. If you do not do so, I shall be driven to take steps to compel you." * * *

How much better it would have been if the existing government had been recognized by President Wilson, with the promise of our support on condition that it bring order out of chaos, secure protection to life and property, and guarantee to the people the liberties given them under their constitution? A country that had been for years under the despotic rule of a Diaz might have responded to the alternative of support or intervention on such terms, but could hardly have been equal to much more than that.

The elimination of Huerta at this time will not bring order to a disorganized country nor promote an era of good will between Mexico and the United States. Smouldering fires would still exist, and these in time bring conflagrations. We are finding it more difficult, too, to coerce a disorganized power than it would be to coerce a well-organized state. A well-organized power would have much to risk or lose through foreign invasion. On the contrary, the many factions in a disorganized country like Mexico would welcome intervention or invasion as the one thing that would best unify all warring factions.

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## THE MASTER.

When the iron-fisted Porfirio Diaz was driven from the country, volcanic lawlessness tore the republic into fragments. Madero climbed upon the chair where a soldierly, perhaps despotic, statesman had sat for a generation. With abstract philosophy and platitudes the well-meaning but incompetent dreamer sought to remedy the potent evils of a big nation. At no time were Zapata and Orozco not beating his armies, inciting his subjects and plundering those who remained loyal. Madero was a weakling; he forgave his enemies—he did worse, he trusted them.

Then came the battle in Mexico City; the death of Madero and Suarez; and out of the fighting and turmoil rose the conspicuous figure of Huerta. Some say that his hands were stained by blood. Naturally, he was a soldier and ambitious. He seized the sword of authority that Porfirio Diaz had dropped; he wielded it with a strength and a surety that surprised not only his own, but the nations of the world. The powers of Enrope gave him recognition; President Wilson disapproved of his morals and called upon him to resign. But Huerta has linked his destiny with the Presidency of Mexico; his back is to the wall and he is fighting—fighting—fighting against terrific odds that would long ago have crushed a coward or a weakling.

Thousands have joined in the tumultous fight. They know not what day the strongest man in Mexico City will go down before some traitorous blow or the arms of the rebellious districts. An eye-witness to one of the hegiras said: "Two thousand men. women and children, wild with fear, without food part of the time, half-crazed with thirst, marched 190 miles in nine days over the desert from Chihuahua City to the Rio Grande." The same witness also adds that the line of march for over a hundred miles was strewn with their goods.

What will the result be? Revolutions do not burn themselves out—they continue with bloodshed and rapine, murder and robbery, intrigues and battles until out of the jumble and the turmoil one man becomes the master of the many-headed hydra and buries it beneath the mountain of his authority.—Los Angeles "Times."

## FROM THE MIDST OF CHAOS.

### Letter from an Important Business Manager Frankly Describing the Situation.

(In New York "Evening Mail.")

Chihuahua, Mex., Dec. 22, 1913.

If President Wilson thinks he can settle this situation by cutting off financial assistance from Huerta, it is a game that will last some little time.

Up to date the government has not had to resort to forced loans, and every time the other side confiscates a big ranch or forces some rich man to dig up some few thousands, it is simply driving the rest to help the government in self defense.

Huerta, or the government he represents, may be busted in three or four different ways, but one thing you gentle people don't seem to consider in this business is that every Mexican in the country with ten dollars capital, outside the Madero family and its job-hungry connections, is bound by all the laws of self-preservation to support Huerta or, if he falls, someone else who will try to hold the pelados in check.

As the Villa-Carranza, etc., group arrive on top things are just commencing to warm up.

Of course, having been long out of touch with affairs in Mexico City I don't know what conditions are there, but believe Huerta will be able to pull considerable money to him for the reasons stated. It is not in man's nature to sit back and fold his hands when he is told that when the other fellow wins out he will lose all he has. Better lose it trying to save something.

The Maderista faction, wherever they have control, have taken possession of all ranches, cattle, etc. For instance, the Santa Cruz ranch, belonging to Domingo Horigoity, has been taken by a "pelado" from Dorado, every head of cattle, some 15,000, either killed or sold or presented to his friends. Same thing on the Salaices ranch, near Jimenez, "General" Chao now being the owner.

It is very nice for the present, but when "constitutionalists" win out, every sandalfoot man with a gun in his hands will want a nice ranch, too, and that means more war.

I am pinning my faith on an improvement of conditions on the small ranches from which the greater portion of the "constitutionalist" troops are drawn.

During the past eight months the insurgents have cleaned out every big hacienda in the state, and during the past two months they have drawn heavily on the small men, in fact, cleaning them out of corn, wheat and beans, which is practically all they raise. This has turned them against the movement and, as far as my personal knowledge goes, there is not a ranch within a radius of one hundred miles of Parral, Jimenez or Santa Rosalia and all the country from Torreon, north, where any wheat was sown this winter, as they all say, "What's the use of doing all the work and then have to give up the crop as soon as harvested."

All of these people depend on their wheat to live on until the corn crop comes in, and right now with coffee, sugar, flour, lard, beans and rice at ten times its ordinary value and very scarce at that, it is creating a condition which will either send thousands to the "constitutionalist" or the government side.

They are beginning to realize what revolution really means and must move one way or the other soon, or face starvation.

The efforts of Villa and his various committees to get the foreign mining companies to start up shows they realize what is coming, or rather what is now here, and I believe they are going to make greater efforts than ever to settle the question.

Wilson's policy of allowing these grafters to get war supplies across the border is not going to do any good. He is just like lots of Mexicans—his personal feelings are everything.

Believe me, the man, whoever he is, who will finally control the situation in Mexico will be one of the Diaz-Huerta type. The common herd is not yet ready to be let loose, but see for yourself what they have done to date. They cannot be reasoned with, and the suffering of their own families has no effect on them whatever.

Villa insists that there be no elections, that is, those chosen to govern shall be those the troops in the field "select." As Villa appears to be the big "it," he probably will be selected; if so, watch for fireworks. Diaz and Huerta will be angels compared to him.


# Read "MEXICO"

## ONCE A WEEK

## AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: President Woodrow Wilson and his Administration are really responsible for the present condition of affairs in the Republic of Mexico.

The Wilson Administration is responsible for encouraging the enemies of law and order, and for continuing a state of affairs fatal alike to the well-being of Mexico and of the large foreign commercial interests established in that country.

The Wilson Administration is responsible for trying to impose its personal opinions on the internal affairs of Mexico, and as a result of its unjustifiable interference, for spreading the worst features of bandit warfare, to the shame of its protestations of humanity.

The Wilson Administration is responsible for misplaced sentimentalism, which in international policies, far from being a virtue, becomes a dangerous vice.

The Wilson Administration is responsible for wilfully ignoring obvious facts in its handling of the Mexican problem. A prejudiced mind and intentional avoidance of facts are inexcusable in the Chief Executive of a nation.

The Wilson Administration is responsible for destroying industry and commerce and promoting rebellion, brigandage and bloodshed in Mexico by its refusal to recognize the properly constituted Government of General Huerta. President Wilson's declaration that no Government stained with blood could endure is a fine utterance, but entirely inapplicable to any nation of the earth, past or present.

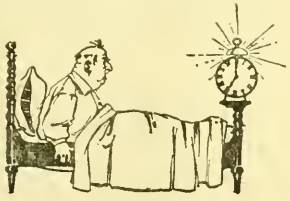
The Wilson Administration is responsible for the failure to enforce the neutrality laws, and of otherwise protecting and aiding the bandits who under the name of "constitutionalists" are burning, murdering and raping in Northern Mexico. Large bodies of armed men have freely crossed into Mexico, coming via Douglas, Arizona, to aid in the attack on Juarez. From El Paso, Texas, there is a constant traffic in arms. Recently more than a million rounds were sent across the line from that place in automobiles and in carts covered with alfalfa. After his barbarous and bloody deeds in Juarez the bandit Villa was given a banquet in the Hotel Sheldon, at El Paso, and on several occasions slept in that city. Thus are the laws of neutrality observed!

And to crown all, the well-meaning, upright Puritan views this with "complacency" and "watchful waiting," telling the people that it is all in the name of humanity and civilization, and prompted solely by his affectionate interest in behalf of the Mexican people and their Constitution.

It is hard to realize that the President of the most cultured nation on earth is helping the worst class of bandits; yet such is the case, and still worse!

And in the meanwhile did any one by chance mention the word "petroleum"?

Baltimore, Md., Jan. 2, 1914. C. U. MESTA.

1913 **WASHINGTON** 1914
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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: While sitting in my club this P. M. I happened to casually pick up a recent issue (December 20th) of your weekly.

I have lived in Mexico for twelve years, where I have practiced my profession of civil and mining engineer continually, and I so thoroughly agree with the views so efficiently expressed in your publication that I could not other than feel that I should write you this letter in commendation of your expressed purpose of enlightening the American people, on this side of the border, as to real conditions in Mexico. I except those of us who have lived there and know the country as it really is and not as our esteemed President, who has never known it at close range, would like to have it, because I feel that almost to a man we agree with you.

I am glad to know that a publication such as yours has come into being, and it should receive the active support of all who have the true interests of our country, as well as those of Mexico, at heart.

I would like to receive the paper in the future and will remit you a year's subscription in advance, upon receipt of a statement.

Yours very truly,

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 31, 1913. W. F. L.

## COUNTERFEITERS ANNOY CARRANZA.

(By Direct Wire to the Los Angeles "Times.")

Hermosillo (Sonora) Dec. 31.—[Exclusive Dispatch.] Fears that a grave financial crisis may follow the Mexican money muddle and the discovery that a gang of expert counterfeiters has been reaping a rich harvest led to the calling in to-day of all notes issued by the State of Sinaloa.

Immediate steps will be taken to substitute the Constitutionalist bank notes made by a regular engraving company in Washington for the non-descript bills printed on ordinary paper which are now in circulation all over Northern Mexico. Just how much of the State money has been falsified is a matter of speculation, but it is authoritatively stated that scarcely a town under the control of Gen. Carranza has escaped a visit from the counterfeiters. In one case an entire herd of cattle was purchased with the false notes and the cattle were sent to the United States and sold before the discovery was made. Rumor declares that the holder of the bad bills said nothing, but simply put them into circulation again.

The decree issued by Carranza to-day stipulates that only the genuine notes will be accepted for redemption and to-night there is a scramble to get rid of suspicious bills, leaving the other fellow to hold the bag.

## SAYS FOREIGNERS ARE SAFE.

Washington, Jan. 2.—Col. Moreton F. Gage, Military Attache at the British Embassy, who returned to-day from a visit of three weeks in Mexico, saw nothing to indicate danger to foreigners there, and so far as his observations went had difficulty in realizing that a revolution was in progress. He said he noted signs of ordered government about the capital and along the railway to Vera Cruz, and was much impressed with the rurales, on whom the duty of maintaining order must fall if the regular troops were withdrawn for service in the field.

"I do not believe," said the Colonel, "there is any danger to foreigners in the city except possibly in the event of the Government being suddenly deprived of its head. In that case civil riot might arise."

To the publicity given by American newspapers to what are regarded in Mexico City as exaggerated reports of rebel victories along the northern border Col. Gage attributed what he termed "the unfortunate impression prevailing among Mexicans that the American public favored the cause of the rebels." As to statements that Mr. O'Shaughnessy had been forced to take a roundabout course to obtain an interview with Huerta, Col. Gage said it was well known in the Mexican capital that relations between the two were most cordial.—New York "Times."

It is said that Pancho Villa can neither read nor write. Nor has he need to as long as the American papers supply him gratis with press agents.—New Orleans "Picayune."


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## VICARIOUS INTERVENTION.

At least two-thirds of the support the Administration receives from those who publicly comment on the Mexican "policy" is based on the assumption that the Administraton has shown admirable wisdom and patience in resisting the clamor of those who have urged intervention. This is rather negative praise of a negative attitude, but undoubtedly it is sincerely genuine. Armed intervention in Mexico would be a national calamity, unnecessary and unjustifiable, and would lead this country into perilous paths from which there would be no turning and into pitfalls of international complications without end. It would cost many thousands of lives and countless treasure, and place on the shoulders of the nation a racial, social and economical burden far greater than any we now have, that would have to be borne through generations and centuries to come.

But the Administration has actually intervened in Mexico. It has intervened to an extent that makes its complete withdrawal from an unwarranted position the only alternative to the armed intervention that is inevitable if it would enforce its dictation to an independent neighbor. Of course, the Administration may take the ground that there is no Government in Mexico, but that is simply verbal quibbling and mental juggling that will not stand the test of time or actuality. With all its power it cannot gainsay facts that are accepted by the Mexican people, their courts and institutions, and recognized by all great nations of the world except our own.

The Wilson Administration has intervened in Mexico in an absolutely unprecedented way. It has intervened in a hypocritical, un-American way, by encouraging the lawless element of Mexico to fight against the Government. It is not like an American to get somebody else to do his fighting for him. That smacks too much of hiring gangsters to "do up" somebody against whom you have a grudge. By this open encouragement to the forces seeking to overthrow the Mexican Government, and by trying, after the approved manner of Big Business, to "starve out" that Government, it has intervened just as surely, but not as honorably, as it would by sending in armed forces.

This intervention is despicable, mean and unworthy of the great United States. There is nothing glorious, and, oh, so much that is shameful, in the action of a great power which deliberately wrongs a weaker neighbor, tries to ruin that neighbor, and drive it to despair. Would the Administration have dared take toward a stronger nation the attitude that it has assumed toward Mexico? There is the test. And to be honest with ourselves we must look at the situation in this light.

The Administration has taken advantage of a neighbor's ills to act the part of a bully. It has intervened in Mexico by ranging itself on the side of criminality against a struggling civilization. It has taken sides with bandits, looters, violators of women, robbers, thieves and brigands. It has intervened in a way that should make us blush before the accusing fingers of the civilized world.

If the President is entitled to praise and support for not having made the supreme blunder of armed intervention in Mexico, he is at the same time open to condemnation for having intervened in a less honorable and therefore less American way.

## THE LESSON OF HISTORY.

The aim of the rebels in so far as they can be said to have any concerted, definite aim, is revenge and the restoration of "Maderism," that is, the seizure of power by a few men who were ousted by the Diaz revolution in February.

The aim of the Madero family is revenge. Rafael Hernandez, cousin of Madero, ex-Minister of the Interior, declared at a luncheon a few days ago in New York City that the whole Federal Army would be killed—that every officer would be shot. Some one remarked that as there are five thousand Mexican Army officers, even if they killed ten every day—supposing that the Maderos should get into power again—it would take nearly two years of assassination to do away with all the officers.

The declaration of Rafael Hernandez is typical of the attitude of the rebel leaders and gives a clear idea of their purposes.

From such wholesale murder and anarchy as that promised by Carranza and his followers democracy cannot be engendered. But the state of anarchy already a fact in many parts of Mexico makes necessary the existence of a temporary dictatorship until peace and order are restored. It has ever been thus. Anarchy, following upon the heels of social revolutions, has always engendered dictatorships, never democracy. Vide Napoleon and Cromwell. But dictatorships have engendered democracies because they make possible the economical and social development of the people. Vide France and England after the rule of Napoleon and Cromwell.

Mr. Wilson in handling Mexican relations is bent upon disregarding all historical lessons and breaking all precedents, but he cannot change the world, nor humanity as it exists in Mexico.

## GETTING TOGETHER.

Bryan publicly prayed to God to help him save the country from war with Mexico.

* * *

With no reflections on the efficacy of prayer, we would suggest to the pious Commoner that a practical way of saving the country from such a calamity is open to him.

* * *

Stop antagonizing the Mexican Government. Stop encouraging the Mexican bandits and rebels. Stop playing the game of the American interests who want control of Mexico—by force of arms if they can not get it any other way.

* * *

It's very simple—and the prayer would be answered.

* * *

It is very significant that all the fighting in Mexico recently has been along the American border. Which does not look much like that promised irresistible advance on Mexico City. Villa was to eat his Christmas dinner there, wasn't he? Well, well, now, isn't that strange?

* * *

The border correspondents should bless the siege of Ojinaga. It has given them wonderful opportunities for fiction writing at so much per column. The papers want color and action. Can you blame the correspondents for putting it on thick?

* * *

The public's taste in fiction changes every now and then. Signs of the public's getting sick of the Mexican "stories" are more obvious every day.

* * *

The secret and mysterious talk with Lind was simply a little "get together" chat.

* * *

Why not get together with the American people?

* * *

Or are foreign affairs too deep and abstruse for the general public? Something to be grasped only by a superior mind?

* * *

But if mistakes are made it's the dear public that has to pay the cost.

* * *

The one conviction of the people at large is that war must be avoided at all costs.

* * *

Whatever public support there is for the Administration "policy" is based on the belief that the intention of Washing is to avoid war.

* * *

That may be its intention—but certainly its actions are in an opposite direction.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 22 NEW YORK, SATURDAY ,JANUARY 17, 1914. FIVE CENTS

## THE WHY OF IT.

Many persons cannot understand why Latin-American countries fear and distrust us. We cannot help being big and powerful, but our people have no desire to encroach on the rights of the other Americans; they are too busy about their own affairs to think about any such thing.

* * *

But the fault does not lie with the American people. The reasons for this Latin-American distrust are the domineering and ignorant actions and words of our public men, clothed with a brief authority; the machinations of American Big Business, backed by a servile State Department and frequently represented by unfit and unworthy "diplomats"; the overbearing manner and tactlessness of some Americans who have gone into those countries for their own profit with the manners of a pig and the loud boast of superiority.

* * *

The visit of Senator Root to all the Latin-American countries a few years ago, when he was Secretary of State, did much to overcome the unfriendly spirit that had been aroused in the people to the south of us.

* * *

And now the blundering—or worse—of the Wilson Administration in relation to Mexico has added fuel to the fire of distrust—and it will hurt us for years to come.

* * *

Hurt us materially and morally.

* * *

We want more Latin-American trade and progressive manufacturers are preparing to get it upon the opening of the Panama Canal.

* * *

And at this auspicious time for a display of national good-will and friendship we are acting the bully to Mexico, and all her kin to the south are against us.

* * *

All because the Administration has a philosopher's dream of a millenium of "constitutionalism" and a busybody's instinct to meddle in others' affairs.

# NO REASON FOR Gloating

Exactly four months ago, in our issue of September 13th last, we said:

"It is unconscionable to suppose that the friendship for Mexico expressed in such glowing terms by President Wilson should be revealed in an attempt to shut off from that country all sources of financial supply. Especially when this blockade would not result in the establishment of peace, but in prolonged troubles for Mexico."

In case of the effectiveness of such a financial blockade we prophesied:

"Mexico could say to the world:

"We have done our best to maintain our credit intact and faithfully to respect all our financial obligations now as in the past.

"European bankers, knowing the stability of our credit and the extent of our resources, are ready to give us all the financial support we need to re-establish peace and develop our resources.

"The President of the United States refuses to recognize our Constitutional Government. Moreover, to demonstrate that he has the power to enforce his will upon us, he has brought to bear his potent influence on the bankers of Europe to surround us with a financial blockade.

"We protest at this unfair treatment, but we are compelled to declare a moratorium on the payment of interest on our national debt.

"We shall keep the money at home, use it in the work which we have determined to carry on to a finish—that of restoring order and reopening all the sources of fruitful production. It may take us one, two or three years to do this. When this is done we shall begin again payment of interest on our national debt, compounding the amounts due for non-payment of interest during the time of suspension. Mexico in peace can easily assume a much larger national debt than it has now, as in proportion to territory, population and resources, it has one of the smallest national debts in the world.

"This is not of our own volition. We are forced to it by the unjustified determination of the United States not to recognize a government which our own Congress and Supreme Court have declared to be the Constitutional Government of Mexico.

"We are sorry, but now our creditors shall have to bide their time."

"If the alleged plans to shut off all financial help * * * existed and were carried out. Mexico could say all this to the world with clear conscience and clean hands. And the world would recognize the justice of Mexico's stand."

As a result of the powerful pressure brought by the Washington Administration to shut off financial help from the Mexican Government, the situation that we prophesied has naturally arisen.

With the consent of the foreign bankers concerned, the Mexican Government has decreed that it will apply its customs receipts toward the work of pacification in preference to the payment of interest on the bonded debt.

No default was made in the payment of interest due January 1st (although

(Continued on next page)

NO REASON FOR GLOATING—
(Continued)

some newspapers sought to convey this impression), but the customs receipts that ordinarily would be set apart for the interest charges due in April and June will now be available for internal necessities. Since the attitude of the Washington Administration made this the only course for the Mexican Government, and since eventual payment of the interest and compounded interest on what has accrued is a certainty, the arrangement was inevitable and necessarily acceptable to the bankers.

This does not signify that Mexico or the Mexican Government is bankrupt. It simply means that the ordinary functions of government are checked and hampered by the interference of the Washington Administration. It means that the Mexican Government must of necessity depend on its own resources to pacify the country against the opposition of Washington, which has made the work of pacification more difficult. It means that an additional four million dollars, Mexican, will be available monthly for the essential military operations of the Government.

To fully understand how this will operate to strengthen the hands of the Government, it must be remembered that of the $30,000,000 gold which the Government received last June, on account of the $100,000,000 foreign loan, less than $5,000,000 remained for the Government's use after payment of debts and interest on debts contracted by the Madero regime. With this paltry sum the Government has more than held its own against the encouraged forces of rebellion and despite the destructive enmity of the Wilson Administration. President Huerta, with such limited resources, has shown himself a capable and economical manager. It is safe to predict that with his increased available cash he will achieve results in generous proportion.

There is not the slightest doubt that the arbitrary Big Business methods of financial starvation adopted by the Administration toward Mexico have succeeded in piling up difficulties for the Mexican Government, which was exactly the object and intention. The difficulties piled up for the Mexican Government are difficulties for a troubled Mexico and a suffering Mexican people.

Does not our country—or rather the Administration—present a pitiable spectacle to the world—representatives of a happy, prosperous, powerful nation hovering over a weaker, luckless people and gloating over the suffering they have caused?

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Public opinion in Central and South America is dead set against the way the Administration has dealt with Mexico.

* * *

There must be a reason for this unanimity of opinion.

# BLOOD AND INTRIGUE

Rebellion in Mexico is not a fight of or for principles. It is an occupation.

A profitable occupation.

To the leaders it means personal power and local prestige. It means the wealth derived from blackmail, confiscation and robbery. It means the opportunity to be hired or bought by unscrupulous politicians, not to mention certain American interests.

To the followers it means a free and easy life. It means loot and it means women and girls of a class they have had to respect before.

And it is for such as these that some of our newspapers and "high officials" of the Administration profess sympathy.

Of course there have been abuses and wrongs in Mexico, as in every country, which, combined with racial traits and economic conditions, have made this state of affairs in Mexico possible.

There is much to be done in Mexico—and every intelligent Mexican realizes it—before the present conditions shall have been made forever impossible.

This is Mexico's great problem, with which it must struggle as other more developed peoples have had to struggle with theirs.

But little can be done until lawlessness, brigandage and unprincipled rebellion have been stamped out and the country restored to peace.

It is to restore peace to the country that the Mexican Government is committed and pledged.

The opposition of the Washington Administration has been the greatest factor in postponing the work of pacification and giving a new lease of life to unprincipled rebellion, pillage and rape.

Whatever the final outcome of the Administration's interference in Mexican affairs may be, the fact can never be blotted out that for the terrible conditions in certain parts of Mexico during the last six months it is morally responsible. Whatever the future may hold of good or evil, the hundreds of lives that have been lost by barbarous execution, the hundreds of women and girls who have been violated, the sacking of cities and villages must be laid at the door of those who, professing morality, have watched with the satisfaction of vultures and rubbed their hands in self-righteous gloating.

The Administration may say that it set out to destroy only Huerta. Whatever it may say, it has deliberately set out to destroy Mexico. In the first place, it had no right to destroy a President of Mexico, whoever or whatever he might be, whose office and whose power were recognized and accepted by the vast majority of the Mexican people, no right in international law, no right except the right of might. In the second place, it not only had no right, but it committed a greater national crime, when it persisted in seeking to destroy President Huerta after it became evident that to do so it must needs destroy the national credit of Mexico and strengthen the destructive rebels and bandits.

If that does not indicate a deliberate purpose to destroy Mexico as a nation and the life and security of the Mexican people, then facts are not facts and truth is not truth.

And at every reported blow to the Mexican Government, which is at the same time a blow to Mexico and the Mexican people, we are told that Washington is pleased, that its policy of "watchful waiting" is justified.

It would be interesting to know how these moral buzzards would feel if they had women or girl relatives in the zone of the rebels' activities. Why did all the women and girls who could possibly do so trek across the desert from Chihuahua for two hundred miles to the American border to escape the hordes of Villa?

It may be said in Washington that this sort of thing goes with a state of war. It does not. It goes with a state of barbarism and the men who are fighting the fight of the Washington Administration against the Mexican Government are the barbarians.

What there is of civilized warfare in Mexico is conducted by the Federal troops. Because they represent a civilized, responsible government they do not loot, they do not rape, they do not commit acts of vandalism. They are the only protection of the decent people against the bandits and the barbarous rebels.

Since rebellion in Mexico is an occupation which will be profitable until it is stamped out by force, the mere elimination of General Huerta as President of Mexico would not in any degree contribute to the end of rebellion. No matter who should succeed President Huerta as President, he would be confronted with the same conditions. All that would be accomplished by the elimination of President Huerta at the dictation of the Washington Administration would be the surrender of the national sovereignty of Mexico. No one can blame General Huerta as a Mexican for his refusal to do that. Washington's very demand on him to eliminate himself has virtually made it impossible for him to do so even if he were so inclined.

General Huerta is persona non grata to the Washington Administration because he is the beneficiary of a revolution to overthrow the Madero Government. That

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may be, but does that put him in any worse or even as bad a light as our revolutionists in Washington who have plotted to overthrow the present Mexican Government and have used as weapons the murdering, ravishing Villa and the Power of Money? If the present Government is stained with blood and contaminated with financial intrigue, are not our Washington revolutionists dripping with the blood of hundreds and besmeared with the same intrigue?

### TAKE THE HINDMOST.

Just to-day there has been an interchange of felicitous messages between Carranza and Villa, showing that the best of feeling exists between the two men. It certainly does—so long as Carranza is in Sonora and Villa is in Chihuahua. There are several hundred miles between them.

I do not say that Carranza would not make an admirable President. On the contrary, if he could control the peon class he would make a splendid man; but he is of the landed gentry, he owns large tracts of land over in Coahuila, and he has a great number of peons working for him; and it is the big land-owners that are a large part of all the trouble in Mexico to-day.

It has been reported times without number that Carranza had made a combination with the Zapata brothers and that they were working under his direct orders. Just about as much truth in that report as there was in the one that he was about to join Villa. Carranza stands absolutely alone, the same as does every other rebel in Mexico. It is a case of "God bless us all and the devil take the hindmost."

You will notice in all the reports sent out about the recent battle of Ojinaga it is stated that Pacual Orozco and Ynez Salazar, two of the Federal generals, have disappeared and there are some thousand or more men with them. Villa would give a good deal to know just where these two men are. For years there has been a deadly feud between Villa and Orozco and Salazar. Villa has offered large rewards to get them in his hands. He has directed the rebel soldiers to kill them on sight. His big personal reason for taking command at Ojinaga was to get Orozco and Salazar. But he missed fire, and now they have gone.

Of course, the country immediately surrounding Ojinaga is a dead desert, and if a crow flew across it he would have to carry his own rations with him, but above and below Ojinaga are plenty of places where such a command could live, and it is safe to say that Pancho Villa will get many a sting from his two bitter enemies before he is through. If Villa, in his future operations, should leave his base unguarded he would soon find out where these men were.—Colonel Jasper Ewing Brady, in New York "Tribune."

# CRUDE PETROLEUM

Our efforts to enlighten American public opinion as regards Mexican affairs are showing good results every day. Months ago we pointed out facts about the oil war in Mexico which, through our efforts, are now generally accepted by the press and public.

By some queer trick of fate, the New York "World" of January 9 published the following from its Washington correspondent. As it reveals the very facts which we have sought to bring out and which the "World" has done its best to hide or to obfuscate, we must conclude that either the "World" has become conscience-stricken or that somebody, like Jove, nodded:

(Special to The World)

Washington, Jan. 8.—The State Department has on file the reports of investigations showing that the Waters-Pierce Oil Company of the United States aided in financing the revolution of Francisco I. Madero against Porfirio Diaz, which began in November, 1910.

These reports were made by Secret Service agents in the spring of 1911 and by the then American Ambassador to Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson. Mr. Wilson's report was based on hearsay evidence, that of the Secret Service operatives on direct evidence, it is stated.

Former President Taft, Secretary of State Knox and Attorney-General Wickersham knew of the aid the Waters-Pierce Oil Company was rendering Madero, and that was one of the reasons why Mr. Taft held off many months from lending moral support to the Madero cause, it is said.

At the time the Secret Service agents reported that Madero was getting financial help from the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, there was a strong border patrol of troops and agents of the Departments of Justice, Commerce and the Treasury to prevent arms and ammunition being sent across the border. During this time the Washington Administration was throwing its influence to Diaz.

Mr. Wickersham, at the time of his appointment to the Cabinet, represented the Mexican Government on the Board of Directors of the Mexican National Railways. After Mr. Wickersham came into the Cabinet, Henry W. Taft, brother of President Taft, represented the Mexican Government on the Mexican National Railways Board. It was while Mr. Taft held this position with the railways that the American Government was lending its influence to Diaz.

The entrance of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company into the affairs of Madero came through Capt. S. G. Hopkins, an attorney of Washington, who has represented many revolutionists in Central America as counsel. Capt. Hopkins, at the time the Maderos engaged him as their representative, in October, 1910, just before Francisco Madero started his revolution, was counsel for H. Clay Pierce, President of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company.

At that time the Standard Oil Company was trying to oust H. Clay Pierce as head of the Waters-Pierce Company, because of his failure to drive the British oil corporation—the Pearson syndicate, of which Lord Cowdray is the head—out of business in Mexico. This fight between the Pearson and Waters-Pierce Oil Companies had been going on for years, and at the time the Standard had control of the Waters-Pierce.

It is reported that the money paid to Madero amounted to more than $250,000.

According to information obtained recently, the equivalent of this money the Waters-Pierce Company received back from the Madero Administration, in additional oil concessions. Capt. Hopkins went to Mexico City to engineer the concessions. He had no difficulty in negotiating the deal, as the Madero family was under obligations to Hopkins, although they paid him well as their attorney. The obligation the Maderos owed Capt. Hopkins was the result of Hopkins saving to the Madero family its entire estate in Mexico from confiscation by the Federal Government.

When Francisco I. Madero revolted against Diaz, his father, brothers and he owned valuable farming, grazing and mining lands in Northern Mexico. By a process known to many American corporation lawyers, Capt. Hopkins incorporated all the Madero property into an American corporation. According to the information obtained by the correspondent of the "World," this corporation was chartered in the State of Delaware.

The corporation raised some of the money which financed the Madero revolution. Other money was raised in the manner the present revolutionists are raising it, by subscription and levy.

It is unlikely that the Administration here will take any cognizance of the acts of Madero in 1910, or of any American corporations which contributed to his revolution, as the question of how Madero financed his campaign is regarded as having no material influence on the present situation. There is no law preventing American corporations doing business in Mexico from contributing to a war campaign fund.

The last sentence of the above is the only one consistent with the "World's" "policy." Why shouldn't American oil interests promote revolutions in Mexico? Why, indeed? Bringing untold suffering to the Mexican people and the thousands of Americans with legitimate interests in Mexico, who want only peace? Why, indeed, when the Government of the United States will help the game in the name of morality? Why not, even though the people of the United States may have to pay the price of a long and cruel warfare with Mexico? The morality of the "World" in this respect is on a par with the morality of the Administration in lending support to the Villas and Zapatas.

The day after the publication of the above, the "World" sought to straighten itself out with itself editorially, as follows:

Opinion in Europe which holds that the trouble in Mexico is nothing but a fight betwen rival oil

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companies in which this country appears only as a partisan is not abreast of the times.

There is reason to believe, spite of present denials, that the Madero revolt was aided by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company. It is equally certain that Porfirio Diaz, who was exiled by Madero in 1911, was the faithful servant of the Pearsons of England, likewise in oil. Plain as a pikestaff also is the fact that the counter-revolution of Felix Diaz and Huerta, culminating in murder and usurpation nearly a year ago, was engineered by the Pearsons.

What Europe overlooks in this case is the fact that the antagonism of the United States to Huerta does not necessarily involve championship of Waters-Pierce and Standard Oil. The essence of President Wilson's policy is not favor for one but disfavor for all of these successors of the ancient freebooters. He has decreed their separation from government on this continent.

It is not many years since enlightened nations ceased discussing the horrors of the slave trade; yet at its worst that traffic was hardly more of a scourge to mankind than the wars that have been fomented and waged in the name of commerce. On this hemisphere it is not the aggression of nations and dynasties that is to be feared. The enemies of peace, liberty and stability are the syndicates without conscience and without compassion which promote strife for gain.

We have seen what asphalt did for Venezuela; there is no question as to what oil and mining have done for Mexico, and exploitation has been in progress in many other countries. To all of these marauders, American as well as European, President Wilson gave solemn warning in his Mobile speech. The concession idea is at an end. Nations are no longer to be drenched in blood, devastated and loaded with debt to enrich syndicates and monopolies, no matter how rich or powerful they may be.

Those who do not understand this phase of the Mexican situation and the relations of the United States thereto are painfully misinformed as to the merits of the case.

Let us analyze this editorial in the light of cold facts.

The "World" is perfectly right in saying that the Madero revolt was aided by the Waters-Pierce Oil Company. So far, so good. Remember, that under Porfirio Diaz Mexico had been at peace for thirty years and that it was the Maderos and the American oil interests who started the conflagration of disorder which has lasted three years.

"It is equally certain that Porfirio Diaz, who was exiled by Madero in 1911, was the faithful servant of the Pearsons of England, likewise in oil." Porfirio Diaz, alarmed by the rapacity of American interests who would have made of Mexico a subsidiary of Wall Street, did, as a measure of precaution and as a duty to his country, encourage British investors to compete with the American monopolistic interests. In doing this he was actuated by his conception of what was best for his country. It does not at all follow that he was the "faithful servant of the Pearsons." And remember the British interests started no revolution to work their will in Mexico. It was the American interests who did that when Diaz sought to protect his country against them.

"Plain as a pikestaff also is the fact that the counter-revolution of Felix Diaz and Huerta, culminating in murder and usurpation nearly a year ago, was engineered by the Pearsons." In the first place, the revolution against Madero was not a revolution by Felix Diaz and Huerta. Huerta was Madero's general and put an end to the Diaz revolution in the only way that was possible. Huerta was never a revolutionist. In the second place, there is not the slightest bit of evidence to support the "World's" statement that this revolution was "engineered by the Pearsons." This charge has never been made before and is made by the "World" entirely gratuitously and either through criminal ignorance or deliberate malice. The revolution of Felix Diaz was a military revolt, pure and simple, and Huerta's accession to the Presidency was decided upon because he was looked upon as the most capable man to restore peace to the country. The opposition to General Huerta on the part of the American oil interests is not based on any undue friendliness of his Government toward the British interests, but on the fact that he is not willing to be the blind tool of American oil interests, whose particular proteges are Carranza and the Madero family.

"What Europe overlooks in this case is the fact that the antagonism of the United States to Huerta does not necessarily involve championship of Waters-Pierce and Standard Oil." Not necessarily, but actually it does. Facts are facts, no matter what the ideality of the Administration may assert to the contrary. The big fact remains that though the "World" interprets President Wilson's policy to mean that "Nations are no longer to be drenched in blood, devastated and loaded with debt to enrich syndicates and monopolies, no matter how rich or powerful they may be," Mexico is, with the encouragement of the Administration, being drenched in blood, devastated and loaded with debt to enrich a would-be American monopoly, rich and powerful.

# Expert Testimony

Henry Lane Wilson, former United States Ambassador to Mexico, in speeches last week before New York societies, was quoted as follows:

"If the government of General Huerta had been recognized at its threshhold, it would have made peace throughout Mexico and thousand of lives would have been saved and millions of dollars worth of property, especially of foreigners and Americans, would not have been destroyed. The administration at Washington saw fit not to accept my recommendation to recognize the government of General Huerta and at that time I predicted exactly what has occurred there during the last six months and exactly the conditions that prevail there to-day.

"We have now actually intervened in Mexico. Don't make any mistake about that. Not by arms, but we have nevertheless actually intervened in Mexico.

"And we have sent down there private, special unofficial representatives of the President for the purpose of telling the Mexican people how they should govern their country, whom they should put into office and whom they should put out of office."

Mr. Wilson questioned any precedent for the action of President Wilson, asserting that fourteen millions of Mexicans wanted Huerta to be sustained, not because they loved him, but because they believed it was the only way to bring about peace.

"Whenever before has this Government ordered Americans out of a foreign country without guarantee of protection for their losses, or announced a policy which makes us virtual overlords of every republic from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn and makes it necessary to interfere in every turbulent republic in that great empire.

"The President of this Republic, and I have the greatest respect for him, is a master of the English language and of eloquent and persuasive diction. He can smite the harp of idealism, and from every idealistic mind in this Republic will come a response; from every mind wandering in the bogs of esthetic dreams.

"But these good people must know, ought to know, that at the judgment bar of history they will be responsible for all the destruction of property, for all the loss of life, for all the hatred and rancor in Latin America and suspicion in Europe; and finally for the sowing of the seeds of antagonism and distrust between this country and the greatest country in possibilities near us for all time to come."

Mr. Wilson stated earlier in his address that the revolution of Madero against Diaz was financed very largely from the City of New York; that the State Department contained reports of secret service agents to prove that "a great oil company gave assistance to Madero."

The revolution against Huerta, he said, was due to the same interests.

"It would be a shock in certain circles," he continued, "if they knew that secretly and unknown to them their policy has been suggested during the last six months or year by representatives of these international corporations and trusts."

"The statement that the American Embassy, when under my charge, was involved in the overthrow of Madero has been made before, and has been disproved by the united evidence of all those present in the embassy, by the testimony of the American colony in Mexico City, by the Protestant and Roman Catholic American clergymen there, by every American organization in Mexico City, and by the letters of my diplomatic colleagues.

"I never met either Felix Diaz or Gen. Huerta until the time of the actual bombardment of Mexico City. I then met Huerta upon one occasion in the presence of President Madero and his Minister of Foreign Affairs. I met Felix Diaz only once in the presence of my German, Spanish, and British colleagues.

EXPERT TESTIMONY—(Continued.)

"During the last months of the Madero regime my relations with the Administration were not what they might have been, but this was due solely to my activity and agency under the direction of the Department of State at Washington in making severe representations to the Madero Government regarding the protection of American life and property. There were also questions between Mexico and the United States which I attacked, as ordered by the State Department, and in considering which the Madero Government vacillated and trifled.

"I had no personal differences with any one connected with the Madero Government. I never interferred in the slightest degree in Mexican politics, and my personal relations with every one connected with the Government remained agreeable in character until the last moment. I certainly was not in a mind to assist in its overthrow, and, of course, the idea of killing Madero never entered my head.

"It is an easy matter for these unprincipled Mexicans, who are engaged in the business of destroying their own country, to make silly and malevolent charges against an American Ambassador who was obliged to perform his duties in the last hour of an impotent and despotic Government in such a way as to obtain results rather than court popularity; but not one scintilla of evidence of that kind of feeling against Madero that would have led me to violate the sacred obligations of a sworn officer of the United States Government has ever been offered, nor will any be offered, because none such exists.

"Let me add," continued Mr. Wilson, "one word about former Secretary of the Treasury MacVeagh's recent statement, that the Taft Administration would not have recognized the Huerta Administration. Mr. MacVeagh has no authority to speak for the Taft Administration. That authority rests alone with Mr. Taft or Mr. Knox. I have no authority to speak for the Administration either, but I can say that the Taft Administration in letters and telegrams to me did recognize the constitutionality of the Huerta Government and would have recognized the Government formally if certain matters pending at the time, which were not connected with Huerta's way of rising to power, had been concluded. There is evidence on file in the embassy in Mexico City and in the State Department in Washington to prove this."

Mr. Wilson would not discuss the present situation in Mexico, but he did reiterate his statement that Gen. Villa and many of those associated with him were notorious in Mexico for their selfishness in politics and disloyalty to any Government. He said that Gen. Villa was a simple bandit, and had opposed and supported Madero at different times as suited his purpose to rob Americans and Mexicans alike.

* * *

Latin-Americans should know Latin-American problems and Latin-American aspirations much better than those in Washington who are so concerned about them.

* * *

The Administration decries the talk of armed intervention, while its very acts load the guns of the jingoes.

# LEST WE FORGET

We have a vague recollection of having heard not so long ago that the purpose of the Administration's attitude toward General Huerta was to discourage revolutions in Latin-America.

* * *

It is painfully plain to the whole world that this attitude has been most encouraging to the Mexicans who are seeking to overthrow the Government in a revolutionary manner.

* * *

And yet the Administration is perfectly satisfied, according to reports, that its policy is "proving successful."

* * *

Can you beat it?

* * *

Can you approach it?

* * *

Madero told the Indians that the earth and all its riches were theirs—for the taking—and he kindled the fires of anarchy.

* * *

President Wilson breathed poetic words of abstract morals over the Mexican fires and brought forth a monster of immorality.

* * *

The ways of the idealist are hard.

* * *

No doubt Washington realizes what a national calamity war with Mexico would be.

* * *

But is it not provoking war? Has it not all along courted war?

* * *

One who bulldozes and antagonizes and threatens another must be willing to back up his attitude in case of natural opposition or retire ingloriously.

* * *

Is it not criminal to bulldoze, antagonize and threaten another nation and thereby commit our people to either an unjust and burdensome war or a humiliating backdown?

* * *

That certainly would seem to be the situation in which the Administration has placed a peace-loving country.

* * *

But would the honest back-down, coming from so strong a nation, be humiliating? Would it not be the strongest possible testimony to our greatness? Certainly it would not be so humiliating as a brutal attack on a smaller nation, exhausted after years of internal strife.

* * *

And of all the humiliating things, could anything be worse than the encouragement of that internal strife to lay the smaller nation prostrate that we may then more easily enforce our dictation?

With a threatening United States army on its northern border and our frowning battleships at its ports, is it any wonder that Mexico discounts our words of peace?

* * *

Is it any wonder that Mexico feels the overshadowing power of "the Colossus of the North."

* * *

Is it any wonder that all the other Latin-American countries vibrate with this same feeling?

* * *

There is something petty and shameful about the whole business as far as the Administration's attitude is concerned.

* * *

And the words that have veiled it in serene self-satisfaction have been so full of fine sentiments.

* * *

That fell on barren ground.

* * *

Because the heart was not in them. The milk of human kindness and tolerance was—sour.

## STATISTICS.

(Special to the New York "World.")

Washington, January 6.—The "World" is able to present herewith the latest information possessed by the State Department relative to economic conditions in Mexico and their effect on Americans and other foreigners in that country.

Approximately 100 Americans have lost their lives in Mexico in three years of revolution. Less than 50 per cent. of the number have been injured.

"There has not been a single American killed because he was an American," said a State Department official yesterday. "There has not been a single American injured because he was an American.

"Ninety per cent. of the Americans killed and injured in Mexico were involved in brawls or because of taking active part with the factions there. Only 10 per cent. received their wounds as a result of accident or by being in the line of fire during an engagement between the contending forces. A majority of the Americans killed and injured received their wounds prior to 1913."

Statistics show that 95 per cent. of the losses suffered by Americans has been at the hands of the revolutionists; also that most of the Americans killed were associated with the revolutionists.

All the statistics in the possession of the State Department have been furnished by American Consuls and consular agents in Mexico, men who have been in the country a long time and are familiar with conditions now and in the past.

# ZAPATA

The representative of the New York "World" who, with considerable difficulty, succeeded in reaching the lair of Zapata, and getting an interview with the savage bandit is not the only newspaper man who has induced him to talk for publication. Last spring a reporter of the Mexico City "El Diario" (which is a daily newspaper, often confused here with "Diario Official," the official Government bulletin), talked with Zapata and reported substantially the same facts as the "World" correspondent.

Here are some of the statements of the interview, which shed light on the character of Zapata:

The reporter had no difficulty in identifying Zapata. He had seen and talked to him in the spring of 1911, when he came to Mexico City to yield fealty to Madero, during the Provisional Presidency of De la Barra. Now, as then, he was the embodiment of sullen, suspicious, defiant, insolent, brute force. Across his lanky legs, which were encased in tightly-fitting charro trousers, stripped under dusty tan boots, his red, hairy hands lay loosely. Three fingers were circled with rings. One finger, from the knuckle to the first joint, was covered with rings, four or five of them bearing huge diamonds and a ruby and an emerald. Bigger diamonds were on the other fingers. The jewels fairly shrieked "loot" at one. So did the gold watch that was strapped around his wrist. Every man in his entourage was similarly decked out with gaudy but valuable jewelry.

Impressions of brutality, ruthlessness, cunning, but nothing of real cleverness; an ill-proportioned ambition, vanity and other qualities akin to these, forced themselves upon one as the rebel leader's dominant characteristics. He is as impressive as a gaunt, fiery-eyed, snarling tiger-man who has committed some monstrous crime, or as a repulsive serpent, is impressive, not because of anything within them latently noble, beneficent or useful, but by reason of malign power for harm which they hold.

One cannot train the imagination sufficiently to divine a humane, kind, wise or patriotic Zapata. His appearance and manner, everything that one turns to the world in converse with other men, is against him. Revelations of self which came during the interview stamped him as a man, in intellect, education, aspirations and knowledge of his own country or of other lands, not superior to the average peon whom one encounters anywhere in Mexico during a day's journey.

Before he raised the standard of revolt against Diaz in the fall of 1910 he was a peddler of cheap wares through the countryside. His jackal is a rascally ex-schoolmaster who writes his high-sounding pronunciamentos and supplies such scholastic veneer as Zapata requires. He composes the florid appeals to the people of Mexico, reciting their wrongs and promising redresses, which are sent out in Zapata's name. Discontent with agrarian conditions in Morelos—intense, acute and militant for generations—provided him a popular and attractive slogan upon which he has reared a fabric of rebellion that never has been worthy of a more dignified name than brigandage.

Were Zapata not a brigand at heart; did he not allow his followers full license to rob, ravish, murder and burn, he would not last as a leader twenty-four hours. He maintains his supremacy because he is ten times more brute than any other man who owes allegience to him. If there were a worse brute, villain or rascal among his hordes, that man would oust Zapata in a jiffy.

It is desirable that this be clearly understood in order that some things which Zapata told the reporters may be appraised at their real value.

"For what are you fighting? What are your aims?" was one of the questions the reporter asked him. "I am fighting for the people of Mexico against the aristocrats," was Zapata's reply. "I want to give them back the land that has been stolen from them. They have been robbed for a long time. You Americans have robbed them.

"All foreigners have robbed them. I have taken care of all the thieving Gatchupinas (Mexican nickname for Spaniards) in Morelos. I have killed them all, excepting those that ran away and have taken their property. They deserved to die because they stole from the poor. When I become President I shall pass laws to keep foreigners out of the country. They come in and take everything that belongs to Mexicans—mines, lands, oil, everything. Diaz let them do it. He ruined the country by letting foreigners come in and build railroads. We do not need railroads in Mexico. If there were none Americans would not come here. Only a few of them came before there were railroads, because it was too long a journey.

"When I become President I shall take only what is my due, nothing but my salary. That is plenty. They say that the President is paid twenty thousand pesos every year for doing—what? Nothing. Yes, it is true that I sent out a proclamation before Christmas to warn every one in the National Palace that I was coming to kill them. Huerta and every one who is with him I shall hang. I shall not shoot them, for they do not deserve soldiers' deaths, for they are traitors and thieves.

"Huerta will do nothing for the poor. He sent his soldiers to Morelos and they took many good men away—honest men who worked and who were not fighting for me. They took them out to the fields and made them go into the army to fight for Huerta. Diaz did that, too. When the Army of the South takes Mexico City I shall do away with the army. That is, I shall have only a small one. There will be no more need to fight, for all people will be with me. They will not let the aristocrats and thieves put me out and there will be no foreigners to interfere, for there will be no railroads left. We shall destroy them. I shall build good roads for pack animals and wagons. That is all that Mexico needs—good roads."

Zapata sneered and laughed sarcastically when he was asked if he had any league or alliance with Carranza.

"Carranza sent to me to fight for him. He was very generous. When he became President, he said, he would make me Governor of Morelos. I thought, 'When I become President, I shall make you Governor of Chihuahua.' Why should he, who has been fighting less than a year, be President instead of me? Would that be fair? But he offered to send me rifles, cartridges and some cannon. I consented. He did send rifles and cartridges, but no cannon. Now he sends me no more; not even letters calling me his dear friend.

"Carranza wanted me to capture Mexico City. I could do it, but why should I turn it over to him? When I take Mexico City I shall keep it for myself, not give it away to a man who cannot win his own battles. I could have captured the city many times, but I am not ready. For a long time my men were afraid. They are poor Indians, used only to the country. They were fearful of a big city like Mexico. Foolish stories had been told them of things that happened there, so they were all frightened. But they will soon forget that. They know I shall do as I promised—capture the city and hang Huerta and all his Ministers unless they run away too fast. No, I am fighting for my own cause, which is the cause of the common people. If others want to join me they may do so. Do I not deserve to be the leader and have the people elect me President? What other man has fought as successfully as I? All the soldiers in Mexico cannot catch me. Madero and I are the only ones who revolted who have succeeded. Orozco failed. So did Reyes and Felix Diaz. See, here is how much the people think of me."

So his talk went on hour after hour—boastful, swaggering, foolish, unerringly betraying his quality as a man. One could not help feeling regretful that some malign disposition of Providence had so ordered events in Mexico as to permit Zapata to become a vital factor in the present or the future of the stricken country. For, regardless of his unworthiness from every standpoint by which sincere patriotic endeavor may be measured, Zapata is a factor which must be reckoned with in the restoration of law and order in the republic.

It is certain that he will resist to the last in his mountain fastnesses all endeavors to compel his submission. He probably is the most hopelessly individualistic of all Mexican individualists whose selfishness, rapacity and lawless tendencies, loosed under the guise of patriotism and honest revolution, have brought the country to the dust.

## What Washington Thinks

Washington, January 8.—The impression has been growing here that John Lind made a pessimistic report on conditions in Mexico on the occasion of his recent conference at sea with President Wilson.

It is understood that the conference was sought by Lind because he had accumulated during his long exile in Mexico a very definite set of ideas as to the nature of the situation and the way the United States should treat it and because he was growing impatient for an opportunity to place these ideas before President Wilson.

### What Private Advices Say.

Private advices received from Vera Cruz and elsewhere in Mexico from time to time have tended to indicate that Lind was beginning to hold views on Mexico more like those of Henry Lane Wilson, former Ambassador to Mexico, than those of the President and Secretary Bryan.

**It is remarkable but none the less true that the officials who have most to do with Mexico are least in sympathy with**

## WHAT WASHINGTON THINKS.

(Continued)

**the policy of President Wilson as a course likely to bring about the desired results.**

There is not a breath of disloyalty to the President in official quarters, but in eight months it is quite natural that the real thoughts and opinions of officials should become apparent despite the necessities of their apparent position and the requirements of loyalty to the President.

Army and navy officers are practically unanimous in this view, although none can be found in any other attitude but that of supporting the President. The same situation is true in Congress, though no canvass of the situation would reveal the true state of the Congressional minds.

The Democrats feel obligated to speak up in favor of the President when questioned, while the Republicans hesitate to lay themselves open to the charge of trying to embarrass the President by discussing the Mexican situation.

**Yet the fact remains that the President and his Secretary of State are about the only enthusiastic believers in the Wilson Mexican policy as a means of bringing about a restoration of peace, orderly government and tolerable conditions in Mexico.**

### The Diplomats' Attitude.

As for the members of the Diplomatic Corps, these gentlemen make no secret among their friends of their disbelief in the likelihood of the President succeeding in accomplishing anything definite and practical by his present policy.

The diplomats have settled down to wait for the Washington Administration to reach their point of view, apparently confident that the Administration will do so in the course of time. They are also convinced that there is no use of trying to get anything done for Mexico until the President is himself thoroughly convinced that the time has come to put an end to "watchful waiting."

**The faith in the Carranza movement which many of the less experienced in the State Department used to express is seldom mentioned now.** The first idea of the Democratic officials was that they could settle the Mexican problem by ignoring it. Their next idea was that they could solve it by letting the Constitutionalists do the work of driving out Huerta and setting the Mexican house in order.

The last month or two, however, saw the reluctant abandonment of faith and hope in the Constitutionalists. It is generally admitted by some of the most responsible officials of the Administration that there is no likelihood of Huerta either resigning or being forced out, nor of the Constitutionalists succeeding in setting up the kind of Government the President thinks Mexico should have.

The warmest friends the Constitutionalists have in official quarters are now admitting that the revolutionists don't seem to be making much headway. **The domination of Villa the bandit in the rebel operations in northern Mexico and the inactivity of Carranza at Hermosillo are probably the two principal factors contributing to the loss of faith on the part of officials in the likelihood of the revolutionists relieving the United States of the task of restoring Mexico to a state approximating conditions of law, order and civilization.**—New York "Sun."

# The Facts About Mexico

By John Rockwood Phillips.

In "Pioneer Western Lumberman."

(Continued from our last issue)

An effort made by the Standard Oil section of the "Power" to obtain exclusive pipe-line franchises from President Diaz was unsuccessful. Diaz was the greatest real patriot known to our generation of rulers, as will be realized by the American people when they recover from the trance into which they are mesmerized by the press agents of the "Power."

An effort was made by certain American interests to obtain a concession for two oil pipe lines from the Tampico oil fields to tidewater. This would have placed the owners of the oil fields at the mercy of the owners of the pipe lines. Diaz refused a franchise which would give a monopoly in Mexico and strengthen the power of the "Standard" in the oil trade of the world. This refusal was a mortal offense to the "Power." Just previous to this episode the Diaz Government had executed a financial coup, and had "put one over" on the "Power" in the New York stock market by obtaining in a perfectly legitimate manner, by purchase in open market, the controlling interest in the capital stock of the railways of Mexico, now known as the "National" system. This transaction was conducted so deftly that the agents of the New York financial interests did not realize what was doing until the feat was accomplished. It was such a preposterous thing that any government should presume to dispute the right of the "Power" to control in any large enterprise that the blow could not be forgiven, and President Diaz incurred the relentless enmity of the Powers That Be. Certainly a financial group that could control the Government of the United States of America should be able to dictate to the United States of Mexico.

**When Diaz refused the request for the pipe line concession and a complete monopolistic control of the petroleum business in Mexico, his doom was sealed. The "Power" would "get" Diaz. This decision had a widespread influence. It may have been a coincidence that the big petroleum war which was world-wide, between the Standard Oil Company and its British and European competitors, and the big split between Henry Clay Pierce of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company and the Rockefellers began about this time.**

It may seem strange that the petroleum war was apparently ended about the time arrangements were made for the Big Interests to come to an understanding regarding the Pierson and Doheny oil fields in Mexico, and that so shortly afterwards and in the midst of a "revolution" the Mexican Government of Madero should make official announcement of the concession contracts for the two pipe lines formerly refused by the deposed Diaz. It is not my intention to muck-rake. I am trying to write a bit of history in a few words, so that those who read may know the reason of the "revolution" in Mexico. A volume might be written on the subject—an interesting volume. The details of only these two episodes which caused the downfall of the most benevolent despotism in history would make a long story. Many of the results of thirty years of uplift have been nullified and a state of hatred and unrest have replaced in a large measure the good feeling between the United States and Mexico, which was growing with the advance of civilization and prosperity in Mexico, started by Porfirio Diaz. Diaz may be criticised for overstaying his time and for failure to choose wisely his official family, but Diaz was betrayed by his friends at home and by his supposed ally and friend abroad, his next-door-neighbor Nation, the United States of America.

It may be that all this trouble and sorrow and treachery between individuals and between the Republics are a part of the evolution of civilization and that from the poverty and suffering of innocent people will come better conditions of life and enviroment. Perhaps the "Pirates of Privilege" are the chosen instruments of a Fate or Providence working out larger plans than we poor mortals can appreciate. But at present the thousands of Americans who are broke because of the despoilation of their property interests in Mexico cannot see the light.

The stain which cannot be removed is that made by the part taken by our own Government of these United States of America, inciting bloodshed, upsetting the progress of civilization, incurring the enmity and derision of friendly neighbors, allowing them to be plunged into debt that our capitalists might profit by their enforced poverty, and if the plans of the "Power" are carried to fruition, the loss to the Mexican Government of the controlling ownership of the National Railways. Added to the shame and disgrace of conditions in Mexico is the contempt of Europe for our hypocrisy in trying to arrange an impossible National peace agreement, while we incite war to gain more sails for an already top-heavy pirate craft, now sailing under the black flag of "Big Business."

There are a number of other reasons for the state of Mexican affairs, but they are all traceable to conditions made in Mexico by the "Power" that started a few years ago to take revenge on Diaz and incidentally to get those pipe line and other concessions, now recently acquired from Madero. Incidentally, also, as usual, the "Standard Oil Crowd" arranged to pick up a few millions extra profit by the absorption of the oil fields which had been partly exploited by Pierson and Doheny. In all justice it must be said that a Standard Oil official has said that this whole story is without foundation.

I will try to tell the story from the beginning, or from the first appearance of manifestations. Not in full detail; that would take too long. Not too accurately at present; that might make trouble for certain individuals who know more than they dare tell.

Practically no American property or citizen had been molested in Mexico before the President of the United States issued his proclamation virtually announcing that his Government was unable to protect the lives and property of foreigners, Americans or Europeans in Mexico. Another chapter of a volume could be written on this phase of the subject and its effect on Americans and Mexicans.

(Continued on Next Page.)

## THE FACTS ABOUT MEXICO---Continued

This statement of the President at least had the effect of accentuating the antagonism between Mexicans and Americans. It was followed by the exodus of several thousand Americans who left all their possessions in Mexico, in many cases unprotected because the American papers had been made to say that this notice of the President for the Americans to withdraw was a diplomatic method of warning them of armed intervention. The newspapers were also made to say that the State Department had announced that those Americans who did not heed the President's warning could expect no consideration from the Department.

A repetition of this suggestion to Americans in Mexico couched in more commanding language has recently emanated from the new Administration in Washington to add studied insult to the injury inflicted by the President of the United States upon the Mexican people when he virtually convicted the Constitutional Provisional President of assassination.

When it was decided that Diaz must go, it became necessary for the conspirators to educate the public of the United States so that they might complacently allow the outrage. The cleverest men for financial gain in the world are the leaders of the Big Interests. They gather into their employ all the clever men who can be of service who are looking for big financial returns and credit must be given for this generosity, which is a part of the cleverness. The people of the United States admired Diaz. This admiration must be turned to distrust. The character and actions of Diaz were attacked as if he had been an opposition candidate for President of the United States. The most trivial happenings in our neighbor Republic were exaggerated and misstated. Efforts were also made to "get at" the supposed successor of Diaz. This man was no doubt susceptible to influence and always had his price displayed in large figures marked down to small sums for spot cash. But for some reasons that do not now appear, he was not fully depended upon to accomplish the desired results. There was no one apparently strong enough to beat Diaz in an election contest and a real revolution was decided as necessary.

The attention of the writer was first drawn to the press agent work, which preceded the revolution proper, when spending a few weeks at one of the principal towns on the border. The Eastern newspapers contained many dispatches telling of the spirit of unrest among the Mexicans along the border. They were ready to take arms against the Mexican Government. Mexican Government troops were assembling in great numbers. United States troops were being moved secretly to the border to protect United States citizens from the incendiaries and conditions were represented as very critical. I was in the midst of these fake disorders for three weeks with nothing to do but wander about to look for troops or to sound the sentiments of the Mexicans. There were no United States troops there any nearer than their regular posts, distant more than one day's travel. There were no more Mexican soldiers than usual for police and custom house guard duty.

The harsh sentiments against Americans were not in evidence. According to the dispatches presumed to have been sent to these Eastern newspapers from this town, Americans were alarmed at the suggestive and threatening attitude of the Mexicans and an outbreak was expected at any moment. The grand demonstration was to begin on the Mexican Independence Day, September 16th, which is usually celebrated as the greatest fiesta of the year. At this time the celebration was to occupy eight days. I attended the fiesta every day and evening. Americans, men and women, joined with the Mexicans for the big celebration. There was no sign of any thought of disturbance except in the grape-vine dispatches of Eastern newspapers. This press program was continued at intervals for three years, always taking new life just before the outbreaks that were to begin all over Mexico on each Independence Day.

In the meanwhile, the press agencies were at work in other directions, muckraking Mexico and the Mexican Government until Diaz was looked upon by the reading public as a bloodthirsty tyrant. The magazine articles entitled "Barbarous Mexico" were the most influential in confirming in the minds of the American public the impression which had been nursed through the press for many months. These articles were for the most part founded on facts, but so distorted, so exaggerated, so unfairly presented, that the impression created was incorrect and untruthful. Isolated instances of cruelty and oppression during a long period of years following the former period of anarchy were made to appear as usual and universal. The same sort of an account might be written regarding similar conditions in the United States, which would present to readers in Europe, for instance, who were not otherwise informed, the same sort of impression of the "Barbarous United States of America." *..*..*

In the evolution of history Diaz's term of service had expired. He was old and too much beset with enemies in his own official family to understand fully the trend of events. Or, if he did see what was coming, he felt it inevitable. He apparently committed the grave error of allowing himself to be re-elected President. He was forced, however, at the last moment to become a candidate in 1910 because he had discovered too late that the man chosen to succeed him was unworthy and for the moment he saw no other man qualified and available. Limantour, the most competent, positively declined. Madero, who had aspired to the office, was a dreamer who had been suspected of insanity. But Madero, with his aspirations, became the chosen tool of the Interests who were after Diaz's scalp. Whether Francisco Madero knew the role he was to play or not is uncertain. Some of his family knew it and when the time came the sale of the Madero Guayule lands, as reported from Mexico City, brought $10,000,000 to finance the Madero revolution. Who bought the Guayule lands?

It was just before this time that Diaz committed what appears to have been his greatest error. He caused the arrest of Madero, his rival for the Presidency. Make a martyr of a political aspirant and immediately the American public flocks to his cause. To the public at large it appeared that Diaz had confirmed the stories of tyranny which had made him appear a fiend incarnate. Diaz foresaw, with the prescience of a great statesman, what the future of his country might be under the Maderos, and he made a statement when leaving Havana which explained the whole situation: "I leave my country, hoping thereby to avoid a disastrous warfare and the sacrifice of my fellow countrymen. Financial forces which desire my downfall are too strong for me." The second great error of Diaz was his dependence upon the loyalty of the United States Government, which for over twenty years had been acting as guardian of its neighbor, not yet of age to manage alone its internal and foreign affairs. The records of our State Department could disclose the beginning of the guardianship under the policy of Secretary Blaine and his Pan-American plan, continued by John Hay.

Diaz could not imagine that his friend and guardian could be hostile to him and to peace in the country of his people.

But what really happened? With Madero's early successes inflaming the people who had been carefully educated for three years to this point of inflammation, with the certainty that he had been betrayed at home and abroad, with full knowledge that the Interests behind the "revolution" were implacable and omnipotent, broken with age and sorrow, tortured finally by an ulcerated tooth, the grand old patriot gave way to inevitable fate and departed from his beloved country with the dignity which was one of his principal characteristics. Lesser incidents than a toothache have served the designs of Fate in making history.

The sorrow of Diaz was for his people who were to be plunged into a state of anarchy such as had prevailed thirty years before when Diaz, with the almost savage determination which was necessary for success under the circumstances, began his career as civilizer of a barbarous and divided nation. His disappointment was at the treachery of the men in his cabinet whom he had trusted, and the perfidy of his former friend and guardian, the great moral, liberty-loving and giving United States of America. The passionate patriotism of this remarkable man, shown so many times during his early career when he again and again declined personal advancement at the expense of the country's progress under a Constitution was simply and eloquently expressed in his letter of resignation of the Presidential office. Addressing the Congress he said: "Senores, the Mexican people, who have generously covered me with honors, who proclaimed me as their leader during the international war, who patriotically assisted me in all works undertaken to develop industry and the commerce of the Republic, establish its credit, gain for it the respect of the world and obtain for it an honorable position in the concert of nations; that same people has revolted in armed military bands, stating that my presence in the exercise of the supreme executive power was the cause of this insurrection. Therefore, respecting, as I have always respected, the will of the people, and in accordance with Article 82 of the Federal Constitution, I come before the supreme representative of the nation in order to resign, unreservedly, the office of Constitutional President of the Republic with which the national vote honored me, which I do with all the more reason since in order to continue in office it would be necessary to shed Mexican blood, endangering the credit of the country, dissipating its wealth, exhausting its resources and exposing its policy to international complications.

"I hope, gentlemen, that, when the passions which are inherent to all revolutions have been calmed, a more conscientious and justified study will bring out in the national mind a correct acknowledgment which will allow me to die carrying engraved in my soul a just impression of the estimation of my life, which throughout I have devoted and will devote to my countrymen."

(To be concluded.)

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## DRIFTING TO WAR.

Intervention in Mexico is the end to which President Wilson's policy must inevitably lead us. To it we are rushing with ever-increasing speed. Just the day or the hour when it will be reached cannot be foretold, but that it will come unless the situation is saved by a complete reversal of the policy of our Government is as certain as sunrise. If the President will lay aside for the moment his preconceived idea of the Mexican situation, forget his characteristic stubborness and persistency in following an adopted theory, and recognize Huerta, the danger of our having to invade Mexico will pass. It is yet not too late to take this course, which all the other nations have deemed wise. The talk of the Huerta government being founded in blood is, under the circumstances, pure rot. The government of Diaz—the best Mexico ever had, and, counting what it did for the nation, the best government that any people ever had—was erected and maintained through very much blood. The people of Mexico have neither the civilization nor education fitting them to be governed by any other than a strong centralized or individual power, and such power must needs be sustained by the sword.

That Huerta was personally responsible for, or party to, the death of Madero is unquestionably a fiction, though it seems to have impressed itself upon President Wilson and his advisers. Of the three men who are to the fore in Mexico today—Huerta, Carranza and Villa—Huerta is incomparably the best. Neither Carranza nor Villa could possibly erect a stable government that would be accepted by the intelligent property-owning classes of Mexico. Huerta has the confidence of that element of the Mexican population, and if his government be promptly recognized by the United States he will be able to secure all the funds needed—for Mexico is rich and the money-lending world will recognize the value of its securities when, as under Diaz, is has a stable government—and he will be able to put such troops in the field as will subdue and, if necessary, exterminate the bands of thieving insurrectos which for months have been allowed to lay waste a large part of Mexican territory. This—or armed intervention.

Armed intervention in Mexico may sound well to that minority of our people who, whenever there is a war, flock to Washington and settle down upon the Government to suck its blood in rich contracts. It may sound well to younger officers of the army, who, naturally ambitious to rise in their profession, work for preferment and promotion and look to glory in actual war. But by honest, calm, sound-thinking, patriotic citizens war with Mexico is strongly deprecated. To older soldiers, to officers who have long made a study of war and its problems, to those yet living who have memories of our great Civil War, armed intervention in Mexico would have terrors scarcely expressed by Sherman's great epigram, "War is hell."

The moment that there is armed intervention every Mexican, even though he be bandit and insurrecto now, will become a patriot, and his life will be given to his country in defense against invasion. A very large proportion of the male population of Mexico is composed of soldiers—soldiers in the sense that they are familiar with arms, inured to the hardship of marches and camp. In the country there is a store of arms and the munitions of war that would enable Mexico to put in the field in thirty days a far larger army than we could possibly organize, equip and put on the Mexican border in four months. But if we make a start of war we must carry it to the end. The final result, if we shall have only Mexico to deal with, cannot be doubtful, but before it is ended we shall have incurred a new debt of a billion of dollars and sacrificed hundreds of thousands of lives on the field or through the sickness incident to army movements.—"Town Topics."

## NO HOPE FOR MEXICO IN VILLA.

The further Villa gets from the Rio Grande the less pronounced is anti-Federal sentiment, and his advance on that account becomes progressively difficult. He leaves, too, in his track, thousands of men whose hearts are embittered by the cruelties practiced on their relatives or friends. They may be cowed into present submission, but they will not miss an opportunity to rise and secure vengeance. It is a factional warfare, not a conquest for principle, and not until the living victims of Villa are extirpated will his supremacy remain unchallenged.

The signal success of the ignorant Villa renders the position of Carranza even more equivocal than formerly. His lieutenant overshadows him. This is particularly deplorable in that it precludes the possibility of any recognition by this Government of the Constitutionalist cause, which is now identified as mere brigandage on a huge scale. Villa's triumphs complicate the situation; they do not simplify it.

It may be that the Administration has erred in its assumption of the Mexican people's capacity for self-government. It may be, to go further, that Washington, in refusing to recognize Huerta's regime, is declining to recognize the only kind of government that can ever bring Mexico out of the chaos into which it has fallen. In our own Civil War an extraordinary assumption of powers by the Chief Executive was necessary to promote peace. It is true that the manner of Huerta's elevation is the principal objection to him, but it would be a frightful blunder to judge him by the political code of this nation or to measure his shortcomings by the ethics this Republic espouses. If his and his opponents' records were set down in parallel columns, a better estimate of the situation could be had.

Washington may possess more exact information than the rest of the nation has, but certainly as the history of the last few months shapes itself, the conclusion is irresistible that in no revolutionary movement nor any amalgamation of them is there any probability of stable government in Mexico. If Huerta does not hold the key to the rehabilitation of the country, assuredly it is held by the men and classes who have rallied to his support.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## THE OGRE OF OJINAGA.

The war is not over in Mexico. Very far from it. The eventual capture of the little town of Ojinaga was a foregone conclusion when the Federals under Mercado evacuated the city of Chihuahua. Isolated by hundreds of miles from the portion of Mexico which remains loyal to Huerta, it could not possibly hold out long.

The stubbornness shown by the garrison was a proof that the soldiers under Mercado all believed that they were fighting for their country and for legitimate rule within its borders. Men do not willingly lay down their lives, as Major Mendoza and his men did in defending the Federal rear guard at the Rio Grande ford, for the sake of a mere faction. This exploit was as heroic as Horatio's defense of the bridge in the "brave days of old."

Meantime Villa "executes"—that is, murders—his prisoners, and starts for the interior, where he will definitely displace Carranza as the real head of the rebellion, and put himself in line for the presidency in case the revolt wins.

With Villa in, if he ever does get in, and Huerta out, the situation of President Wilson will resemble that of the man who invited the seven other spirits more evil than the first to come in and take the place of the unclean spirit that had been driven out of him. "Verily the last state of that man shall be worse than the first."—New York "Evening Mail."

## LOSING PRESTIGE IN SOUTH AMERICA.

South America views Mexico through a mist. It is waiting for light from the United States to break through.

Observations begun four months ago at Panama, continuing along the west coast, across to the east coast and up to Rio, have been taken with the purpose of crystalizing, so far as it is possible to crystalize, the general or

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

average sentiment. I am going to state the result in South American environment, five thousand miles from Washington.

The marked feature of the situation is the diminishing prestige of the United States. Prestige is another name for confidence in us, and this confidence is the foundation of the moral influence which is supposed to be the aim of our national policy in regard to South America. The loss of prestige means the lessening of our moral influence and the growth of the anti-American sentiment which is becoming prevalent.

It was at Panama that a Latin-American diplomat, who has seen service in Washington and who understands colloquial English, remarked:

"Your President in this Mexican affair—at what port shall he disembark?"

"You mean where does he get off?"

"Yes, that is it. Where shall he get off?"

This was early in September. The diplomat was precise in his use of the future tense. Since then I have heard the same question many times and in many forms, but always with the accent on the future, and during the last two months with a growing note of uncertainty and distrust. The drifting policy does not favorably impress the South American mind.—Charles M. Pepper, in New York "Tribune," writing from Rio de Janeiro.

### IN SOUTH AMERICAN EYES.

On another page of this issue, Mr. Charles M. Pepper analyzes the opinion which the South American republics have formed of President Wilson's Mexican policy. Mr. Pepper is especially qualified for such a task, since both as a representative of the United States and as a private investigator he has given most of his time for the past twenty years to the study of Latin-American affairs. His conclusion is a simple and natural one. South America, with every predisposition to approve any programme which Washington might adopt, finds in the Wilson programme these obvious defects which foreign opinion generally recognizes in it at a glance, and which would be much more freely recognized in the United States were it not for a patriotic desire to avoid weakening the Administration's prestige and moral influence. * * *

The things which Latin-Americans criticize in President Wilson's policy are its looseness and indefiniteness. It may have been all right to start out drifting, but at what port can a drifting vessel hope to arrive? Having at the beginning no clear view of the end, the President could not chart his course. He clothed his purposes in generalities, and one of those generalities has hung ever since like a millstone about the neck of his programme. All the world would have understood him if he had said that he would recognize no government in Mexico which could not show that it was competent to restore order and protect life and property. But neither Latin-Americans nor Europeans understood him when he declared that he would recognize no President unable or unwilling to restore "constitutional government."

"Constitutional government" is an elastic ideal among the Latin-Americans. Its attainment is a thing to be hoped for. But most of these countries have got along with a very moderate measure of it from time to time, and they do not put it in the same category of political necessities as internal tranquility and order.

The Wilson programme therefore seems in their eyes to have confused non-essentials with essentials and to have prevented the Government at Washington from doing urgent and necessary work in Mexico by having pledged it in advance to do at the same time a work which might better have been kept on the waiting list or treated as of secondary importance.

It is a help to common sense and middle-of-the-road thinking to see ourselves occasionally as neighbors see us.—New York "Tribune."

### THE WAR IN MEXICO.

According to recent advices, both from Washington and Pass Christian, there is to be absolutely no change in our policy towards Mexico. The United States is, therefore, to continue to sit down patiently and wait until exhaustion of financial resources or the victories of the northern revolutionists, led by such men as Villa and Carranza, force Provisional President Huerta to retire. Unfortunately for such a program, Huerta seems to be able to obtain money from European sources somehow, and when he has exhausted that means of supply he will be able to raise money at home by forcing the big landholders and magnates to disgorge some of their hoards. The revolutionists, despite the heralded victories, are making but slow progress in the north, while the activity of the British Government along the southern border has made it impossible to import men and arms in that quarter. There is, therefore, no immediate prospect that Huerta will either retire or be forced out.

Supposing, however, that Huerta, who is by long odds the strongest man in Mexico at the present time, should retire or be forced to quit in the near future, what other man could the United States recognize and support as President of the Mexican Republic? Surely such a man as Villa, with his record as a bandit and with the long list of cruelties attached to his career as a revolutionary leader, could not be accepted by the United States. Carranza has a less bloody reputation, but even Mexicans admit that he is scarcely presidential timber. Our administration would probably find it a more difficult task to pick out an acceptable man to replace Huerta than its efforts to get rid of that gentleman are proving.

The refusal to recognize Huerta as provisional president or at least as the ruler de facto was a serious mistake that has hampered every effort the Washington Government has made to bring about a peaceable solution of the Mexican situation. Despite our attitude of aloofness Huerta is the actual ruler of at least three-fourths of Mexico, and, whether we wish it or not, we are compelled to look to him for the protection of our citizens and other foreigners residing in Mexican territory. We dare not recognize the belligerency of the insurgents, therefore we are in the lamentable position of being able to do practically nothing for the protection of our people and their property that are exposed to danger from both warring factions.—New Orleans "Picayune."

### INEFFECTIVE INTERVENTION

He (Huerta) was for the time exercising the powers of a de facto President, and had the American Government followed the example of other foreign governments having Mexican interests and recognized him for what he undoubtedly was, it would have enabled what was the only semblance of government which existed in Mexico to get the means of maintaining itself.

The successes of the other faction are apparently due to the refusal of President Wilson to recognize Huerta as Provisional President, and also insisting that none of his prominent supporters should be in any way connected with any new government.

That was explicit "intervention," but utterly ineffective in any positive way because not backed up by force. It gave moral support to the Carranza faction—which is certainly no better than that of Huerta and with even less color of legitimacy—and weakened Huerta.

In other words, the combined action and inaction of President Wilson have been directly promotive of anarchy.

And for this other nations having Mexican interests are holding our Government responsible in a spirit which indicates the possibility of very unpleasant entanglements and clashes.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

### LITTLE HOPE IN A MEXICAN COUP D'ETAT.

There can be little reason for elation if it is true that John Lind reported to President Wilson that plans are being formed for a coup d'etat in Mexico City, and that in the event of its success Zapata and his outlaws would pour into and take possession of the city. **Huerta at least represents order wherever he is in control. The substitution of some bandit in his place will not solve the Mexican situation. It will merely intensify it. It is humiliating to think that this great nation should base its diplomacy on the possibility of such an event or by implication favor it.** A murderous coup d'etat is the primary reason why Huerta is not recognized now. The only advantage another would give this nation would be in a possible opportunity to reverse our stand, and there is no reason to assume that the President proposes that. Intervention cannot be avoided by the further division of Mexico into factions and by more murders. —Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

### MEXICO ANALYZED.

John Hubert Cornyn, B.B.LL.,B., who dissected Mexico, its queer customs and its strifes at Louisiana State Museum, Chartres and St. Ann, last night, said many misstatements had been made about the country by American newspaper correspondents. He said there were very few white men who could understand the race.

"It is the easiest thing in the world to stir up a revolution. A person with two drinks of the native liquor in him can get half the population to follow him. Show Mexicans that you are a "good fellow," and there will be thousands to follow you.

"Modern Mexico, with the advent of Porfirio Diaz, signalized a new regime. But with all his fine ideas about education, the President could not undertake to teach all the masses. At the present time it would take half the country's wealth to obtain education for everyone.

"The nobles, the real aristocracy of Mexico, wouldn't touch politics with a ten-foot pole. Therefore, government is left to the 'new ones,' springing up on all sides, nourished by a little learning.

"Madero was doomed even before he started.

"The inborn superstition of the Indian, 300 to 500 years old, has not left him even now. Thus it is easy to prey on his ignorant mind, for he is told 'his hands are free,' which, interpreted, means he can steal what he lays his hands on; that he will get better wages if he follows that particular revolutionary leader."

(Continued on next page)

Though he declared it would be some time before present conditions became in any way settled, Mr. Cornyn painted a bright future for the stricken country. He said three years ago, before the era of revolutions, Mexico was the best of Latin-American countries. It will regain its old title, he predicted.

Mr. Cornyn spoke under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society. He is the author of "The Life of Porfirio Diaz," a member of the Geographical Society of Mexico, the Indianista Society, and graduate of the university at Toronto.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## HIST!

Hist! A cruiser stands off the coast. A revenue cutter hugs the shore. The President, deeply disguised in a Scotch cap and long cloak, tiptoes out of Pass Christian, boards a motorboat and climbs, at the peril of his life, to the deck of the cruiser, where his personal representative, John Lind, bows before him. Hist! They withdraw to the captain's cabin, a sentinel is posted at the locked door and they confer in whispers and in the deaf and dumb language. Reporters, hovering near on a tug, can hear through the porthole a few pregnant words. Huerta is still doomed. American soldiers are disarming the Federal fugitives and driving them back into Mexico, helpless, to be murdered by Villa in the intervals between his outrages upon women. Aha! 'Tis well! The President resumes his disguise, climbs down from the Chester and steals into sleeping Pass Christian, where he tells the reporters, the next morning, "There is no change in My Policy!" Goodness, these are parlous times and we live a dime novel daily! But will somebody kindly explain what is the necessity for this secrecy and who pays the expenses of the President's "personal representative"?—"Town Topics."

## HOW LONG?

Huerta's defiant assertion that he will not resign as long as life remains in his body is simply another evidence that he is nowhere near the end of his resources, financially or mentally. The financial blockade, apparently, is not having the result that was expected. While Huerta shrewdly pretends he is getting his money from the citizens of his own country, the known condition of Mexico argues that he must be covering up the real situation so that the Washington Administration may be deceived.

It has been charged, and not denied, that Huerta is being financed by British interests. The leak has not been traced, but the fact that the federal troops are receiving their pay and are well fed and fighting with renewed vigor and determination is ample proof that the leak exists.

Whatever proposals Huerta may have made recently, it is fairly certain that his own retirement was not part of his offer. He has not been shaken in his belief that he is the one man to save Mexico from itself, and his persistence in this belief appears to be winning others in Mexico to the same opinion.

How long, then, can the United States maintain its present anomalous position?—Washington "Post."

## FIRMER MEXICAN POLICY.

It is significant that the wave of pro-intervention sentiment seems to have receded before the clear sense of the country that such action would be vastly aggravating to conditions without effecting a cure other than such as long years of American domination of the republic might effect.

Huerta is still talking big and one cannot but admire the animal courage of the man and the ferocious determination that actuates him. If there is a firmer Mexican policy to be pursued the country would like to know what is its nature, as there appears to be none possible other than intervention, and this is unthinkable.—Baltimore "American."

## RECOGNITION OF HUERTA.

Editor of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger":

Sir: In your "Public Ledger," dated December 16, you have such a fine editorial on "A Definite Mexican Policy Imperative," I feel I must write to you and express the sentiments of the American colony here. Your editorial voices exactly the feelings here. We all think Huerta should be recognized. He is doing all in his power to put down brigandage and the rebels, also protecting the foreigners, and if our own President Wilson does not recognize Huerta he will cause the lives of many good Mexicans to be lost, and there are many fine, highly-educated Mexicans here. As for myself, I have always been treated courteously by Mexicans here. I take this liberty of writing, as I am an old subscriber of many years to your valuable paper, and I receive it regularly. S. F. McCLURE.

Mixeoac, Mexico, D. F., Mexico, Dec. 31, 1913.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Among the bad breaks the Wilson Administration has made, two in particular are hopes that the course of the present Government hopes that the course of the present government would be marked by the strictest "equal justice to all, special privilege to none."

The first of these had breaks made by the present Administration, and one which is daily making the situation more and more difficult for the White House, was that the President, instead of recognizing the Government of General Huerta as the one force standing for law and order in Mexico, chose rather to give moral and material support to the marauding group composed of vilest dregs of humanity stirred up by the removal of authority and led by the most selfish of interests under the high-sounding title of "constitutionalists," so pleasing to the academic ear.

By this first bad break the Government at Washington must answer before the tribunal of history the charge of fomenting the terrible crimes committed by the Carranza and Villa bandits, and not only of viewing these atrocities "with complacency," but of doing so under the hypocritical guise of being the protector of justice and the friend of civilization.

The second bad break of the Wilson Administration was in further burdening the Monroe Doctrine with the protection of the lives and interests of foreigners, leaving citizens of the United States to shift for themselves, thus attaining a height of absurdity never before reached in diplomatic history. It is particularly painful to have such an utterly silly and incongruous declaration from a scholar and thinker of Mr. Wilson's calibre.

As a matter of fact, who is it that is threatening the destruction of life and property in Mexico? Why, the revolutionists. And who gives moral support to the revolutionists, and who tries in every way to embarass and hinder the government which is the natural protector of the threatened lives and interests? Why, the Wilson Administration.

M. C. C.


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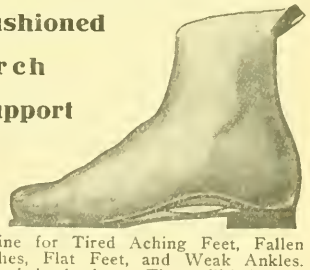

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## A SOLID FOUNDATION.

For the last ten months General Huerta has been fighting against tremendous odds, for the opposition of the Washington Administration is far more formidable than that of the rebel bands that have had its moral support. Because he has not overcome this combined opposition in a comparatively short time is not surprising, in view of the depleted treasury inherited from the Madero regime and the financial difficulties the Washington Administration has cunningly raised in his path. But instead of "crumbling" to satisfy the personal opposition of the moralists who view with complacency the gross immoralities of a Villa, he has maintained the integrity and the independence of Mexico as a nation, and has rallied to his support all the best elements of the Mexican people.

With limited financial resources he has had to organize, drill and equip an army and place it on a solid foundation of power. This work has been going on all along and the efficiency and magnitude of the organization will shortly be revealed. Surely ten months is a short time in which to organize and train an army of eighty thousand or more, with a nucleus of only twenty thousand, while at the same time holding in check the bandit hordes in a country of vast distances.

The Villas and Zapatas and Carranzas may boast and threaten, but their marauding forces will eventually have to break and scatter before the solid mass and power of Huerta's military organization.

The Mexican President is not building on such incidental successes as Ojinaga. They are only important to the writers of Mexican war fiction.

## A SQUARE DEAL.

The El Paso "Times" is getting much wrought up over some of the lurid "stories" sent out from the border town by the small army of newspaper correspondents camped there. Some of these "stories," it seems, have tended to reflect upon El Paso, by creating the impression that life and security were menaced by the proximity to Mexico's disorder. The "Times" says, editorially:

The El Paso "Times" has heretofore referred to the character of alleged war news sent out of El Paso as hurtful to this city, and the correspondent here alluded to is not alone in offending. Others have done and are doing the same thing. They are sending their papers the kind of dope they know will be printed and which will lengthen the monthly string, and they are giving El Paso a black eye from one end of the country to the other.

Then comes this heart-rending appeal:

Gentlemen of the press, give El Paso a square deal. The city has the right to demand such treatment at your hands, and that you summarily cut out those things in your service which are not only so grossly and palpably untrue, but which are doing this city an injury which it will require a long time to repair.

We do not blame the El Paso "Times" for its devotion to El Paso, but the injury done to that city by the fiction-writing correspondents is not a drop in the bucket compared to the manifest injustice and damage to the good name and credit of Mexico and the Mexican people done by these same irresponsible border correspondents. Why does not the "Times" appeal at the same time for fair play for Mexico?

---

One who didn't know, reading the newspaper accounts, would think that Ojinaga was a stone's throw from Mexico City.

* * *

It is about two hundred miles across the desert from Chihuahua, and Chihuahua is a thousand miles from the capital.

* * *

The last remnant of Huerta rule in the North destroyed, shrieked the scareheads.

* * *

The border States of Coahuila and Nueva Leon, entirely in the hands of the Federals, evidently do not count.

* * *

Which is the same as forgetting to include New York and Pennsylvania among the Middle Atlantic States.

* * *

Carranza and Villa are reported to be entirely in accord as far as overthrowing General Huerta is concerned.

* * *

Of course. In this so is the Washington Administration in accord with the supine Carranza and the battling bandit.

* * *

But with Huerta overthrown, what then? A three-cornered fight among them—a battle royal with the odds favoring the battling bandit.

## PRACTICAL RESULTS OF ADMINISTRATION'S MEXICAN POLICY.

It has pleased:

Its authors.

The Madero family bent on revenge, and the Maderist group of office-hungry politicians.

The American oil interests friendly to the Maderos.

Those who want armed intervention.

The lawless element of Mexico.

It has aroused:

The concern of the American people who do not want war.

The disgust of those who believe it is immoral to be allied with barbarians like Villa.

The distrust of Latin-American countries.

The suspicion of European nations.

The resentment of Americans with legitimate interests in Mexico.

The opposition of the Mexican Government.

The enmity of the Mexican people.

---

## ABOUT ZAPATA.

The remarkable interview of a New York "World" correspondent with Zapata was a graphic revelation of the infamous bandit's character—at least for those who have had little or no knowledge of this kind of Mexican. His words showed a low, animal order of intelligence and the vicious unreasonableness of the criminal. Of the same stripe are Villa and the majority of the bandit leaders who are looting and raping in Mexico. It is the misfortune of Mexico, the tragedy of Mexico, that it produces men of that stamp to be the tools of unscrupulous politicians and rapacious financial interests. It is doubly, trebly the tragedy of Mexico, and should be the shame of the United States, that the Wilson Administration, when the character of the rebels has been truthfully revealed, should persist in an attitude toward the Mexican Government that abets the criminal activities of these barbarians, and hampers the forces of law and order.

---

The Mexican Federals at Ojinaga could get no fresh supplies of ammunition from across the border.

* * *

Villa's men could—without difficulty.

* * *

That's what some folks call neutrality.

* * *

That's why we are more than morally responsible for the state of lawlessness in Northern Mexico.

* * *

If Villa is to get a half interest in the moving pictures to be made of his bandit followers in action, the Washington Administration is entitled to a "rake-off," too.

* * *

For making Villa and his like possible.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 23 NEW YORK, SATURDAY ,JANUARY 24, 1914. FIVE CENTS

### A CONTRAST.

The Maderos and Carranza belong to the so-called privileged class of large land-owners. They have no Indian blood. They have had their chance to bring about reforms for the great bulk of the population, who are Indians. They failed. While they preached division of land as a cure for Mexican ills they increased their holdings instead of taking measures to divide them or sell them in small parcels.

Huerta is not a land-owner. He belongs to the people. All his life has been lived among them. His Indian blood makes him responsive to their needs. He has always been comparatively poor, while the Maderos and Carranza have been men of great wealth. Huerta has not had a chance to bring about any reforms, to do anything for the people, for peace is the crying need of Mexico just now. Every obstacle has been put in his path.

Why not give him a chance?

### A LACKING QUALITY.

Nothing quite so hypocritical has been revealed by those newspapers seeking to discredit the Mexican Government as the placid assertion that it has shown its inability to establish the peace it promised to Mexico. Those who make this statement seem to have not the slightest conception of fair play, and still claim to be Americans. Knowing in their hearts that this country has used its tremendous power to thwart and weaken every honest effort of the Mexican Government, by encouraging its enemies and blocking its would-be-friends, they have the brazen impudence to ascribe the prolonged disorder in Mexico to the incapacity of the Provisional Government. Surely the sense of justice in the people themselves remains as an American trait to be proud of, but certainly it is a quality entirely lacking in the make-up of those who have determined that "Huerta must go."

# THE DUEL

It is a source of great regret to all persons directly interested in the welfare of Mexico and in the establishment of solid friendly relations between the American and the Mexican people that the situation as it exists in Mexico today should be so little understood on this side of the border.

This lack of understanding is not confined to the general public that depends for its information on the daily press, but it ex ends most unfortunately to persons who have the power of directly influencing public opinion and of guiding the policy of the Administration.

A belief generally accepted, for instance, is that the present struggle will soon end because the rebel forces under Villa have been successful in gaining control of the State of Chihuahua. Likewise because the forces under Carranza control Sonora and part of Sinaloa. It is argued that as the capture of Ciudad Juarez by the Madero revolutionists marked the end of the Diaz regime, so the capture by Villa of the same city and Chihuahua marks the end of the Huerta regime.

Nothing could be more erroneous than this belief. The Madero revolution was supported by a popular movement that swept the country. It was an almost bloodless revolution opposed only by a decayed government, which did not even attempt to retain power by armed struggle, but renounced it in the hope that further bloodshed would be averted and the prosperity of the country saved.

The present struggle is a duel to death. On one side stands a government which in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties has shown a virility and staying qualities that are well worth studying. On the other are ranged multifarious and disconnected forces which have a common immediate aim, that of seizing power, but no ultimate harmonious purpose.

The strength of the Government lies in the fact that it offers protection to life and property. The strength of the opposing forces lies in the fact that they offer promises of power, immediate freedom from the restrictions of authority, an opportunity to live without work. Also in the fact that they have received and receive the moral support of the Washington Administration, with the consequent material support of arms and money from this side of the border.

Among the forces opposing the Government all kinds of elements may be found, from the lowest brigand to the man of learning who seeks to satisfy his personal ambition even to the extent of imperilling the independence of his own country.

There is no real difference in the purposes claimed by both sides, for it is generally admitted in Mexico that certain social reforms are indispensable. But it is also generally admitted that such reforms cannot be brought about unless peace is re-established, and to establish peace a strong temporary dictatorship is required. This fact is acknowledged by all rebel leaders, each one having declared that upon his ascending to power he would rule as provisional President with dictatorial powers until such time as the country having been pacified (read: until all other rivals having been eliminated), it will be possible to hold elections.

This being the case, it is clear to all thinking men in Mexico that a change of government would not bring an immediate change in the conditions of the country and that it is more probable that these conditions will improve under the direction of a government at present supported by all elements of order than under a new one.

For this reason the present Govern-

(Continued on next page)

THE DUEL—Continued.

ment is receiving the support of these elements even though they realize the disadvantages at which the Government has been placed by the hostility of the Government of the United States.

The present struggle is a duel to the death, and a duel that may be said to have just begun. If it were the struggle of a whole people against an oppressive ruler the downfall of this ruler would be an accomplished fact by this time. But it is, instead, a mortal strife between order and disorder, between respect of property and human rights and lawlessness—in short, betwen civilization and anarchy.

The fact that among the rebels there may be men who harbor ideals of political freedom does not alter the situation. The fact remains that Mexico is not shaken by a popular movement, but is torn by a faction that, having lost the power gained through a revolution, is striving to regain it at any cost.

Fifteen million people are being made to suffer, as they stand by yearning for peace and the chance to work, by the struggle of a few thousand men. If it were not so, we repeat, the Government could not have endured as long as it has.

A peculiar condition exists which may serve to explain why the revolution is not supported by the people in general. While the rebellion is said by its leaders to find its strength in the wish of the peons to acquire small tracts of land, and is said to be directed against the large land-holders of the country, these leaders are themselves among the largest land-owners of Mexico. The Maderos, who are backing and directing the revolution, Carranza, Pesquiera, and many others all belong to the land-holding class which in Mexico forms part of the so-called aristocracy. These leaders do not do the fighting. Even Carranza, who is in the field, has never been known to take the lead in a battle or even to take part in a skirmish. Most of the Maderos are in this country. Pesquiera is in this country, and so are many others. All these men live in luxury while the real fighting is done by men like Villa, Blanco, Aguilar, Zapata and other leaders who work more or less independently.

Now, get this: Neither the Maderos nor Carranza when in power, although they gained it on the strength of promises of division of land, did anything to bring about such a division of land. It may be adduced that Madero as head of the government did not have the time to enforce the land reforms he had advocated. But Madero, with the rest of his interminable family, had owned for years millions of acres, and so had Carranza. Nothing was ever done by these men to change in the slightest way the conditions of the peons on their estates, much less was any attempt made to divide their lands. Yet these large land-owners, these aristocrats, could have done so in a private capacity, without the help of the Government.

As we have said, it is a peculiar condition that the revolution should be led and financed by men whose position and actions are in absolute contrast with the principles they profess. That they have received the support—in great measure only apparent and temporary—of men who are waging war against property-holders, only goes to show first, that the Mexican peon is easily deceived and led into rebellion; second, that fighting leaders like Villa, Zapata, and Aguilar are fighting for personal gain, each one with the ultimate hope that by force of arms he will be able to become President of Mexico, for they all argue: "If Porfirio Diaz did it, why not I?"

On the other hand, at the head of the Government is a man of the people, a man of mixed blood who was never a landowner, who does not belong to the aristocratic class, who understands the need of the Indian community to which he is proud to belong. General Huerta has often repeated that he makes no promises which he is not sure to be able to keep, that first peace must be enforced. Meanwhile, although in a small measure owing to his difficult position, he is trying to bring about a solution of the agrarian problem, the vital importance of which he realizes.

He, as well as those who really understand Mexico, realizes also, however, that the solution of the agrarian problem is not the only factor for the maintenance of peace. It is one of the main factors and one which will require a long time to attain.

It is because of these peculiar circumstances surrounding the leaders of the revolution and the leaders of the Government that the people of Mexico in general are willing to entrust the bringing about of their needed reforms to the existing Government rather than to a new one. Remember, that if the revolutionary forces should triumph the very men who were in power under Madero would be there again. And these men have been tried and found wanting.

Another reason why the present struggle may be considered as just beginning is the increasing hatred engendered on both sides by the continuance of the struggle itself. The supporters of the Government have had ample evidence of the real motives which actuate the financial and moral support given by the Maderos. They know that revenge for the loss of power is impelling them.

They know that the rebel leaders have decreed the wholesale killing of all army officers, that the rebels are pursuing a war of extermination. Every day that passes the hatred becomes more intense. That the attitude of this country toward Mexico has made possible the continuance of the struggle and has fanned the flames of hatred, must be regretted by all Americans who give serious thought and consideration to the situation.

As to the assertion that the Huerta Government is at the end of its rope because of the financial blockade instituted by the Washington Administration and the consequent inability to secure funds from abroad, this is absurd on its face.

It is true that rebel leaders have the advantage in so far as they have no interest to pay on the national debt and are not compelled to pay their troops, which get their living and ample reward from sacking the cities and ranches they seize. It is true that the rebels have no expensive government departments to run. But the Government has ample resources to draw from for a long time. Mexico as a whole will undoubtedly suffer as a consequence of the necessity in which the Government finds itself of drawing financial support from the country instead of obtaining it from abroad. But Mexico is rich and the end of the rope is very far indeed!

We have considered here only a few of the phases presented by the struggle in Mexico, leaving aside the international aspect of the question, which we have considered in other numbers and will refer to again, for it is perhaps the most important of all.

---

**Ojinaga is thirteen hundred miles from Mexico City. Villa has been marching south for two months but he is still near the border.**

* * *

**President Gomez is still dictator of Venezuela; the elections that were to take place last September have not been held as yet; we are still Gomez' bosom friends, and our Minister to Venezuela enjoys the confidence of the dictator.**

* * *

**The same in Guatemala. But "we love constitutional government in Latin-America," etc., etc.**

* * *

**Huerta takes a new totter every day, they say.**

* * *

**The fact that the Federals control absolutely the whole State of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon and part of Tamaulipas does not impede our historians from stating that "the last vestige of Huerta's rule has gone from the north."**

* * *

**But perhaps Coahuila and Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas are no longer Northern States.**

---

"There will be between 70,000 and 80,000 men in the battle," said a members of General Villa's staff to-day. "On our side we will have at least 40,000 and perhaps 50,000 men all well armed and equipped, while Huerta will not be able to assemble more than 25,000 to 30,000 men."—New York "American."

"A member of General Villa's staff" made this preposterous statement, and the Hearst papers displayed it with all the prominence due an established fact. What is a matter of forty or fifty thousand men between bandits and press agents?

## STOLEN GOODS.

The El Paso "Times" boasts of the fact that a member of its staff caused the arrest of Salazar by denouncing the latter's presence on a train on this side of the border.

Realizing, at the same time, the feeling of revulsion caused by such a proceeding it makes a lame attempt to defend its action by saying that it stands for the enforcement of the law at all times regardless of whom it may effect.

One of our El Paso readers writes:

"If the "Times" is so anxious to have the law enforced, why does it not notify the authorities that every night General Benavides, commander of the Juarez rebel garrison; Jose Velarde, rebel mayor of that town, and other chiefs, come to El Paso and stay in the hotels and other places all night? These men get all the arms and munitions they want in El Paso, breaking the neutrality laws, but they come and go scot free, while every Federal officer or sympathizer is hounded to death. Why?"

Our correspondent should not ask us the question. He ought to be able to answer it, himself, being on the spot. The Federalists have no stolen goods to sell, have no stolen money to spend, have no stolen cattle to smuggle across.

The El Paso "Times," as well as any members of its staff, are welcome—of course—to such roles if they choose to assume them. Likewise they are welcome to the friendship of the bandit Villa, whom they extol as a great patriot.

The El Paso "Times" announces a special peace number to commemorate the occupation of Chihuahua by Villa's forces!

It is only in a spirit of deep regret and shame as American newspaper men that we note the fact. To extol an outlaw whose exploits have horrified the whole world—even though that outlaw, who has been cast to the surfac leader by the convulsions of an unhappy people, has bought fifty thousand dollars' worth of goods from El Paso merchants—is not worthy of an American newspaper.

The first order that Villa gave upon reaching Chihuahua was that no woman over twelve years of age should be allowed to leave the city. For, he said, with his well known leer: "We need all the girls here."

Following orders were to the effect that many peaceful citizens should be summarily executed. That Spaniards and o her foreigners should be banished and their property taken. This besides the killing of prisoners, really the smallest offense against civilization committed by Villa. Villa is a good fighter and a lucky one, true, but so were Moseby and Jesse James. Yet these American outlaws were angels compared to the Mexican.

It is to honor such a man and to show the appreciation of the El Paso people for the money they have received—stolen money, by the way—that the El Paso "Times" publishes a special "peace number"!

# MOTLEY

A small army of derelicts has been cast upon our shores by the Mexican storm. We do not refer to the Ojinaga refugees, but to that motley array of would-be lecturers who are preying upon the credulity of the American public by posing either as Mexican patriots or experts on Mexican affairs.

Needless to say not all lecturers on Mexico are derelicts or scoundrels. Quite the contrary. But we refer to some of them who under their own or assumed names tread the platforms of clubs and halls, and others who eke out a rather precarious existence by accepting invitations to dinners and banquets and there discoursing on the ills that corrode Mexico and pointing out the infallible remedies for the cure of these ills.

If the speaker of the type we have in mind is a Mexican, he never fails to convey a veiled suggestion that while Mexico abounds in patriots the only physician who could apply the necessary remedies really effectively is the speaker himself.

But leaving aside for the moment the more or less well-intentioned Mexican patriots, we have with us some interesting types of near-Mexicans worthy of our immediate consideration.

First we must mention Lorenz Speyer—long since well known in Mexico—whose modesty, however, forbade him from using during the many years of happy residence in that country the title of Count de Besa, under which he has become familiar to some philanthropic society of Jewish women in New York.

This Jewish gentleman first sauntered into the Mexican limelight when he organized in Mexico City the Catholic Bank, which subsequently was thrown into bankruptcy. Later he became a more familiar figure to newspaper men in the Mexican courts, where he was the object and the subject of many a suit, running at the same time a private bank under the name of Speyer and Company. It was much to his regret that ignorant persons should at times believe that he was one of the New York Speyers and that this bank should occasionally be thought a branch of the New York and London house.

Being a staunch friend and admirer of the Diaz regime, Lorenz Speyer became interested in a concession for light and power in the State of Campeche, but after Diaz fell and Madero arose Lorenz Speyer—and to think that no one knew then he was the Count of that well known Polish State called Besa!—was one of the first to render homage to the "Liberator." Since then—the New York newspapers say—Speyer had been one of the most intimate friends and closest advisers of Madero. Then on account of his love for the Mexican Constitution the ex-Catholic banker was driven out of Mexico. But Mexico's loss has been New York's gain. Gott sei dank! New York can now admire the blond-bearded near-Mexican patriot on the lecture platform and learn all about it from the gentle-voiced, suave-mannered gentleman who has found refuge from the persecutions of his enemies under the wing of unsuspecting respectable co-religionists.

Another interesting lecturer who is telling the New York public all about "Barbarous Mexico" under the name of Captain somebody or other is an ex-publisher who about five years ago visited Mexico for about three weeks.

He also has been in the limelight, but not in Mexico. The pitiless searchlight was turned on him by the New York "World" about two years ago when he was caught in the famous raid on the Jared Flagg concern.

Strange to say, a sort of retrospective memory has suddenly seized him. Subconsciously during his three weeks' stay in Mexico five years ago he had absorbed a complete knowledge of Mexican affairs and now—fearing perhaps that the New York "World" would again turn on that searchlight—disguised as Captain he is generously imparting that knowledge to a grateful public!

Oh, New York is a great place! Refugium Pecatorum!

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Mr. Ramon Prida was right when, in a letter to the New York "Times," he took issue with former Ambassador Wilson because the latter had stated that Mr. Prida was a comparatively unknown Mexican. Mr. Prida is very well known, indeed, throughout Mexico and we are surprised at the Ambassador's ignorance.

It is true that Mr. Prida was the editor of "Universal." It is true that the "Universal" of which Mr. Prida was the owner has been dead for more than fifteen years, but all Mexicans still remember that paper. It is also true that the Mexican Chamber of Deputies changes its Speaker every month so that there is hardly a Congressman who has not been Speaker at some time or other. Certainly the American Embassy ought to keep a record of all the Speakers. And then Mr. Ramon Prida, lawyer and journalist, was one of the best known members of the Cientifico Party and one of the ablest instruments of that party. Why, Mr. Ramon Prida is very well known indeed!

The only obscure point about his present residence in New York is the motive which brought him here. If it is true that, as the Mexican patriots repeat constantly, the Huerta Government is supported by the Cientificos, how is it that one of the shining lights of that party is here as a refugee from the persecutions of that Government?

Either the Huerta Government is not supported by the Cientificos or the leopard has changed his spots.

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## NOTHING TO IT.

The State Department already is preparing to handle the claims situation with the Mexican Government. One billion dollars is the figure at which such claims are now placed. General Carranza some time ago issued a decree announcing his willingness to appoint a joint claims committee to promptly adjudicate all claims of foreign citizens if the constitutionalist government was installed with himself in power. The State Department considers that this course will be followed and expects the appointment of such a committee as one of the first acts of the new Mexican Government.—New York "Evening Post."

How blithely the State Department, according to this report, takes it for granted that Carranza will be the "new Mexican Government!" It would seem that "free and fair elections" are now considered superfluous. It has already been decided who is to be elected. So simple, isn't it? And Constitutional! Villa, take notice.

## LATENT WAR.

There is nothing so disappointing and puzzling to those friends of international peace who have looked upon the present Administration as essentially peace-loving as to find a truculence, a dictatorial spirit, an uncompromising insistence on one thing to the exclusion of all others, in the Administration's attitude toward the Mexican Government. It is this kind of thing, when it arouses the passions of the people, that is one of the great causes of war where there should be no war, and the leaders of the Administration seem to have recognized that fact except in dealing with Mexico. Whatever friendly purposes may be in the Administration's mind it must be admitted that it has succeeded in befogging them in an atmosphere of war. Despite all appearances to the contrary and despite the labors of the jingoes, despite the obvious attempts of a section of the press to inflame public sentiment, there will be no war between the United States and Mexico, we trust and believe.

But, to say the least, it is unfortunate for the cause of peace among men that the Administration should have committed itself and the people to a stand which has latent all the possibilities of war, and which supplies ammunition to the ever-ready promoters of war. Not to mention its moral support of the barbarous warfare in the North of Mexico that might have been ended long ago had the Administration kept hands off.

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### RELEASE REBELS' MONEY.

Chicago, Ill., Sunday.—A shipment of 10,000,000 pesos in Mexican revolutionary money seized here by government officals yesterday will be forwarded to Nogales to-morrow, according to Thomas I. Porter, in charge of the Secret Service here. Captain Porter said the representatives of the United States District Attorney's office took the ground that as the government at present does not recognize any government in Mexico the money cannot be considered counterfeit.

"As the government at present does not recognize any government in Mexico, the money cannot be considered counterfeit." More of that Christian Science diplomacy: "There is no Mexico. There is no Mexican Government. There is no international law. There is no matter. All is I and grape juice."—M. A. M.

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Where is the difference in fact or morals between the revolution that overthrew Madero and the Washington-directed revolution to overthrow Huerta?

* * *

No difference except that the latter is more bloody and destructive to Mexico and the Mexican people.

* * *

Morality!

* * *

It is a revolutionary movement and yet the Administration professes to discountenance revolutions.

# WHAT'S WHAT ON THE BORDER

By C. F. Z. Carracisti, Ph.D., C.E.

It is strange how far-reaching are the commercial influences of purely local interests in America in dealing with sectional, national and international problems of momentous importance. Stranger still, the high pitch of hysteria that these same interests, through the aid of a pernicious and often subsidized press, may develop among our people. And, yet, we claim and proclaim ourselves a just and deliberate people. Our war with Spain was developed by the loud cries of a yellow press, the distorting of fundamental facts and the substitution of dogmas of a sham morality. For this ill-advised war we have paid dearly and posterity will continue to pay its quota in lives and dollars.

Is our position to-day any clearer on the Mexican situation?

I can only speak of Mexico from the viewpoint of a Virginian, who saw and felt the iniquities of an attempted period of reconstruction in the South. **What is most deplorable of all is that the Democratic party, which in the South fought social and political equality and prevented it at home, is now trying to force it on the better element of the Mexican people. In the South we have disfranchised the negro by inserting educational and poll-tax and "grandfather" clauses in our election laws; and yet we are attempting to compel Mexico to grant a universal ballot to the "pelado" and "peon" element.** Where is the consistency of the Southern senators and representatives and cabinet officers of our nation? If we tried this at home we would have another war. Why should we tell Mexico that what is a fallacy at home should be an axiom in that country? Why?

The rebel army should first be taught the use of the fine-comb before the use of the rifle and a free ballot. What do these people represent out of a total national wealth of $15,000,000,000? At the very outside 2 per cent, or $300,000,000. They represent just 8 per cent. less than the foreign investment in the country which, in round numbers, is 10 per cent. of the total wealth of the country, or $1,500,000,000. No logical statesman or statistician can possibly find excuse for supporting a movement that has for its object the turning over of 98 per cent. of the national wealth of any country to the control of a 2 per cent. interest. Such a pretension is too prosperous to conceive. In Mexico there are about 500,000 property owners and about 1,500,000 people who have sufficient education to understand the responsibility of government. These are the people who should, perforce, govern, not the unwashed and vicious.

Incompetents, the same class of people whom we do not allow to vote in the Southern States, are attempting, by force of arms, to despoil the competents of their property and right to govern.

They call themselves "constitutionalists," but don't recognize Don Pedro Lascurain, who, if the present Government were not constitutional, would be the real Constitutional president. No. Lascuroin does not suit them **because they say that he is a "gentleman." Nor would they accept anyone else whose record does not show that he would permit loot, arson and rape.**

**Constitutional pretensions are therefore a fallacy—a mere excuse—a subterfuge! Nothing more!**

They are playing "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out and substituting Don Quixote.

How many men among the leaders and officers of the "constitutionalists" are free of criminal records? I certainly do not know, but out of such as I do know personally a very small percentage belong to the class whom a gentleman would leave in his house with anything of a valuable movable character. And such as I believe fairly honest are poets and dreamers who would never get any of the spoils in the extremely remote and wholly improbable eventuality that Carranza and his "General" Villa should ascend to power.

But why are the border Democrats so anxious to keep up the war? Why do they aid in breaking the neutrality laws and subsidize at least a part of the press to publish infectious lies and excite the American Government and people against the existing Mexican regime?

Since the Madero revolution began $65,000,000 worth of cattle have found their way through the ports and otherwise into the United States. **Of this enormous sum not more than $15,000,000 has reached the rightful owners; $25,000,000 has gone to the Mexican cattle thieves and $25,000,000 to those who have co-operated with them on this side of the border.**

The longer the American sympathizers can keep up the war the more cattle they and their Mexican partners can obtain for practically nothing. When the cattle are all gone the very people who are now supporting Carranza, Villa and the rest of the saintly mob will clamour for intervention. But, outside of the rightful owners of these cattle, who are practically ruined, what will the poor peons of northern Mexico, who have always lived and worked on the ranches, do? They will find no work, no

## WHAT'S WHAT ON THE BORDER
—Continued.

meat—nothing but chaos! Will the people who are leading these poor, deluded creatures of evil circumstances feed them and their families? Not so that any one will notice the charity.

This is what President Wilson is supporting. Does he know these facts? I believe not, because he is a great and an honest man; and with a full knowledge of such conditions before him he could not support what, on the border at least, is a hypocritical neutrality, a sham and a shame to our pretensions of fair play.

**The American press, except in isolated cases, is willfully and criminally misrepresenting the facts regarding Mexico. Who is paying the bills? That is the question!**

Senator Sheppard, of Texas, who some months ago spread on the Congressional Record information purporting to show the strength of Carranza and his movement, may be an honest man, and even if he were not the libel laws would prevent me from stating the fact. Yet, it would be interesting to hear him explain where he got the information, why he made it of public record in Congress, and, lastly, if he does not know now, if he did not know then, that the information was and is false and misleading. I have no doubt that the respectable and venerable Senator acted personally in good faith. Anyway, it is ethical to so state, but if he is really honest he will tell us where he obtained his data, because the reports of the American Embassy and United States Consuls in Mexico to the Department of State certainly do not verify any of his statements—nor have subsequent events supported his logic and forecasts.

It is probably true that the Senator accepted in good faith statements supplied by the junta of immaculate political conceptions that hangs around south of Pennsylvania avenue in Washington. This junta, which represents Carranza's Washington press agency, is composed of a few over-dressed Mexicans, a German gambler who travels under an alias and formerly lived in Chihuahua, a Polack who is a self-styled doctor of unmentionable infirmities who used to litter the streets of Mexico City with handbills during the Madero opera-bouffe regime, and a few other nondescripts of various creeds, colors and nationalities, the most of whom cannot return to their native lands or their sea-cook fathers. I know the breed personally and cannot understand how gentlemen connected with our Government can possibly give them tolerance, courteous attention and credence.

Along the border contraband of war passes the international line with the aid, connivance and open support and sympathy of certain Government officials, always provided the law is broken in favor of Carranza's murdering hordes. When arrests have been forced on the agents of the Department of Justice through information derived from the Mexican Government representatives, the Federal grand juries, composed of the very people who handle Mexican cattle on the frontier, refuse to render indictments if those who break the laws are revolutionists. The officers and leaders of the Carranza-Villa fraternity not only visit the United States with impunity and associate with our Federal, State and county officials, but all officials of the government de facto are hounded and imprisoned like criminals. Is this neutrality? Let the American Congress investigate these facts before we boast of our justice and impartiality.

Whatever happens in Mexico, Carranza will never be President, as the American interests hope.

Senator Fall may not be a friend of the existing Mexican Government, but at least he is honest and fights it openly, while the Administration strikes foul and under the belt while singing psalms on neutrality.

# LEST WE FORGET

The Administration has not had and never will have the right to demand that General Huerta should resign as President or that he or any other Mexican should not be a candidate for President.

* * *

No more right than Japan would have to demand that President Wilson resign, or renounce a candidacy.

* * *

The sovereignty of nations is such that any such demands have no foundation in right and can never be tolerated by an independent nation.

* * *

If President Huerta yielded to any such demands he would thereby surrender the independence of his country.

* * *

Certainly no patriotic American can blame him for refusing to do that.

* * *

His people and the civilized world might forgive every other fault in a ruler but not the crime of base submission to an overlordship unwelcome to his people.

* * *

It cannot be truthfully said that stable government cannot be established in Mexico.

* * *

Mexico under Porfirio Diaz was at peace and thriving for a generation of progress.

* * *

Until Porfirio Diaz refused to be the tool of American oil and railroad interests.

His doom was sealed. They set out to "get him."

* * *

And in doing it precipitated a reign of anarchy in Mexico.

* * *

Which they will foment and encourage until they get the control they want.

* * *

By exhausting Mexico, destroying its resources, damaging its credit.

* * *

Into which diabolical plan of ruination, so typical of our Trusts when they wage war, the attitude of Washington fits perfectly.

* * *

Mexico will not submit? Huerta will not submit to American financial dictation?

* * *

Very well. Ruin Mexico!

* * *

While the vultures watch and wait.

* * *

The Administration cannot be hand in glove with the very interests whose rapacity we are seeking to check in this country, but why is it that the campaign against Mexico partakes so much of their methods?

* * *

If the interests of a highly honorable moral code were shocked by the tragic revolution of last February and could not approve of the personality of the Mexican Provisional President, why could not that pained moral sense have simply expressed itself by declining to recognize the Mexican Government?

* * *

Why should that sensitive moral code not have revolted against the national crime of ruining a friendly nation?

* * *

By demanding the surrender of its sovereignty.

* * *

By encouraging forces of rebellion that have shown themselves to be mere brigands, bandits, looters and ravishers. And at their best scheming politicians.

* * *

By a "starving out" policy, a financial blockade, the familiar weapon of the Trusts.

* * *

By the virtual threat of armed force with an army on Mexico's border and a fleet of dreadnaughts at its ports.

* * *

A constant reminder to a friendly nation of the menace of might.

* * *

And all this is a force more powerful and destructive of life and property than the revolution that overthrew the Madero Government, and it is spilling blood in comparison with which the blood of Madero and Suarez was but a drop.

# CONGRESSIONAL MUTTERINGS

Among those who seem to believe that our mistaken Mexican policy is more of a Bryan policy than a Wilson policy is Representative Frederick H. Gillette of Massachusetts, who spoke in the House last week on the Mexican situation and declared the Administration was "floundering" along in a policy the inevitable result of which was war.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Gillette said:

"Great restraint has certainly been exercised in allowing this Administration unhampered scope in its foreign policy. Yet I think the policy or lack of policy of the State Department is one of the most censurable features of the Administration.

"I think the episode which best exemplifies the Secretary of State's Administration is where he arranged that the reluctant 'representatives of foreign powers should pass by and address him in formal procession while a cinematograph preserved the spectacle for the delectation of American audiences and the glorification of Mr. Bryan. It is not pleasant to feel that the cultivated opinion of the world is laughing at us, that to their eyes these episodes, which now are subjecting our irregular emissaries to constant and unresented affronts from both parties in Mexico, where they have been flouted and outmanouvered and made ridiculous at every turn, present a pitiful and humiliating spectacle, and that the dignity and prestige of the nation suffers by it as well as the individuals directly responsible.

"Serious questions of state are not settled by remunerative lectures or by moving pictures. The first important act of this Administration rejected and abandoned a settled policy in China, and if the act was wise I suspect it was by chance rather than as a result of the thorough study the subject demanded. It was a policy of practical idealism that would enhance our national prestige and increase our national commerce. Our long studied programme of participation in the benefits of Chinese trade and influence was suddenly discarded with an avowed philosophical purpose which seemed popular, and America's footing in China was abandoned. While the other nations waited to see if any stable government would be established there, we rushed in and recognized the Chinese republic, which the people of China were quite unprepared and unqualified to uphold.

"Recent events seem to prove what was charged at the time, that our reversal of policy was not the result of a studious and comprehensive purpose, but was only the impulsive act of an opportunist, and that, perhaps, the significance and importance of the policy overthrown had not been adequately investigated or understood."

Mr. Gillette then cited the text of the Administration's note of rejection of the Chinese loan on the ground that it involved this country in responsibility for the collection of the loan. He then continued:

"But if that had resulted from convictions founded on deep study, we should not have the personal representative of the Administration saying in his note to Mexico:

"'The President of the United States of America authorizes me to say that if the de facto Government of Mexico at once acts favorably upon the foregoing suggestions, then in that event the President will express to American bankers and their associates assurance that the Government of the United States of America will look with favor upon the extension of an immediate loan sufficient in amount to meet the temporary requirements of the de facto Government of Mexico."

"The two sentiments are quite inconsistent. A politician may change his mind under emergency, but the foreign relations of a great Government should not be erratic; and we should not offer to one nation what we had just declared to another was forbidden by our principles. Such conduct excites disquietude, because it makes us fear that our foreign affairs are being conducted on impulse and not with the serious thoughtfulness and investigation which they deserve.

**Disquieted by Mexican Crisis.**

"For that reason I am disquieted by the Mexican situation. I fear that, too, was neglected until the crisis came when some action was imperative, and then the action had to be suited to the existing conditions instead of having the conditions influenced and arranged by previous careful preparation. I approve entirely of the avowed purpose to have order and a settled government re-established in Mexico with our friendly and sympathetic advice, and I indorse the self-restraint which prevents the hotheads from rushing to instant war, but I greatly fear the State Department's long inaction allowed affairs to drift to that condition where ultimate intervention will be the only possible result of our attitude. I think myself that instead of waiting six months before outlining any policy we ought to have followed the advice of our representative on the spot and recognized the Provisional Government of Huerta."

Mr. Gillette then proceeded to give his reasons for believing that, in spite of his bloody record, it would have been higher statesmanship to recognize Huerta than to attempt to dictate the election of the next President of Mexico.

"For," said Mr. Gillette, "if he (President Wilson) can dictate who shall not be President, he has equal right to dictate who shall be President. If he can eliminate one, he can eliminate all but one. Despite the noble words of peace, it seems to me that our policy and conduct from the beginning have drifted steadily towards war. To recognize as ruler a man accused of crimes of treachery and bloodshed is disagreeable—a popularity-hunting leader would shrink from it.

"When war comes it will be no excuse that the Secretary of State has delivered brilliant addresses in favor of peace. The question will not be, Has he desired war, but, Has he taken such measures as would naturally avert it? An emotional and oratorical glorification of peace is not sufficient atonement for a policy whose legitimate and logical result is war.

"I regret to make these criticisms upon our Administration, toward which in all foreign affairs I feel the most intense loyalty, and I wish the very completest success. But I am not willing to wait until the end and then say I thought so all the time. If I am wrong I shall be rejoiced. If the Administration has a wise and fruitful policy, I will join in praising it. But I fear it has carelessly and optimistically floundered on, trusting to happy chance, and that the stern lessons which history gives us of the fate of such a policy will be here repeated."

## THE MAN OF STRAW.

While Carranza is daily reported at various stopping places on a pilgrimage along the west coast, from Sonora south, the Nogales border headquarters of the Carranzistas are busy supplying romantic touches to the newspaper correspondents. Then the correspondents send the "stuff" out under the date line of the particular town where Carranza is supposed to be. The object of the Carranza crowd just now is to keep Carranza as much as possible in the public eye, while Villa is doing things. Also to claim perfect harmony between Carranza and Villa. You will notice, however, that Carranza keeps the mountains and a few hundred miles between him and his dear bandit friend. Here is a sample of the "news."

### GENERAL VILLA PROVES HIS LOYALTY.

(Special Dispatch to the New York "Herald.")

San Blas, Mexico, Sunday.—General Carranza and his party arrived here late last night and were welcomed by several hundred Indians armed with bows and arrows.

To-day he went to Polo Bampo, on the Gulf of California, halting at several Indian towns on the way, and to-night he returned here.

A wire was run into the private room of General Carranza at Navojoa Friday afternoon, and Saturday morning, before he left for this place, he had a long conference with General Villa, in Chihuahua. The latter made a complete detailed report of the capture of Ojinaga, recounting the munitions captured, which included more than 2,000 rifles, and said that he had already used the weapons by arming volunteers, who were offering themselves in large numbers. He also reported that he had now in his possession thirty-eight cannon, all captured from the Federals, and that he had taken sufficient ammunition to serve them. The chief object of the conference was to ask General Carranza for orders, in connection with the campaign to the south, to be entered upon simultaneously by the constitutional forces on the east coast, in the center and on the west.

These orders were issued, and General Villa will enter at once upon their fulfilment. Of course, the nature of the instructions is not known, but the fact that General Villa asked for them is evidence of his loyalty to General Carranza.

There is absolutely no wire connection between San Blas and Chihuahua, so of course that running of a wire into the private room of General Carranza at Navojoa is—just as purely imaginative as the rest of the yarn.

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If Huerta's hand were removed the resulting anarchy would put upon the United States the burden of doing exactly what he is trying to do—pacify Mexico.

The United States would have to use his methods.

It would have the Villas and Zapatas to fight as well as the decent people of Mexico who would rise to repel foreign invasion.

## ELPASOGRAMS.

Those who have lost all or part of their faith in the Mexican war news in the daily papers, especially that which comes from border towns, will find some explanation of how the news is manufactured from the following letter sent to the El Paso "Times" by a citizen of Marfa, Texas, and quoted in the El Paso "Herald."

Referring to a recent article by Archibold Hacquer, which was printed in the "Times" under the heading "Marfa, Ordinary Western Village, Thrives While Refugees Come," and which charges that the citizens of Marfa are earnestly praying for war to continue and that the business houses profit thereby, Mr. Payne, Secretary of the Marfa Chamber of Commerce, says:

"This article is full of falsehoods and misrepresentations. Marfa is the best business town between El Paso and San Antonio, with possibly a single exception. We have 45 business houses, with almost every line of business represented. We have a wholesale grocery house, also a department store, each of which does an annual business that runs into the hundreds of thousands. We have two banks that have on deposit hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"While Marfa business houses have sold a goodly amount of goods that they would not have sold but for the war, they have lost by far a greater amount of business from the mining, railroads and other industries that have been compelled to close down on account of the war.

"Your inference that the citizens of Marfa are ignorant and illiterate is untrue. I have never met with a more kind and hospitable people, above the average of intelligence, and who deplore war, strife and bloodshed more.

"In an editorial in the same issue you hand yourself the whole bunch of carnations for the 'accuracy' of your news, yet the article in question has as much semblance of truth in it as the average articles appearing in your paper for the past few weeks. One naturally expects at least a display of as much intelligence and judgment among newspaper reporters and editors as that to be found among ordinary hack drivers, but in this case the Jehu seems to have the advantage.

"We presume that reporters with dwarfed mentality have to send in copy to fill space. They report interviews with generals 90 miles away, while they spend their time in hotel lobbies. This is the class of misrepresentations you have been serving your readers, giving falsehoods and slander to the world, thereby causing a continuation of war, strife and slaughter.

"The matter will be brought before the chamber of commerce at their next meeting to bar your paper from their files.

"At a mass meeting of the citizens, this letter was authorized, and, now that your attention has been called to it, we shall expect a speedy retraction."

W. H. PAYNE,
Secretary Marfa Chamber of Commerce.

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**"By their fruits ye shall know them"**

**The fruits of the Administration's Mexican "policy" are prolonged suffering and disorder in Mexico.**

**A policy of "rule or ruin."**

**And still they call General Huerta a dictator.**

# The Facts About Mexico

By John Rockwood Phillips.

In "Pioneer Western Lumberman."

(Continued from our last issue.)

**During the progress of the Madero revolution every law of neutrality was allowed to be violated by the interests which favored Madero, and every violation apparently was winked at by United States Government officials. Apparently no attention whatever was paid to neutrality laws until after the success of Madero was assured.**

The administration officers of the United States were directly responsible for the betrayal of their good friend Diaz. **The only profit so far in the transaction is with the present owners of the pipe-line privileges from the Tampico oil fields to tide water on the Gulf of Mexico.**

In the early stages of the Madero revolution and after his election the uncertainty about armed intervention was due to the difference of opinion of two financial groups. President Taft promised intervention to one of them early in 1911. The other group was not ready for it until some time after Madero's accession. To the well informed student of affairs the large corporations with interests in Mexico apparently suffered no loss by reason of the revolution. The stock of the Mexican Petroleum Company, with all its property in Mexico, increased in market quotations over 50 per cent. during a period less than a year. A part of the increase in value of the Standard Oil stocks was due to the supposed acquisition of control of this Mexican Petroleum Company and of the expected possession of exclusive pipe-line franchises.

The American S. & R. Company stock showed no signs of losses in Mexico until the weakness and corruption of the Madero regime were divulged by the course of events, notwithstanding a large proportion of its income is derived from operations in Mexico. This concern closed down part of its plants for a brief period in 1911, when all of the managers of its various operations came to New York for a conference, which was one of the factors assuring the change of Taft's intervention plans. Another group of interests which then desired intervention has said that President Taft lost his nerve. It seems to be well known in certain circles that he made promises to both sides.

The American public will ask proof of the charges made in this article, and may have it from the records of our Government if the officials in charge can be persuaded to deliver them to the Senate. **The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has part of the proof and has been offered enough more to convince the most skeptical.** * * *

* * * And now, having helped to make this miserable mess what are we going to do about it? In a recent private and personal interview former President Diaz was asked: "How can the United States assist in settling the Mexican revolutionary troubles?" He said: "It is a delicate matter for one Nation to interfere in the internal affairs of another." When asked if he desired that the United States should recognize the Provisional Government he replied: "Failure to recognize the established Government gives encouragement to its enemies."

Perhaps the first question for us to ask our executive is: Do you wish the disturbance in Mexico to be ended, or is there some reason which you have not divulged for a delay on our part which will allow the present condition to continue?" European newspapers have asserted that President Wilson harbors a personal aversion to Huerta. **In an interview with the Secretary of State the writer acquired the impression that Mr. Bryan's attitude is due to a personal opinion regarding the immorality of the method by which, as he assumes, the Provisional Government obtained control.**

The real question of the recognition of the Provisional Government is simple enough. Is it the business of the United States to interfere? If so has it a right to define the Mexican Constitution to suit the President and Secretary of State, who evidently committed themselves on the situation before they understood the provisions of the Mexican Constitution bearing upon the case. Having committed one error after another they sought some way of escaping a confession of error, while also trying to learn the real situation from their private representatives sent to Mexico. They refused to consider the experience and views of our Ambassador to Mexico, who had been for years in personal contact with the situation and who probably better than any other American knew the details of the death of Madero. They completely ignored the information and suggestions of hundreds of American business men with years of experience in Mexico, who personally and by mail and wire offered their services to the State Department. The recognition of the Huerta Provisional Government by Great Britian and the European powers was a master stroke of diplomacy at the expense of the United States, inasmuch as it placed our Ambassador in Mexico at a decided disadvantage, and this will have an immense bearing upon future business and political relations when the present Mexican Government shall have restored order.

An American gentleman who traveled from California to Paris to interview Porfirio Diaz upon the subject and who returned to Washington with a personal unofficial message for President Wilson was denied an audience on the ground that the President's time was fully occupied. Being referred to the State Department he presented his own views, which were politely received, and then he listened to a typical tirade against "you people who have property interests in Mexico. You would have the United States recognize a Government built upon perfidy and assassination; you put money above morals. This country will never disgrace itself by condoning such immorality." And so on in a stream of words resembling the water flowing from the mouth of a bronze frog in a fountain. The visitor, realizing his inability to cope with the crack political orator of the continent, withdrew, but he could not avoid contrasting this interview with the calm, direct, simple eloquence of the few appropriate statements made to him a few days before

(Continued on Next Page.)

## THE FACTS ABOUT MEXICO---Continued

in Paris by the Grand Old Man of Mexico, who was designated by a former Secretary of State as the "greatest living American."

It is impossible to consider this Mexican question without referring to the career of Porfirio Diaz, who, more than any other living man, contributed to the advancement of Mexico from the chaotic condition into which the Nation was thrown by the invasion of Napoleon's army under Bazaine and Maximillian in 1861. If the American public could revert to the good opinion of this patriot almost universally held before it was temporarily suspended by the false and malicious attacks of the financial conspirators, a long step would be taken towards the renewal of the friendly relations between the two countries, terminated by the misrepresentations and slanders of an inspired press agency. A careful study of the life and labors of this wonderful man will be good reading to all friends of government under a constitutional republic. But he was attacked, vilified and misrepresented in American newspapers, books, periodicals and pamphlets as if he had been an opposition candidate for President of the United States, **and now the same sort of campaign is waged against Huerta.** * * *

It is almost certain that immediate recognition of the Mexican Government would put an end shortly to what is left of organized rebellion. In fact, there is not now in any of the Mexican States, except Sonora, any semblance of cohesive organization opposed to the Federal Government.

Our American newspapers seem determined to publish nothing hopeful about Mexican affairs and consequently the public has a wrong conception of the substantial progress made by Huerta towards the establishment of order. If the Mexican Federal Government could have the needed money which was appropriated and wasted by the Maderos and which must be supplied by a loan, business thoughout the Republic could be resumed and then in due course the guerilla bands would be subdued and general peace restored. * * *

**We should remember that we stand today convicted before the world of helping to cause the present deplorable condition. Shall we for a personal prejudice or on a mere technicality refrain from removing the impression that our motives are still as unquestionable as they were when we assisted the mercenary Madero to disrupt a Nation? We must remember that nearly all of the damage to Mexico and to our people there was done while Madero was in power. That the bandits gained their ascendency over the local officers of the law during the Madero regime.** * * *

In Mexico City, where a personal knowledge of Huerta's character and ability may be obtained, the general sentiment of all foreigners is absolutely and positively with the Huerta Government; they feel that the Washington Government has contributed greatly to the revolutionary movement and delayed a definite settlement of the rebellious conditions. Americans, Europeans and patriotic natives are convinced that Huerta is the Man of the Hour, the only one with experience, determination, ability and self-sacrificing patriotism sufficient to cope with the whole situation and restore order out of chaos. He has made remarkable progress in the short time he has been in office, notwithstanding the lack of money and the lack of our moral support. Had the United States recognized his authority positively when the European powers did, rebellion would have been put down and business would have been re-established. When business is resumed the laboring people, who are now obliged to resort to the various "armies" or to brigandage to keep from starvation, would be employed and peace would be assured. There must be in some sections a slow reconstruction such as took place in our own South after the Civil War. We can NOW bring about this much-desired consummation and if the American public insist upon it the administration and Congress will be obliged to listen to our demands.

And if we will forget past differences and mistakes on both sides; if we will treat Mexico as we would like to be treated; if we will give our moral support as France gave us hers in our efforts to establish our own magnificent Republic, order will be restored and we will resume the friendly and profitable relations which should exist between neighbors.

With a definite statement from the President and Senate of the United States that obligations assumed by us under the Monroe Doctrine confer obligations in return on the part of American Republics to preserve stable Government administrations and protect our citizens and other foreigners, peace in all America may be assured for a century.

We now present the spectacle of refusing to consider on our own part the obligation which we have undertaken to impose upon Europe regarding American Nations. We are making ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of Europe and appearing as hypocritical violators of our conceded obligations to our Mexican neighbor.

Under our new tariff bill, now that it has become a law, Mexico and Cuba can furnish, with our financial help, all of the cattle, sheep and sugar necessary to be imported for many years to come. There are so many products of Mexico needed by us and so much of our manufactures required by her citizens, that a real reciprocal business arrangement could be advantageously established between us more practical than is possible between any other two Nations in the world.

We can restore peace in Mexico with a word. We can resume friendly business relations quickly and profitably and contribute to the advancement of civilization and universal peace in a manner more effective than all the manifestos and peace conferences of all time.

Our President can do this now.

## NOTES OF PROGRESS.

Mining operations in the state of Oaxaca are being prosecuted with energy. In the Taviche region the Las Vantanas and La Escuardra mines are producing satisfactory returns of silver and gold; and at the Conejo Blanco a rich vein has been located, which assays remarkably well. The Compania Minera Zapoteca, in the Ejutla and Ocotlan district, is working La Golondrina with good results. This mine was famed in the days of the Spanish occupation for its output of gold and silver. The Compania Minera de Natividad y Anexas, and others, are exporting ore to the United States and Hamburg, as well as to smelters in the interior of the republic.

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The department of communications is calling for tenders for the establishment of a steamship service in the Gulf of California, between Guaymas and Perihuete. The tenders will be opened with legal formality on May 11, 1914, and the successful contractor will be informed within a period of eight days. The department reserves the right to reject any tender received, when the amount appears excessive.

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The San Luis Potosi branch of the National bank has reopened for business.

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The estimated value of the henequen exported from Yucatan during 1913 is placed at $36,000,000.

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Several wireless operators shortly will leave for the north under the orders of Juan Manuel Flores Trevino. They will erect stations in Monterey and San Luis Potosi. Torreon already is equipped with a wireless station, and one of the outfits recently arrived will be installed there.

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Business conditions in Guanajuato have improved lately, due to the circulation in considerable amount of one and two peso bills of the National bank. The Guanajuato State bank also had received $50,000 in fifty cent pieces.—Mexican "Herald."

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The increased area of land in Mexico devoted to the growing of cotton, and, parenthetically, the boom in that industry in lower California, is indicated in the December report of Collector of Customs Elliott, and shows the value of imports from Mexico for the month to be $160,797.

Of this amount half is from cotton that crosses the line at Calexico. During November Mexican imports overtopped those of any other country whose products were landed at the port of Los Angeles, reaching the unprecendented figure of $268,704.

Total collections for December are $90,595.69; imports, $518,530; exports, $83,983. With Mexico leading all other countries in the matter of imports, the next highest is Japan, $72,861; Germany, $57,493; Brazil, $39,711; Chile, $26,675; and England, $26,299. Exports to Mexico lead the column with figures at $50,-065; England, $13,879; France, $9,180.—Los Angeles "Times."

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## THE MEANING OF "HUERTA BE DAMNED."

Claims aggregating not less than $500,000,000 gold will, sooner or later, be filed against Mexico by the United States and the nations of Europe and Asia, for indemnity on account of murders and outrages against foreigners in Mexico, and destruction of property owned by foreigners. Of these claims, at least 10 per cent. or $50,000,000 gold, will be legitimate, and must be paid if Mexico is to retain her place among the nations.

Mexico will be willing to acknowledge the justice of perhaps $2,500,000 of the claims, without further contest than may be involved in official investigation and report.

The United States and other powers cannot afford to refrain from pressing their just claims to conclusion. Therefore, assuming that the claims that will be originally filed will be scaled down to 10 per cent. by foreign or international tribunals, after thorough investigation, and that the great bulk of the actual losses will ultimately be borne by the unfortunate individuals who have been caught and stripped in the revolutionary storms, the governments of Mexico and the other powers will still be nearly $50,000,000 apart upon their estimates of just claims due.

Mexico is not bankrupt by a long ways, but the present government of Mexico is bankrupt, and has been forced to default on interest on national bonds.

Mexico's income from external sources has been greatly reduced by reason of the stoppage of commerce and industry.

Mexico's income from internal sources is a forced income, that is ruining the country in the process of forced collections, and that will cripple all commercial and industrial activities and financial institutions for a long term of years, extending long after Mexico recovers a degree of social and political stability.

The day of accounting must come.

Mexico is plunging downward into greater distress and greater disaster.

What is the Government at Washington doing to avert the grand crash, the return of unbridled chaos?

ANY GOVERNMENT IN MEXICO IS BETTER THAN NO GOVERNMENT.

Has Washington fully comprehended the importance of this dictum of fundamental justice and common sense?

The real revolution in Mexico is yet to come—yet to be sprung. Mexico has seen no real revolution yet. These have all been mere curtain raisers.

Time and mistaken diplomacy have been, and are, educating more and more people in Mexico all the time to habits of destruction.

Disemployment breeds hunger, hunger breeds violence, violence breeds anarchy.

MEXICO'S GREATEST TROUBLE TODAY IS ECONOMIC, NOT POLITICAL.

Has Washington fully comprehended the real underlying basis of Mexico's sad plight today?

Are we not, as a matter of fact, doing our best to accomplish Mexico's economic destruction, while ostensibly furthering her political emancipation?

The hungry man, out of work, is not always a devoted student of Plato, or a stoic philosopher.

The revolution in Mexico is just beginning.

In experimenting upon the patient with a new cure for chickenpox, we may kill the patient.

A noble contribution, by the patient, to science, but of doubtful credit to the physician.

BUDDHA TEACHES THAT PERFECTION COMES ONLY WITH TOTAL EXTINCTION.

IS PRESIDENT WILSON, IN HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD MEXICO, SEEKING TO DEMONSTRATE THE WISDOM OF THE TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA?

It used to be said that "there is joy among the angels over one sinner that repenteth." President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have set up a revised version in the bible diplomacy as relating to Mexico: "There is joy among the angels over every slip of the sinner towards the abyss of final ruin."—El Paso "Herald."

## THE BUZZARD.

Instead of welcoming our benevolent intentions, most of the Latin-American press are alarmed at our President's extension of the Monroe Doctrine and tremble at the suspicion of North American interference in their affairs. The whole press, from the great "Prensa" of Argentina to the smallest sheet in Mexico, raises its voice in indignant and passionate clamor, echoing the pleas made by Prof. Hiram Bingham, of Yale, and by Major Cassius E. Gillette, U. S. A. They approve the words of this retired soldier, that when Latin America realizes what President Wilson has done to Mexico under his unwarranted extension of the Monroe Doctrine, some of their artists will paint the Bird of Freedom, not as an American eagle protecting a brood of young republics, but as a huge black buzzard, standing on Panama, with the tip of one wing over Sonora, and the other over Tierra del Fuego, with every feather dripping beautiful words and crude petroleum. Upon our examination of the South American papers we discover that this has already become the conviction of Latin-American publicists.—"Literary Digest."

## NO INTERVENTION—EDISON.

Thomas A. Edison, who has always taken a keen interest in the affairs of Mexico, said the United States Government should not intervene.

"Why should the American people," he said, "be compelled to pay for the maintenance of an army in Mexico to protect the properties of a few men who got concessions and went in there for their own profit? This dollar diplomacy will soon be a thing of the past. Governments are not supported by the many to protect a few, and the sooner some of the few realize it the better."—New York "Times."

## MUST SHOULDER IT.

It is said, we know, that the President is mortified at the ridicule which has been poured upon his Secretary of State. And there have been many funny newspaper stories about the relations of Mr. Bryan to the foreign diplomats in Washington. No doubt, the latter have their little jokes about Mr. Bryan's unconvential ways, and his unconscious importation of Nebraska methods into the State Department; but at bottom they have, in fact, a genuine liking for the man. He sincerely desires to be at peace with all the world, and that makes their tasks easier; while they have come to believe him absolutely candid in all that he says to them. This may be a novelty in diplomacy, but the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers do not find it unpleasing. There is certainly no friction in that quarter. And if there is any criticism, well or ill grounded, of Mr. Bryan's policy in Mexico or elsewhere, the sufficient answer—so far as relates to any supposed coolness between the President and his Secretary of State—is that Mr. Wilson is ultimately responsible for it all, and must shoulder it all.—New York "Evening Post."

## CONGRESSMAN GILLETTE'S HINDSIGHT.

Congressman Gillette of Massachusetts, in criticising the Mexican policy of the Government, attempts covering too much ground. Any question of whether Secretary Bryan has been devoting his time to outside pursuits, either for profit, popularity or applause, is not closely connected with the one of our Mexican policy. That policy was determined upon at the beginning of the administration, and was briefly but clearly announced in the declaration that "under no circumstances" would the constitutional provisional government of Huerta be recognized at Washington If the Secretary of State has been guilty of any neglect of official duty while following the Chautauqua routes, it can not be fairly claimed that anything he might have done could have changed, or in any way modified, the Mexican policy, which was well settled as one of "watchful waiting" before the Chautauqua season began. Mr. Bryan could both watch and wait as well on the circuit as in Washington. There has really been no problem in a policy which, emphasized in the call upon all Americans to get out of that country, has awaited the certain downfall of the Mexican Provisional Government through the withholding of United States recognition. If there is now an onerous responsibility attaching to anybody for the steadfast pursuance of such a policy, it is impossible to discriminate between the President and the Secretary of State in charging it.

Nor is Mr. Gillette much more happy in his insinuation that the policy of this administration has been dictated by a desire to reverse the policy of Mr. Taft for partisan reasons. We do not believe Mr. Wilson to have been actuated by such a motive. The policy he has chosen to follow is not more a reversal of the policy of Mr. Taft than it is a reversal of the policy of all of our Presidents preceding Mr. Taft, after Mexico and the other Spanish-American republics became independent States. That policy was, unbrokenly, to recognize as the government of any one of those then turbulent countries the regime found to be in office under constitutional forms.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

In pursuance of this policy we consistently recognized Juarez in Mexico while his authority was being defied by force of arms, and after him Lerdo, and after Lerdo Diaz. Withholding the recognition of the United States from Diaz would have made impossible the quarter century of prosperous peace Diaz gave to Mexico. Diaz, no more than Huerta, could have maintained himself under such a cloud. That question was raised at that time. **Our recognition of Diaz minimized his difficulties and soon tranquilized the country.**

This late reversal of the historic American policy in Spanish America has been as plain from the beginning as it is now. It lessens the strength of Mr. Gillette's position that he has waited until the foreign holders of Mexican bonds are confronted with a default of interest on such securities, through appropriation of customs receipts to military expenditures, before making protest. It leaves him open to the charge of now making an attack calculated only to force the administration into aggressive military action in Mexico for a speedy restoration of national solvency. The same public opinion which justified the official call on Americans in Mexico to run for their lives should now, logically, justify advice to foreign holders of Mexican bonds to whistle for their money, or to call upon their own governments to enforce its collection through the seizure of Mexican custom houses and their receipts.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### AN AMERICAN PICTURE OF HUERTA.

The American friends who met me at the station in Mexico City drove me up Calle del Puente de Alvarado (the scene of the fabulous pole vault made by Alvarado in 1521) to the aristocratic Bach's restaurant. Imagine my satisfaction and amazement at finding the notorious (I am convinced now that he is that) Huerta sitting at the next table to ours. He was surrounded by six of his friends and "private guards." I had a full face view of him and examined him carefully. He is much handsomer than any pictures I had seen of him. He strikes one as being more a figure of the "tented field," one used to "roughing it," than a man used to a refined and ennobling environment. Yet by his quiet and deliberate manner he displayed a personality far greater than any of the forces that had produced it. He looks the leader, the possessor of "kingly thoughts," the genius who knows neither hatred, fear nor vacillation. As he left he passed close to me and looked me square in the eyes. From his expression I judged he was thinking to himself, "Another of those meddling Yankees!"—J. N. Darrow in New York "Sun."

### BRITISH WAR AVERTED.

Although the peace-loving make-up man placed in an obscure corner of the paper the cablegram describing the "peace with honor" speech made by Senator James Hamilton Lewis at an American Club luncheon in London, readers felt keen anxiety until it was learned that the incendiary utterances kindled no international conflagration. While the speech is said to have created a furor among the speaker's compatriots and fellow-diners it apparently caused no ripple in the life of Great Britain. The diners "grasped the Senator's hands and congratulated him." Not being Latin-Americans, none of them embraced him. This demonstration came before the Senator had amplified his remarks. He had simply declared: "How do you expect peace when a nation is deliberately inciting our neighbors to war with us?" He added that the policy of President Wilson is a sincere one; that he is anxious for peace, but that it must be peace with honor. If the dread alternative presents itself of losing peace or honor, honor must be retained at any cost.

These remarks might have been regarded as academic by some. Others might have picked out some particular nation that "is deliberately inciting our neighbors to war with us." Hobson would have at once concluded that the Senator had Japan in mind. Pindell of Peoria might have feared that Russia would misinterpret his sponsor's remarks. So in order to make everything clear, the Senator, after acknowledging the congratulations with that grace that has made him famous from sea to sea, stated unequivocally that his reference distinctly applied to Great Britain, and he used the conduct of Sir Lionel Carden as proof of the deliberate intentions of that country. He accused the British Foreign Office of a false explanation of Sir Lionel's attitude.

A bad half hour must have followed for Ambassador Page, while he was explaining to the British Foreign Office just who Senator J. Ham Lewis really is and the discount that his utterances are subject to in his own country. His mission there, as a delegate to the Seamen's Conference, was also explained and the suspicion that he might be another personal, confidential agent of the president was removed. This proof was easy, for the personal and confidential agents of the President do not attend luncheons, and they are noted for their taciturnity. They do not even trust the immediate members of the President's own household, but insist on talking to the President in a sound-proof cabin of a Government cruiser. Mr. Page might have intimated that somebody had spiked Senator Lewis's grape juice. Whatever means he employed, Ambassador Page somehow relieved British anxiety and the plans for the celebration of the centenary of English-American peace will proceed the same as if Senator Lewis had not spoken. We trust the incident may be valuable in convincing Representative Moon of Tennessee that there is still need for our maintaining diplomatic representatives abroad. Otherwise Senator Lewis might go to England and start a war at any time. But if any nation has been inciting our neighbors to make war on us, it has signally failed.—St. Louis "Globe-Democrat."

### AN AMERICAN IN MEXICO.

To the Editor of the New York "Sun"
—Sir: I have lived in peace and amity in the Zacualpan section of Mexico for six years. When the "Sun" published a sketch map showing Iguala in the position of Teloloapan, away off from the railroad, which it has extended from Balsas through Chilpancingo to Acapulco, I feel obliged to say that while a traveler could get to Iguala on a railroad car, he could not pass Balsas in that conveyance, even though he were a special emissary.

Your "field of Zapata's activity" on the map printed shows possibly the field that he wishes he could cover. He is pretty closely confined to the State of Morelos, with occasional incursions, seldom over thirty miles, into Puebla and Guerrero. In Morelos he sticks to the mountains, raiding haciendas when he can gather men and feels quite certain that there will be little resistance. Military trains pass over the main railroad line every few days, and passenger trains from time to time. Zapata does not dominate even the State of Morelos, as we who live on the border of the State know.

In Guerrero bands of free lances have been operating with profit, except when the Federals caught up with them. These patriots have dominated possibly one-third of the State. They are not in league with Zapata and are reported to have fought him. This is quite credible, for one of the leaders, Romulo Figueroa, seems to try to act as a civilized person and to endeavor to restrain his followers from the barbarous cruelties practised by the Zapatistas.

In the State of Mexico the only trouble has been caused by raids from Morelos and Guerrero. The people of this section are in favor of peace, and do not care especially what the name of the Chief Magistrate may be; they do not fight on either side, except to defend their homes from looting.

If the Zapatistas are in league with Carranza the rank and file do not know it. I was their prisoner for some hours and I talked with as may as I could to find our what their ideals were. I imagine that Zapata gets all that he can from Carranza, and that Carranza makes all that he can out of Zapata's rebellion. Zapata is the only really consistent rebel in the field, as he has fought every government from that of Diaz to the present day, and got arms and money through one side or the other when he needed them.

It may be that Mexico has no government, as Mr. Wilson seems to believe, but the impression here is much to the contrary. **Since General Huerta has had a free hand we have been returning to days of peace, and we much doubt whether any other Mexican, even if elected President by President Wilson himself, could govern as well as General Huerta has done under extremely difficult circumstances.** Do the people here, upper, lower or middle class, want democratic government? Live here some years, learn the language, talk with men of each class in widely separated places, and you will find that no one wants or dreams of having a truly democratic government, not even a government as democratic as that of the United States. **Is it the divine duty of the United States to force constitutional government on these people; to spend American money and lives in the task? No one who lives in central or southern Mexico will be very enthusiastic about it, I fear, and perhaps those who live in the northern part of the country would prefer that the Mexicans arrange their government to suit themselves, without interference, divine or otherwise, directed from the United States.**

AMERICAN.

Zacualpan, Mexico, January 3.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I am very familiar with conditions and factions, not only in the southwestern part of the United States, but in Mexico as well. To start with, as a matter of fact the people in the extreme northeastern part of the country know little as to Mexican affairs and conditions and, as the old saying is, "One needs to travel to live and learn."

(Continued on next page.)

There was a time, before I became thoroughly acquainted with facts and conditions, that I was aggressively opposed to the recognition of the Huerta Government, and no doubt there are thousands of people in this country to-day who are opposed to its recognition, purely because they do not know the truth.

The old saying is: "A fool never changes his mind." I do not credit myself with being the wisest individual in existence, but I do take upon myself to say that the only course left for this country, if we desire peace and to avert further great expense, is to recognize the Huerta Administration.

Henry Lane Wilson certainly understood Mexican affairs and his recommendations to the President should have been taken.

From direct information these men, Villa and Zapata, are nothing more than an extremely illiterate bunch of bandits, but cunning enough to play on the uneducated peon, constantly keeping him misinformed. Due to the actions of the wretches there is untold suffering among all classes of society, and the outcome is that Mexicans not desiring war or trouble have been driven to desperation through hunger and deprivation.

A sentimentalist cannot control Mexico. It takes a fearless man with a backbone of steel, like Huerta. The Mexicans are a different race of people than we of the north, and the only way that peace will ever be restored is to have this kind of a man at the helm of the Mexican Government. It appears to me that President Wilson has got his foot deep into it and does not know whether he is going or coming, or what to do in order to bring about peace in Mexico, and at the same time land the credit of same to the Democratic party.

Kansas City. J. E. D.

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: If this country is ruined and foreigners suffer with their property and lives—the "policy" of President Wilson will be responsible for it. The only "policy" apparent to us who live here is a personal and blind antipathy to President Huerta and a desire to see him "down and out" at any cost rather than show any evidence of friendliness or practical help to a distracted country, torn by internal dissensions. The President of the United States has apparently been the unconscious catspaw of the grafting Madero regime in their lust for revenge and would-be reassumption of power; and they in turn are backed by financial interests in the United States who have been the mainstay of the so-called "constitutionalists" in their work of ruin and blood-thirsty destruction in the northern part of this Republic. Why is it that no great newspaper in the United States is decent and broad enough to give the Government of this country a chance? Why do they always favor the plunderers, the looters, the despoilers of women?

You remember how the papers willfully distorted the fact of President and Mrs. Huerta opening Chapultepec Castle for diplomatic receptions, etc., this winter into the "hiding" story. They don't even take advantage of their right to live there—but reside in an unassuming house in the suburb of Popotla. President Huerta is too democratic, and has been too busy to have time for many society stunts; but when occasionally he does attend some function or other he is always exceedingly genial, and his dry wit and keen sense of humor keep things humming. Of one thing you may be sure—no matter what comes—there will be no "hiding" about Huerta. He's as brave as a lion and serene in the knowledge of the right of his position as legal president of this Republic in accordance with Mexican law and order. He will ignore, and rightly so, the amazing demands, which only ignorance and prejudice could formulate, of President Wilson and continue endeavoring to save his country in his own way and by his own methods.

So long as General Huerta dominates the situation every foreigner living in this city feels safe; but if through the moral and materal aid which the United States is constantly giving the enemies of this Government they should eventually triumph and bring with them to the capital and into the Administration their grafting, bloodthirsty, lawless proclvities, adios to individual safety, to general prosperity and peace for many a sad and bitter year to come! Yours truly,

A TEN-YEAR RESIDENT OF MEXICO.

Mexico City.

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Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: In all that I read about the Mexican situation I fear there is much of rancor and partisanship. On the one hand, there seems to be a concerted effort to discredit the Mexican Government. On the other, the attacks on our Government show a blinding bitterness. It seems to me about time that the attitude of the average intelligent citizen, unbiased and with no axe to grind, should find expression.

I get around a great deal and I like to think about and talk about the big topics of the day with folks I meet. Now, here's the result of my careful observation of what the man in the street, the man in the office and the man in the shop think about the Mexican situation.

The younger men are inclined to talk big as to what we would do in case of war with Mexico, but nine out of every ten men are against war. They can't see any reason why there should be war, and they really don't expect it. There is no feeling at all against Mexico or the Mexican people. There is just a little bit of concern about the sharpness and irreconcilability of the Administraton's attitude toward the Mexican Government—concern that it may force issues that might lead to something that could be avoided.

As to President Wilson's general policy, there is a willingness to depend on his good motives and judgment. Also the average man, who knows nothing of Mexico at first hand, feels that President Wilson is in a position to know the facts, and therefore they are inclined to believe he knows what he is doing better than they could.

I find that the average man discounts a lot of the Mexican news in the papers. In fact, many say that they are sick and tired of the Mexican rumors from day to day, and some simply don't read anything but the headlines.

I find some condemnation of General Huerta on the grounds that—well, just on the general impression of him the papers have given. But there is at the same time a sort of admiration for his sticking to his guns.

In the mind and imagination of the average man Villa counts for more than Carranza. Many are puzzled as to why encouragement of a bandit who loots a town and kills the defenseless should seem to be the alternative to the acceptance of President Huerta.

Summing it up, the average man seems to feel like this: War must be avoided at all costs. Mexicans should be let manage their own affairs. As between the Mexican Government and those fighting it, the Government seems to be the more respectable and civilized and should not at least be antagonized by us.

I think if this attitude of the average man were reflected in the public press it would make for a better understanding generally.

Yours very truly,

New York City. C. H. S.

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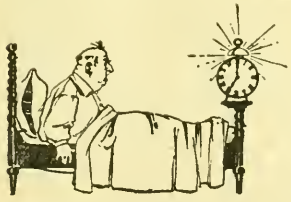

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## PUBLIC OPINION.

Since the Mexican situation developed as a United States problem to be solved by the present Administration we have seen the public opinion of the American people as regards Mexico and our relations with Mexico pass through many and various stages. We have carefully observed every outward manifestation of it, that which has been spontaneous and that which has been disingenuous, in the press, the magazines, interviews, in the halls of Congress, and in the statements of publicists and men of affairs. Furthermore we have sought through all available channels of information the general opinion of the average man, which in the ultimate shapes or opposes the policies of the Government.

Mexico's Tragic Ten Days and the subsequent killing of Madero and Suarez were appalling to American public opinion, which could not imagine such conditions in our own country and shuddered to think them possible in our sister republic. The intolerable situation in Mexico that made such things possible was not as vivid in the minds of our people as the awfulness of the events themselves. This state of the public mind was immediately seized upon by the very persons connected with the Madero regime who had actually been responsible for the tragedy as an opportunity for a campaign of lies and revenge to poison the mind of the public and the Administration against the present Mexican Government. How well they succeeded in prejudicing the Administration is a matter of history.

Public opinion remained receptive to the inspired press campaign engineered by the Maderos and their American allies until the general discussion of Mexican affairs, the increased demand for accurate information, the protests of Americans in Mexico, the facts as laid before Congress by Ambassador Wilson, and the more or less direct intimations from European representatives in Mexico, amazed that American public opinion had been so shamelessly misled, brought out gradually the truth that the problems of Mexico were terribly complex and were being made hopelessly more so by the failure of the United States to gauge them correctly.

The Administration had already tied its hands by intimating that under no circumstances would it recognize the Government which stood between Mexico and anarchy. In the light of all that was being disclosed that made so obstinately negative an attitude untenable, the Administration sent John Lind to Mexico with proposals which, however they may have been viewed by public opinion then, can hardly be mentioned now in any public gathering without raising a laugh. The mission of John Lind was foredoomed to failure, but American public opinion, however doubtfully, left the whole matter to President Wilson and John Lind and hoped for the best.

Since then American public opinion has been at times impatient, at times suspicious as to the connection of Big Business with our attitude toward the Mexican Government, at all times ready to agree enthusiastically with anything that the Administration might do that would settle matters, at times skillfully led to think that American intervention was inevitable, almost instantly to reject any such suggestion, at times amazed by the optimism of Washington, and at all times busily comparing in its own mind the actual observable murders and villainies of the Villas and Zapatas with the unproven charges against the Provisional President.

At the present time American public opinion as regards Mexico is infinitely better informed than it was last spring, and all our feeling of the pulse of the people convinces us that it is generally felt that in some way, either through a mistaken idealism or a blundering ineptitude, the Administration has not only added to the troubles of Mexico, but has tied itself in a knot; that it has committed itself to a course the end of which is not in sight and which may lead to consequences that should be avoided at all costs; that it is everybody's duty to support the Administration if the worst comes to the worst, but that the Administration owes it to the country to find some way out, even at the expense of idealistic theories and personal prejudices.


Read "MEXICO"

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.


## SELF-HYPNOTISM.

There is no Mexican Government!

Whenever the inevitable logic of events tosses the "high officials" of the Administration on the two horns of a dilemma—whenever in the eyes of the world it is incumbent upon them to admit that if such and such is not then such and such must be, that if it isn't This it must be That—these puzzled officials squirm out of the situation by saying there is no issue of facts, there is no necessity of solution **because there is no Mexican Government, and that because there is no Mexican Government nothing that presupposes its existence is true.**

If their attention is called to the fact that they are not justified in international law in violating Mexican law by keeping American warships in Mexican waters except under certain conditions, the State Department blandly insists that neither international nor Mexican law applies, **because there is no Mexican Government.**

When bondholders inquire as to the attitude of the State Department toward the Mexican Government's application of the customs duties to the internal necessities of government in preference to the payment of interest on the national debt, the "high officials" say they cannot take cognizance of the situation **because there is no Mexican Government.**

There is no Mexican Government! Ye gods, it sometimes looks as if there were no United States Government—at least one capable of understanding anything about Mexico.

## GUERILLA METHODS.

Nothing would please the Government of Mexico better than a concentration of all the rebels under Pancho Villa for an organized advance on the capital. Whatever success the rebels and bandits have is in guerilla warfare, swift attacks in strong numbers on small or weakened garrisons (the Ojinaga garrison had run out of ammunition) and as swift retreat when the Government troops attack in force. They never battle in the open, according to the rules of civilized warfare. If a band of rebels is cornered and it seems inevitable that it must give battle the band scatters among the hills and mountains that are everywhere in Mexico. The topography of the country presents the greatest difficulty to the operations of any but guerilla forces. The States of the North are sparsely settled and easily destroyed railroads run for hundreds of miles through deserts and wilderness. All these conditions of brigandage and rebellion in the North are a tremendously difficult military problem, which would be doubly difficult for the United States troops if they should take over Huerta's job of pacifying the country. Doubly difficult because they would be confronted by a united Mexico.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.—Oriental Proverb

VOL 1—No. 24 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1914. FIVE CENTS

## "INTERESTING FICTION"

Of the many different 'fiction stories" dealing with Mexican affairs that saw the light during the past week, perhaps the most interesting was that purporting to reveal a sinister collusion between the governments of Mexico and Japan.

The sale of arms by a Japanese firm to the Mexican Government and the reception given the Japanese naval officers in Mexico City were taken as evidence of the existence of a secret plot against the United States.

Thereupon vivid, prominent first-page scare-headed stories were displayed by most American newspapers. A Mexico-Japanese alliance directed against the United States was seen to loom black and menacing on the horizon, and it was intimated that Uncle Sam was girding his loins preparing for the mortal fray.

After three days President Wilson deemed it necessary to deprecate the publication of such stories.

Now, as to facts: Arms made in Japan were ordered as early as April, 1913, by General Mondragon, then Mexican Minister of War. They were ordered from the Mitsui Company, because of their low cost. At the same time and thereafter arms were bought by the Government in other—European and American—countries. The courtesy extended the Japanese officers in Mexico is no more nor less than that extended to other naval officers who have visited the capital in the last few months.

There does exist a natural sympathy between the Mexican and the Japanese people, owing perhaps to what is believed to be a common origin of the two races. Despite the asinine assertion to the contrary by an editorialist of the New York "World," there is little doubt left in the minds of students that the Indian races which have peopled Mexico were of Mongolian stock. Many words in some dialects spoken in the south of Mexico are easily understood by Chinese immigrants. A secretary of the Japanese Legation in Mexico was able some time ago to decipher old Mixtec inscriptions found in the ruins of Mitla.

As recently as November, 1912, Sir Martin Conway, Prof. William Niven and Senor Ramon Mena, scientists, discovered only a couple of hours' walk from the City of Mexico, under a six-foot layer of dirt, the remains of a city of undoubted Mongolian construction.

It is quite natural that the Mexican Government should accept the friendship spontaneously tendered by another nation. It is not the fault of the Mexican Government that it cannot express the same friendship for the Washington

(Continued on next page.)

# IMPOSSIBLE ALLIANCE

No decent, responsible American citizen will believe for a moment that the President contemplates raising the embargo on arms for the benefit of the barbarians who are murdering, pillaging, and violating women and girls in Northern Mexico. Not that such executive action would make any material difference in the fortunes of these bandits and outlaws. It is perfectly well known in Washington that the embargo has not prevented Villa and Carranza and Blanco and the rest from getting across the border all the arms and munitions of war they have wanted.

The shame of it all would be that, whereas for United States assistance to the very worst element of Mexicans some excuse in history might be found in the difficulty of preventing it or in the Administration's ignorance of what these Mexicans really are and represent, the formal raising of the embargo would for all time stand as an official, deliberate, disgraceful alliance between the Administration and bandit leaders who are a blot on civilization. It is incomprehensible. The people of this country would never tolerate such a thing. But supposing such a fatal mistake should be mde. What would be the consequences?

Let the President lift the embargo on arms to Mexico, and good-by, for another generation at least, to Latin-American friendship. Haven't we told all the nations to the south of us that all we wanted in Mexico was peace? That we had no ulterior interests or motives to be served? That our attitude was one of strict neutrality, combined with a natural duty as a close neighbor of Mexico to lend our good offices in the promotion of constitutional government and order?

The countries of Latin-America, with which we have every reason, moral and material, to be frank friends, have tried to take us at our word, although our subsequent actions did not bear out our protestations. They have tried to believe that our intentions were of the noblest, in keeping with the character of our President. When finally our balloon of disinterestedness was punctured, when the cloak of honeyed phrases was thrown aside and we stood revealed as the would-be dictators to Mexico as to what kind of government and what particular group of governors it should have, Latin-America generally nodded its head sadly and said: "More Yankee hypocrisy."

Every country in the world has listened respectfully to the words that have come out of Washington, expressing this or that intention, this or that ideal. Listened and remained open to conviction. But the world is not so easily fooled by words. The world has believed all along that the Washington Administration has set out to get control of Mexico. The world has known that the Washington Administration does not want to fight with arms for that control. The world has known that the Administration has given its moral support to the rebels and bandits who are destroying Mexico as a surreptitious means of getting that control, either through the utter exhaustion and bankruptcy of Mexico or the placing in power of tools of Washington.

(Continued on next page)

## AN IMPOSSIBLE ALLIANCE—

Continued.

The world has known that arms and ammunition for Villa and his like have gone from the United States into Mexico without any great difficulty. The world has known that American gunners have manned rebel guns. The world has not been blind to our actual encouragement of the rebels and bandits, against our protestations of neutrality and friendship for all Mexicans.

The lifting of the embargo on arms would mean nothing but the putting of an official seal of approval by the President on the inhuman arming of assassins and outlaws in our underhand method of fighting Mexico. It would be simply a certification of our shame and shamelessness that would be put on record for all time, to our eternal discredit.

## AS MEXICO SEES IT.

(Special Cable to the New York "Times.")

Mexico City, Jan. 27.—Prominent Mexicans and Americans profess to be astounded at the report that President Wilson intends to lift the embargo on arms for the rebels. They say they consider this the inevitable precursor of anarchy throughout the country. One well-known politician said that if President Wilson carried out his purpose innumerable small bands of bandits and highwaymen would spring up throughout the country and that the United States would be forced to intervene and put them down. He also expressed the opinion that the rebels from the north would be unable to reach the south in time to prevent conditions there from getting altogether out of hand after the inevitable fall of Huerta.

A prominent Mexican, not connected with any political faction, said:

"It is not Huerta's power that is decaying and crumbling, but Mexican autonomy. To put arms in the hands of rebels means wholesale murder. It seems that Mexico is doomed to disappearance as a nation, and it matters little whether the American rifles and bullets destroying her are in the hands of Americans or Mexicans. The fact remains before all the world that these bullets are American."

Mexico City, Jan. 29.—Paradox though it may seem, Gen. Huerta would like to see the United States lift its embargo on the sale of arms to Mexican rebels. The dictator realizes that such a change of policy at Washington would materially strengthen his hold upon certain factions which at times show signs of wavering. Indeed, with the United States openly on the side of the rebellion, many factions now estranged from the usurper could be counted on to come out in his support as a matter of patriotic duty.

So it is announced from authoritative sources to-day that Huerta will have no protest whatever to make to the prospective proclamation of President Wilson. The sooner such an ultimatum is issued the better will the dictator be pleased.

In view of this phase of the situation, many prominent Mexicans are inclined to believe that the intimation of the State Department's intentions in this respect is merely another "Washington bluff." They do not think that President Wilson will ever persuade himself to take such an advanced stand.

It is the opinion here that the rebels have been getting all the arms they were able to pay for from America all the time. For this reason, the lifting of the embargo, it is said, would not materially aid them, and at the same time it would prove extremely likely to cause a reversion of sentiment in Huerta's favor.

—New York "Sun."

# WHEN IS A BANDIT?

By James Hazen Hazard.

For some months past Maximo Castillo, a bandit leader, has been operating in northwestern Chihuahua, his "operations" being raids on ranches and mines, hold-ups, blackmail under threats of death, dynamiting of railroads; in other words, he has been doing in miniature what his fellow bandit Pancho Villa has done on a larger scale.

Maximo Castillo and Pancho Villa have been enemies, rivals in the occupation of bandit, for a good many years. They have been rivals in the same sense as New York City gang-leaders are rivals in criminality, each jealous of the other's proficiency and prestige as a bad man.

As recently as six or seven months ago they were about on a par, hiding in the hills with their bands, occasionally striking like a snake wherever they saw a chance for loot, hurling defis at each other and each hoping that something big in the way of a revolution might break loose, a revolution meaning to them that some little group of swarthy men, well supplied with funds, would come to El Paso and hire him to go on the warpath in the name of the Constitution. It's always the Constitution. The swarthy men came to the border—well supplied as aforesaid. Fortune smiled on Pancho Villa. He was the lucky dog, whose vicious qualities made a greater impression than Castillo's.

The pact was made and Pancho Villa, bandit, became "General" Villa, rebel. Poor Maximo Castillo went back to his hills and thought it over.

With the gracious assistance of his "constitutionalist" employers, the financial backing of his American "friends," and the kindly support and encouragement of the Washington Administration, Pancho Villa, rebel, gathered about him every able-bodied person who would rather loot and rape than work for a living—and it happens that there are many of that stamp in his bailiwick.

Fortune continued to smile upon Pancho Villa, while the darkness of crime and anarchy frowned upon Chihuahua and Durango, in the wake of his marauding outlaws and cutthroats. He entered upon a career of destruction and infamy that was breath to his nostrils. The records of his villainies has not been even partially set down, but enough of his murders and worse became known on this side of the border to cause a shiver of horror in our people. Then the swarthy men who do not fight, but who plot along the border and in Washington, got busy.

Somehow, some way, by hook or by crook, they must whitewash this Frankenstein. Their efforts were pitifully futile. Finally some one got the inspiration that much would be forgiven the impossible Villa if it were made to appear that he was a bad man against his will. So they concocted the yarn that when he was a young man he shot and killed a Federal officer to preserve the

## "INTERESTING FICTION"---Continued

Government. You cannot compel an enemy to be your friend. It must be said, however, that the Mexican Government has taken pains to show its good will toward all Americans, and this in spite of the bitter hostility evinced by the Washington officials. Which is much to the credit of the Huerta Government.

That the Japanese themselves are no more friendly to the supporters of the Government than to the rebels is demonstrated by the fact that Japanese—as well as Americans—are manning rebel guns.

It may be that the Japanese Government at the present juncture has deemed it useful to display a marked enthusiasm in its relations with the Mexican Government in order to force the Washington Administration's hand in the California land question.

It may also be that the Japanese scare story was inspired by some official in Washington in order to create a sentiment of hostility in the people of the United States against the Huerta Government and justify in a measure the proposed raising of the embargo against the exportation of arms.

All this and more may be—but the fact remains that the Mexican Government as well as the Mexican people are friendly to the people of the United States. All they want is a square deal from the Washington Government.

### MEXICAN EMBASSY PROTESTS.

Washington, Jan. 29.—The following statement was issued last night by the Mexican Embassy:

"An effort is at present being made by an important portion of the press of the country to create the impression that the Japanese Government has been affording not only moral but material aid as well to the Mexican Government by supplying it with munitions of war.

"While Mexico has long cultivated the friendliest relations with Japan and her people, whom it holds in the very highest admiration, the embassy is authorized to state that the version is without a vestige of truth. The Mexican Government, in spite of the almost overwhelming odds against which it has been contending, would not stoop to accept the aid of a foreign nation, however friendly, in crushing the revolt waged in the name of 'constitutionalism' against law and order, much less would there be any barter of concessions derogatory to the national honor."

WHEN IS A BANDIT?—Continued.

honor of his favorite sister! He had to flee for his life and live in the mountains as a bandit, not because he wanted to but because the "system" had forced him into this life. This piece of "interesting fiction" was flashed all over the United States and the Constitution was saved!

As a willing tool of the Washington "moralists" he has been very successful in helping them justify their "watchful waiting," while hundreds of human lives have been sacrificed and millions in property destroyed or "confiscated." Meanwhile he has become rich, very rich, by the simple process of issuing fiat money and forcing it on the people of Chihuahua in exchange for Government currency and bullion. The deposits in El Paso and New York banks have been materially increased by his success. Pancho Villa believes in looking out for the rainy day.

We had almost forgotten Maximo Castillo. When he heard of his rival bandit's success he turned green with envy and was very wroth indeed. "If that miserable Pancho Villa can get away with it as easy as all that (or Spanish words to that effect) why should not I, to whom he is but as a rat to a rattler, not do the same, nay, ten times as well?

Whether or not Maximo discussed his ambitions with any-shifty-eyed, swarthy men across the border, before his latest activities on a large scale I do not know at the present writing. But now we read:

CAVALRY IN DASH TO SAVE AMERICANS

400 Mexican Troopers Ride to Rescue of 25 Men Taken from Train.

Fear Outlaws' Chief Has Killed Captives.

Juarez, Mexico, Jan. 28.—To save the lives of twenty-five Americans and Englishmen who are prisoners of Maximo Castillo, a bandit leader, four hundred rebel cavalrymen from Juarez to-night are pursuing the several hundred bandits in the hills of Western Chihuahua. The cavalrymen have orders to execute Castillo.

Castillo, with his band, invaded rebel territory a short distance south of Juarez on Tuesday and seized a passenger train enroute from Juarez to Madera. The majority of the passengers on the train were American ranch owners in Western Chihuahua, who were on the way to protect their property from raids by Castillo.

Warning had been given by Castillo several days ago that all Americans found by him in Mexico would be killed, and the train seizure, following the threat, leads Americans on the border and rebel officials here to fear that the lives of the Americans on the captured train are in grave danger, if not already forfeited.

Following the capture of the train the bandits burned bridges on both sides of it, and are reported to have burned the train. The rebel cavalry sent to-day has not been able to send a report of its progress, and the four hundred men sent last night are supposed to have gone into the hills after the bandits.

So Maximo Castillo is still only a bandit and his dear enemy, Villa, has become a dignified "rebel," protecting American lives and enforcing law and order! I ask, "When is a bandit not a bandit?" The only answer I can think of is: "When he is in a position to buy goods and provisions in fifty-thousand dollar lots from the merchants of El Paso and other border towns. When he is in partnership with Americans on the border in the sale of thousands of heads of stolen cattle. When he has friends of the Mexican Constitution in Washington."

Never mind, Castillo. You may get in on that Constitutional open sesame some day. Who can tell?

# NAILING THEM

A short, stout man, swarthy of face, with a stubby gray mustache, wandered into a newsstand near the Willard and began browsing over the evening papers. Suddenly he gave a start. My God! I am shot!" he cried. Then he gripped the newspapers nervously and began to read excitedly an account of the shooting in the City of Mexico of Gen. Fernando Gonzales and others implicated in a plot against President Huerta.

The excited man was Gen. Fernando Gonzales himself.—Washington special despatch to New York "Times" of January 28.

On the 27th, the "Times" as well as all the other papers of the country had a detailed account of a colossal conspiracy in Mexico City against President Huerta, which had been "throttled" by wholesale arrests and executions. The names of dozens of prominent Mexicans were mentioned as involved. The 4,000 police of Mexico City were in the plot, according to the voracious—not veracious—chroniclers.

There was just about as much truth in this conspiracy story as in the shooting in Mexico City of the man who read about it in Washington. Since its publication it has all dribbled down to the fact that two more or less prominent Mexicans have been arrested for something or other.

President Wilson is quoted as telling the Washington correspondents the other day that the rumor of a proposed landing of American marines for an advance on Mexico City was "interesting" fiction. We have referred to all the lies, misrepresentations, distortions of truth about Mexico in our newspapers as **fiction,** but **"pernicious"** rather than "interesting," for this fiction is helping intentionally or unintentionally, to destroy the life of Mexico as a nation, to alienate all the countries of Latin-America who see themselves as unjustly treated by just such fiction, and to arouse the distrust of European powers who see in it ulterior motives. No wonder our foreign relations are in a muddle.

It is time for the Administration to call a halt on this "pernicious fiction" habit, which is becoming chronic.

OF COURSE HE'D LEAVE.

"Should General Carranza become President he would receive my support and I would obey his commands," said General Villa. "As proof of my loyalty and as evidence that I have no ambition to become President, I would leave the country if he ordered me to do so."

It would not surprise many who know Villa's character if he left the country without orders.

On the floor in the front room where he stood were sixteen bags, each containing ten thousand Mexican dollars, and on the window sill were half a dozen newly purchased diamond rings glittering in their plush boxes. The coin was purchased from the banks in El Paso for use in Chihuahua, where silver has been scarce, and the rings were gifts from various rebel commanders.

Villa, who a few months ago did not have a sou, has by cattle thieving, holding for ransom, looting and blackmail made close on to a million dollars, much of which is "salted away" in New York banks. This is more money than Villa ever dreamed of possessing. It is not very likely that he will risk it in the cause of "constitutionalism." "You can have the glory," he says to Carranza, "I've got the swag."

NO WIRE TOLLS ON THESE.

In the New York "Times" of January 30th appeared the following:

Juarez, Mexico, Jan. 29.—The war chest of the rebels under Gen. Francisco Vlila is said to contain $5,000,000 Mexican money. In addition to this cash for carrying on the revolution, they say they have a vast amount of personal property, stores, cattle, and land which belonged to wealthy families and was confiscated.

The cash represents part of the wealth obtained within six months under the direction of Villa. It was accumulated from forced loans on banks, merchants, mines, on the Terrazas and Creel families, and import duties. Rebel leaders said it would be impossible to estimate the actual wealth of the revolution, but that if they could get cash for the property now in their possession the proceeds would be sufficient to run a government in the rebel territory for several years.

The mines and smelters are reopening on terms by which the rebels obtain 10 per cent. of the profits. The money now in the rebel treasury is to be converted into a new issue of currency to replace various kinds of paper money now in circulation.

In the New York "Herald" of the same day we read the following:

(Special despatch to the "Herald.")

Culliacan, Mexico, Thursday.—Five million Mexican dollars received up to to-day is the amount of cash which the rebels under General Villa possess to conduct their revolution. The cash represents part of the wealth obtained within six months under the direction of General Villa It was accumulated from forced loans

### NAILING THEM—Continued.

on banks, merchants, mines, on the Terrazas and Creel families, and from taxation and import duties.

Rebel leaders said it would be impossible to estimate the actual wealth of the revolution, but if money was realized on all the property now in their possession the proceeds would be sufficient to run a governemnt in the rebel territory for several years, and the sources of revenue are increasing. The mines and smelters are ropening on terms by which the rebels procure ten per cent. of the profits.

The money now in the rebel treasury is to be converted into a new issue of currency to replace various kinds of paper money now in circulation.

Juarez, in Chihuahua, and Culiacan, in Sonora where Carranza is supposed to be, are distant eight or nine hundred miles, with no direct rail or wire communication. The "Times" receives the very same dispatch from Culiacan the precise moment the "Herald" gets it from Juarez. We more than suspect that neither paper paid wire tolls for the despatch from either place, or from any other place.

It is much more likely that the "despatch" was born right in New York.

That's how much of the Mexican "news" is manufactured.

### THE CAKE OF AMBITION.

Pancho Villa declares that he does not want to be President of Mexico and is in perfect accord with Carranza.

There is no reason to doubt Villa's words just at present. At least, we can readily believe that the aim of both leaders is a common one. But we wish to recall to our readers the little story about the Association of the Cake published in one of our previous numbers.

The boys forming the Association of the Cake were always in perfect accord while engaged in plotting to get the cake. The disaccord and the fighting among themselves took place invariably after the cake was in their possession and it had to be divided.

For the present Carranza is in possession of Sonora and Villa controls Chihuahua, each undisputed in his possession. But if they should capture the cake—the central power at Mexico City —what then—

### GRAFT.

(By Telegraph to the N. Y. "Tribune.")

El Paso, Tex., Jan. 29.—Bernardo Calero, brother of Manuel Calero, ex-Mexican Ambassador to the United States, has been tried by court martial by rebels at Matamoras and sentenced to be shot. Calero was accused of being a Huertista spy. He had been ordered from Sonora by Carranza. When he crossed to Matamoras he was arrested and his trial and sentence followed.

Federals here say that appeals will be made to the United States to save Calero's life, but rebel officials say the matter is not one for outside interference.

Sonora Constitutionalist officials have started a financial panic in the large American mining camps in that state by repudiating unsigned rebel money, which has been passing as currency. In Cananea, the largest American mining town in Mexico, financial chaos has resulted and business is demoralized. Heads of the larger stores have been arrested and their release secured by the American consular agent only after great difficulty.

The financial crisis is threatening the disruption of the rebel government. Charges of graft in connection with the unsigned money are being freely made and wholesale arrests at Hermosillo are expected.

# REAPING THE WHIRLWIND

Monday evening last, when the President consulted with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Secretary of State being conspicuously absent, may go down in history as a momentous moment for the nation. It is not denied even in official circles that the discussion of our tangled foreign relations which took place in the White House developed an alarming sense of an extremely grave outlook. Out of all the gloomy reports and forebodings that have since come out of Washington these general facts stand out:

That the United States is singularly isolated among the civilized nations of the world.

That efforts must be made to placate them by surrenders and concessions on certain matters in dispute.

That the Administration's attitude toward Mexico is destructive and not constructive.

That this attitude has seriously complicated our relations with other nations.

That there is no assurance that armed intervention in Mexico, which means war, can be avoided if the present Mexican Government be destroyed.

Truly a ghastly situation into which a peace-professing Administration has blundered.

Early last summer a letter on the editorial page of the New York "Tribune" prophesied the present humiliating state of affairs as follows:

Diplomacy, 'dollar or otherwise," is simply the adaptation of the means to an end. Any different conception of it is not—diplomacy. If President Wilson and his State Department have any other idea of the function of diplomacy, they might as well eliminate it as an arm of the government and establish a Bureau of Blunders.

It is obvious to the world that whatever its strength and sincerity in other directions, the Wilson Administration is weak and wobbly as far as the effective meeting and solution of international problems is concerned. Not through bad intentions, it is true, but through good intentions that do not fit the conditions that arise. This has been amply demonstrated in the futility of the executive action in respect to California's Japanese legislation, which as far as I can see has accomplished nothing save an advertisement to the nations of the world that rather than fight we would be religiously reasonable even to the extent of yielding to unreasonable foreign pressure. The President will not see it that way, but foreign nations will, and they will guide their future actions toward us accordingly. Show even a little bit of weakness in the diplomatic game and the strong of the earth will direct their shafts to that chink in your armor. That's the elemental rule of the game. Whether or not it is moral according to President Wilson's and Mr. Bryan's lights, is apart from the question. A government has to deal with conditions as it finds them, with all due respect to ethical theories.

Wilson's course in refusing to recognize the provisional government in Mexico is another example of the brilliant work of the new diplomacy that was to rout the dollar diplomacy of Roosevelt and Taft.

Meanwhile Great Britain has shown its diplomatic alertness by stepping in and recognizing Huerta, thereby putting itself in a better position with our Latin-American neighbors and putting us in a diplomatic hole. The international policies of the Administration are as shrewd and clever as an open-faced watch, as subtle as a sub-flower. President Wilson should realize that there is a world of difference between addressing a Jersey audience on jury reform and handling international affairs. Foreign nations do not see with Jersey eyes.

For the last six months this publication has week after week pointed out the inevitable consequences of the Administration's arbitrary attitude toward Mexico and the complications bound to result in our relations with Latin-American countries and other foreign powers. We have reviewed and quoted enlightened opinion to sustain our contention. It is unfortunate that the press of the country, with some exceptions, has obstinately closed its eyes to facts that were obvious to all well-informed observers, and to which it is at this late day awakening. It is assuredly in no spirit of boastfulness but one of sorrow that we repeat here some of the things we have said in the course of the last six months that the logic of events has shown and will show to be truisms.

#### Issue of August 23, 1913.

There is a grave situation. The President is reported determined that intervention shall be only a last resort. We trust he is sincere in this announcement, but when he refuses to take advantage of the first and most obvious resort to bring about peace, what are we to think? If it were not for his determined refusal to grant recognition to the Provisional Government there would probably be no grave situation, no chance for the jingoes to project their inflammatory utterances, no danger to be apprehended from the sensitiveness, the suspicion and the aroused feeling of nationality in the Mexicans themselves.

#### August 30, 1913

What are we to get out of this whole Mexican muddle? Nothing, save unnecsary trouble and tension, international misunderstandings, a reputation for meddling and bull-dozing in Latin-American countries and the ever-present possibility of being forced by our own actions into a war we do not want.

(Continued on next page.)

## REAPING THE WHIRLWIND---Continued

We contend that the attitude of the President toward Mexico is fraught with grave possibilities for the people, the future and the destiny of the United States and should not be assumed or undertaken without an open, unbiased, unprejudiced mind.

September 13, 1913.

We all know the power of money, but it has remained for a Democratic President, absolutely uncontrolled by financial interests, an enemy of special privilege, to call upon the Money Power to help him carry out a meddling and muddling interference in Mexico.

Isn't there somebody close to President Wilson who cares enough for him as a man, and supports him as President, who can and will point out to him the dangerous situation in which he has been placed by his Mexican policy? Evidently he has received "advice" heretofore, but who will say that it was from any real friend? Europe is laughing at our President; Japan is smiling politely but none the less gleefully; the powerful countries of South America, Argentine and Brazil, whose ambition is to become even greater than the United States, are making capital out of our predicament; England is playing a shrewd game with the Panama Canal tolls question in mind, and the powers that be in Mexico have been so flagrantly antagonized and insulted that we can hardly blame them for resentment. This seems to be a gloomy picture of our international relations, but isn't it literally true?

It is a strange anomaly that our President, a thorough gentleman at heart, a model of polite cordiality in his relations with his fellow man, has seemingly given to the world an entirely different impression.

What is back of all this? Is our President being "used"? Are those interests who saw in him an honest enemy tying his hands by pushing him into foreign troubles he is not capable of handling? Let somebody please suggest to him the advisability, the necessity, of appointing as Secretary of State a man of experience who knows and can handle foreign affairs, even though to do so it becomes necessary to create a new cabinet office for Bryan, for instance, Secretary of Ideals and Lectures.

And first of all let President Wilson come straight out in this Mexican matter, admit he has made a mistake, recognize the present capable Mexican Government, retire from Mexican politics and again take up his work of tariff and currency reform for which he was elected.

September 20, 1913

Matters have so shaped themselves that if he persists in his present course the President of the United States will be put in the unpleasant and ridiculous position before the world of refusing to recognize the Government of our closest national neighbor for no other reason save an unreasoning and purely personal dislike for a man.

There is too much at stake for the sixteen million people of Mexico, for the whole American people, North, Central and South, and for the nations of Europe in friendly relations with Mexico, to make any such position tenable. And that is the position to which he is logically, inevitably being narrowed by the force of events.

It is because these Americans who are familiar with Mexican affairs believe that the policy adopted by the Washington Administration is fraught with the most serious consequences for the two countries that they are trying to bring about a change in the attitude of the United States Government toward Mexico.

The Administration is reported to be fully convinced by this time that the Mexican situation is in the nature of a quicksand. It is a quicksand—but of Washington's making. The Administration has all along been barely pulling itself out by its own bootstraps from hungry, yawning quicksands, and forthwith proceeding to make another and put its foot in it. This can't be kept up indefinitely. Quicksands are rather dangerous things to play with. They are inherently deceptive.

October 18, 1913.

Secretary Bryan has gone to the extent of saying at the banquet of the Pan-American Society a few months ago that there will not be war during the Wilson Administration. However, we repeat, he has been courting war.

November 8, 1913

Is it any wonder foreign governments with national and huge interests in Mexico should be appalled by the truculent dog-in-the-manger policy of President Wilson and feel called upon to give their moral support to the only government in Mexico as a buffer against anarchy?

November 15, 1913

If the spirit of might above right shall prevail in our nation, if we determine to impose by force our arbitrary demands on weaker nations, is it not possible that the other strong nations of the world, shoved about and jostled in our bull-like charge, might retaliate in kind? If we should, for instance, because we have the power, destroy or attempt to destroy the nationality of Mexico, could we in reason expect any different treatment in the future from any stronger nation or coalition of nations? Force breeds force. Fire must be fought with fire.

It is war. You can't get away from it. It is not conceivable that any nation would dare intervene in the affairs of another sovereign nation, as we have done in Mexico, unless with the intention to back the interference with arms. An Eastern tenderfoot who would go into a Western mining camp, walk up to a two-gun man and tell him the cut of his face was not a la Eastern mode, is chockfull of wisdom in comparison with the head of a nation who takes the same attitude toward the head of another nation—unless he's ready with the quick drop and the hair-trigger.

November 22, 1913

The interests, jealousy and opposition of foreign nations we may profess not to fear. But that is the spirit of braggart youth, not of wise statesmanship. The opening of the Panama Canal and its relation to the trade of the world puts upon the United States Government the tremendous responsibility of shaping its course in reference to the wonderful new commercial developments that are sure to follow, on a line of honorable competition with foreign nations, rather than on a greedy purpose to grab everything. It stands to reason that foreign nations will welcome competition but will not submit to American monopoly. And if we seek to establish American monopoly by stealing the independence of Central American nations we shall have to fight for it. And that means resort to arms and it may not mean conquest. The interrelations of nations and trade among nations are so complex to-day that while it is permissible for any nation to seek advantages over others in a competitive spirit, the attempt of any one to take an unfair advantage of the others is met and must be met with reprisals that may mean war.

December 6, 1913

President Wilson may think, may sincerely believe, that if he accomplishes, through the bloody assistance of the bandit hordes of Villa and his kind the overthrow of Huerta that somehow in his persuasive way he may change the nature of the beast that he has brought into life and power. But that is folly, folly that is inexpressibly dynamic in its power for mischief. There is no changing the nature of that beast. A beast it is and as a beast it must be dealt with.

Those many patriotic and public-spirited men who have worked for years to promote an honorable, sympathetic and mutually helpful understanding between the United States and Latin-American countries are depressed because they see their labor of years overturned in a day.

The people of the United States are uncomfortably depressed, because although they wish to follow loyally and enthusiastically the lead and inspiration of the President they find nothing informing or inspiring in what he says.

Foreign nations share the depression because they know through their diplomatic representatives in Mexico that the Administration's policy is both an obstruction to peace and an encouragement of appalling conditions in Mexico. They cannot take steps to protect their interests without antagonizing the United States, which, of course, they do not wish to do. So they must stand by an impotent depression.

The decent people of Mexico are woefully depressed because they realize that the Washington Administration is either blind to the true condition of their country or through some vague destiny is determined that it must be destroyed.

December 13, 1913

It isn't a matter of Huerta with those who condemn the Administration. Huerta or no Huerta, there are Mexico, the Mexican people, the interests and welfare of thousands of Americans in Mexico, the friendship of Latin-America, our relations with European nations. Certainly all these things are worthy of more consideration than whether or not Huerta is President.

December 20, 1913

In order to save its face before the voters of the country the Administration has been forced to take an optimistic view of the outcome of its unprecedented and ineffectual methods of interference in Mexican internal affairs. If this view has not actually been taken in private it has always been expressed for public consumption. The White House and State Department have dished out optimism in huge platters to the newspaper correspondents, whose duty it has been to pass it along to the people of the country.

But the truth will out.

December 27, 1913

They are still watchfully waiting. For what? "To get Huerta." That's all. Mexico can go to the dogs. Europe can fret and fume. Latin-America can cry out in protest against the Colossus of the North, the people of the United States grow sick and tired of the whole shabby business, but the Administration must "get Huerta."

(Continued on next page)

erty in Mexico. The United States, by staying the hand of Huerta and intriguing with Carranza, is making itself responsible for the continued chaos in Mexico. It is to be noted that the British government has on several occasions taken note of this fact. Ultimately there will arise a multiude of claimants—English, French, German, Dutch and what not—for property destroyed. Their demands will be made, not without reason, upon the United States for restoration or recompense.

January 3, 1914

Our dog-in-the-manger insistence on having our own unreasonable way in dictating to Mexico has naturally aroused a more or less repressed irritation among the European nations who have nationals and interests suffering by the prolongation of internal disorder. This irritation has worked to our advantage in such reprisals as the refusal of England and Germany to exhibit at the San Francisco Fair, and the popular demonstration of hostility in Japan.

Is it worth while to suffer all these material losses that the theoretical whim and the personal dislikes of the Washington Administration may have their fling?

We think not, and we are sure that the sober common sense of the people, aroused to the huge blunder we have made, in the name of a morality which works immorality, will repudiate it.

## EXACTLY WHAT WE HAVE SAID.

Washington, Jan. 26.—The President discussed the foreign affairs of this country for three hours this evening with the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Apparently the President's chief purpose in calling the conference was to impress on the Senators what he described as "the necessity" of ratifying the several arbitration treaties now pending, but when the conference got together the Mexican situation immediately became the chief topic under discussion and most of the evening was devoted to it.

The Senators were, in the main, much depressed by the information which the President had to impart to them, so much so and so obviously that before they left the President put them on their honor not to disclose the purport of the information they had gained, promising himself to see the newspaper men and to satisfy their requests for information so far as he deemed wise.

The President gave the impression that it was his purpose to lift the embargo on arms for the Constitutionalist forces in Mexico. The Federals, he said, had been able to secure arms and munitions of war from the outside, and the Constitutionalists should be allowed the same opportunity.

Members of the Foreign Relations Committee expressed strong disapproval of this policy, but the decision, which is regarded as momentous, rests with the President. It is probable that a definite announcement of this policy will be forthcoming within a few days.

After careful and somewhat persistent questioning, the impression made on the more experienced members of the Foreign Relations Committee was that the Mexican situation had been sadly, and they fear irretrievably, bungled until it is so unfortunate that no one is willing to take the responsibility of making it known to the American people.

They feel that, after all, it is an executive matter, that the Chief Executive and his Secretary of State have carried on their own policy, so far as it may be called a policy, without conferring with or asking the advice of Senators and others experienced in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation, and that on the Chief Executive and his Secretary of State rests the responsibility of finding a way out, if possible—and, if not, of confessing failure to the people.

Many Senators went to the White House hoping to learn something encouraging about Mexico. Almost without exception, they came away much depressed and impressed with the entire absence of policy on the part of the Administration and the constantly increasing difficulties which are growing out of its drifting course.—New York "Tribune."

# WHAT DID HE SAY?

### FIRST TENOR.

There has been a change in the attitude of most Americans in Mexico toward the "wait and watch" policy of the Wilson Administration in dealing with the Southern republic, according to Robert S. Hill, confidential agent of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company at Tampico, who arrived on the Ward liner Camaguey from Mexico to-day.

"For a long time Americans were strongly in favor of the recognition of Gen. Huerta as President of Mexico, and were correspondingly harsh in their censure of President Wilson. But with the passing of time and the gaining of acquaintance with the character and habits of Huerta, it has dawned on President Wilson's critics that recognition of Huerta would never have saved Mexico," said Mr. Hill. "Mexico is a sick country, desperately ill, and the disease of revolution will have to run its course.

"We now see that President Wilson was right and we were wrong. The policy of waiting and watching will result in a much quicker settlement of the Mexican trouble than any attempt to bolster up any of the present contending factions. I speak for the Americans in the Tampico region, and from what I have been told by refugees from other parts of the republic our countrymen in all parts of Mexico are coming around to the President's point of view.

"In the end the Mexicans will exhaust themselves and then they will be glad to quit. If the United States is reqnired to take any action it will be done with but little opposition. Perhaps there will be no sacrifice of American life and the chances are that Mexicans will be found co-operating with this country in restoring constitutional government.

"Terrible things are yet to come in Mexico, for the country is surely doomed. The best we can do is to uphold our wise President's hand and be patient.—New York Evening "Sun," January 21.

### SECOND TENOR.

Robert G. Hill, a representative of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, who arrived from Tampico yesterday on the Ward Line steamer Camaguey, said that he had been in Mexico for many years, had known Diaz and Madero well and was conversant with conditions in the republic. He said that the Tampico battles had been fought in certain New York newspapers rather than in Mexico, and that the state of affairs had been very much exaggerated.

"I was present all through the siege of Tampico," Mr. Hill went on to say, "and only sixty-four men were killed, while it was reported that many hundreds were slain. There is no truth in the report that the large oil tanks were in danger of being destroyed by fire. Americans who have interests in Mexico are of the opinion that it would have been much better if President Wilson had recognized Huerta in the beginning. Huerta has his faults and his weaknesses, but he also has the qualifications of a ruler of Mexico.

"There is only one way to rule that country," said Mr. Hill, "and that is with the iron hand of a Diaz. As a leader Huerta knows his countrymen. The majority of the rebel leaders are looking only for loot and are not fighting against Huerta on the ground of patriotism. At the present time Huerta is afraid that his men may desert because he has not money to pay them. Most of them are convicts and they are fighting for their wages and nothing else."

Mr. Hill says that the impression among Americans in Mexico now is that President Wilson is waiting for the belligerents to kill one another off, when he will name for President the strongest man left and back him up. Intervention would be a very serious affair, he said, because all the leaders would combine and fight the United States as their common enemy.—New York "Times," January 22.

## MORE MUTTERINGS.

There are mutterings in Washington that the Micawber policy of waiting and watching for something to turn up to eliminate Huerta is to be followed soon by raising the embargo against supplying the Villa bandits with arms and ammunition. This would proclaim the United States as the open ally—it is now the secret ally—of an unspeakable miscreant. Such an alliance would be repudiated by the American people and by all the people of Europe. Mr. Wilson has found that public opinion is a power in regard to business affairs, he will find it a hundred times more hostile if he orders American troops to serve as comrades of the Villa gang of robbers and murderers. All that he thinks or says about Huerta may or may not be true, but he must consider that diplomacy acknowledges accomplished facts, that Mexican laws and customs are different from our own; that Huerta has established himself as the representative of all the best people of Mexico.

# THE COLD SHOULDER

(By Telegraph to The "Evening Mail.")

Washington, Jan. 29.—Not one important power on either continent approves of President Wilson's statesmanship. Not a single European power concurs in the policy the President has adopted toward Mexico, and Japan, the only Asiatic power we have to fear, is making a show of friendliness toward our neighbor on the south that is almost an open insult to the United States.

These facts are now definitely known and the burden has become so heavy upon the President that he has sought the aid of the Senate to straighten out the tangle. He has communicated to them the fact that the great powers of Europe are opposed to his Mexican policy. The only reason that England, France and Germany have been patient so long is because of the Balkan situation, which is a closer menace and which is still on their hands.

It is definitely known, and the Administration has been so advised, that England, France or Germany, either acting in unison or one of them acting on behalf of the other two, would have taken a hand in the Mexican imbroglio long ago if the Balkan situation had been such as to permit them to enter upon an outside campaign.

### Will Act Soon.

Moreover, it is certain that as soon as the European situation gets into better shape—and that is expected to happen soon—those countries will turn their attention toward Mexico, unless the United States shall have succeeded with its policy and peace and a stable government are restored in the Mexican republic in the meantime.

The fact that peace societies of Europe have recently been flooding the Department of State with messages, which have also been sent to the constitutionalists in Mexico, demanding peace in Mexico, is another element that is disturbing President Wilson and points to the direction the winds of Europe are blowing. All of these messages ask for general peace in Mexico, and each contains the Spanish word for peace. They are sent by societies in England, Russia, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland and Spain.

But while European nations are restraining their impatience over the failure of the American policy toward Mexico to work out according to promises, on account of their own war specter, Japan is not held in leash by any such curb, and her extreme show of friendliness toward the Huerta government, and her recent activity in assisting him to arm his troops, in the face of the American embargo against arms and ammunition, is a very disturbing element, which must be reckoned with.

In spite of protestations to the contrary, it is well known that a controversy has existed between the island kingdom and the United States with undiminished feeling through three administrations. Demonstrations against Americans have broken out in Japan with alarming frequency during the last year, and the estrangement has not been diminished because of the manner in which the present Administration has treated the protests of the Japanese government over the California alien land laws.

The failure of the Wilson policy toward Mexico may rest with Japan. If that nation should openly support the Huerta government, or should continue to do so surreptitiously, that will counterbalance the sympathy and secret aid of the United States to the constitutionalists, and Huerta will not fall. With Japanese arms and ammunition, obtained at low prices and on long credit, the government forces in Mexico could hold out against the Carranza-Villa forces for many months.

While nearly every one in Washington scouts the idea of a final break with Japan, the present state of affairs between the two countries is sufficiently grave to cause apprehension that unless something is done to placate her our prestige on the Pacific Ocean will be much weakened, and our plans for the future of Mexico may be entirely thwarted, which would affect our standing as one of the leading powers of the world. It must be remembered that America has ranked as a power in the eyes of Europe only since the Spanish war, and that before that the great powers of Europe did not consider us worthy of being taken into their counsels.

### Asks Help of Senate.

The question of how to placate Japan is one that the President has asked the Senators to help him solve, irrespective of party. It is a question which he believes should be handled in a non-partisan manner. To the Senators the President has frankly told his hopes. He still believes that the Mexican problem will solve itself by the success of the insurrectionists and the overthrow of the Huerta government, but he does not attempt to conceal that it is taking longer to produce results than he had anticipated.

He has revealed the fact that the foreign nations are making urgent representations of necessity for action by this government to terminate the warfare, and that they have lost faith in the "watching and waiting policy."

It was suggested that the President might lift the embargo on the shipment of arms to the constitutionalists, but objection was raised at once that while that would offset the steady shipment of munitions from Japan to Gen. Huerta, it would undoubtedly serve to intensify the feeling of distrust that now exists among the Mikado's subjects.

Opinion is divided on the subject. Although the President is empowered to lift the embargo on arms, just as he is empowered to declare one, it is thought that he hesitates to take the step on his own initiative lest it be looked upon as encouragement to the shedding of blood.

One serious feature of the situation is the general belief that the Mexican matter has been so handled that eventually there must be intervention by the United States, which will inevitably result in heavy expenditures of money, to which only mild protest will be made, and to the loss of many American lives.

### Slow Process.

Another unfortunate circumstance regarding the Mexican situation is that it is involved in the tangled skein of our general foreign relations, and that to solve the Mexican trouble it will be necessary to settle practically every foreign controversy which we now have on our hands. Diplomatic procedure is slow, and it may take years to do this.

The Senate committee has tackled the arbitration treaty with Great Britain, and the President is bending every effort to get the repeal of the clause of the Panama canal act exempting American vessels from the payment of tolls, to which England has objected. If England can be calmed down it is hoped that she will have some influence with Japan.

The veil of secrecy is slowly being drawn aside with respect to our foreign relations, because the President has been obliged to seek the help of the Senate, and the country is gradually finding out what a mess we are in. Part of the mess is inherited by the Wilson Administration and part of it has been accumulated during the last eleven months. The effort to work out the troubles will occupy the attention of the President for some weeks, to the exclusion of almost all other business, it is believed.

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## A LAST RESOURCE.

Once again rumor has taken up the subject of intervention in Mexico and credits to some unnamed diplomat the power to enter the President's mind and ascertain by subtle scrutiny that Mr. Wilson has veered over to intervention, and that this policy will be followed soon. No one can say there will not be intervention, but certainly the policy of the United States thus far maintained will not be altered until there comes about some radical alteration in the conditions themselves. So long as Huerta remains dictator, and so long as the constitutionalists have their job cut out for them, there is no reason for talk of intervention to become active. The only conceivable occasion for this course would be a change of conditions below the border such as would be brought about by the success of the constitutionalists and their failure to restore peace.

The work of purging the country of the anarchy that there exists must be done. This is admitted. Perhaps the Mexicans are chronically unable to do it themselves. But there is no occasion for the United States to enter upon this work at the present juncture. The time is not yet ripe, if it shall ever, unhappily, come, for the United States to send armed forces into the southern republic. As for entering upon a blockade of the ports and administering the customs without the consent of the Mexicans, it requires no acute discernment to see that this would be the most violent of provocations and an incentive to inveterate hostility by the Mexicans. It may be admitted that the task of the subjugation of Mexico would not be the enormous one that has been commonly supposed. But it would be one the completion of which would run through many months, and, perhaps, years. The outlaw bands that infest mountain fastnesses and that have entire towns and villages in league with them—as was long the case with the banditti of Sicily—could carry on predatory operations almost with impunity.

The pacification of Mexico would not be the immediate work of overcoming the federal forces—whether those now so named or their successors through a change of government—but the work of subjugation of an entire country in hostility to the invaders.—Editorial, Baltimore "American," Jan. 20, 1914.

# FREE ADVERTISING

### PERSONAL PUFFS—NO CHARGE MADE.

The picturesque career of one Lorenz Spier, friend and adviser of the late Francisco Madero, will culminate Monday night, February the first, when Spier, now Count de Besa (Mexican papers please copy) will blossom out as a lecturer at Carnegie Hall. The Count began his Mexican life as a purveyor of patent medicines to the oppressed Indians, evolutionizing into a painless dentist, advancing further to the organizer and manager of the now defunct Catholic Bank, subsequently changing into a private banker, a concessionary of light and power, a partner of one of Madero's generals in a mining venture. Shares in this mine were offered for sale to the Italians of New York at one dollar per through advertisements in the local Italian newspapers.

From a miner the Count changed again—according to his own statement to the newspapers—into the closest political adviser of Francisco Madero.

A member of the New York junta, he is now availing himself of the oratorical ability acquired while selling patent medicines from the top of a high wagon, to deliver lectures under the auspices of a Jewish Women's Association.

### ONE MORE FOR SHERBY.

Whatever may be said of the Mexican rebels' medieval methods of warfare, it must be admitted that they are quite up to date in their methods of press-agenting. Due credit for this, however, must be given their legal adviser in Washington, the only Sherby Hopkins.

In order to make the American public believe that they are fighting for a "cause," the rebels sent broadcast a great number of photographs showing women and children of all ages armed to the teeth and literally swathed in cartridge belts. The usual inscription is "Mexican women fighting for the cause of liberty."

What stronger argument could be found to appeal to the American spirit?

Oh, Sherby Hopkins knows the psychology of the great public so well qualified by Barnum!

It is true most of the women thus pictured look usually either scared or extremely uncomfortable, but that does not matter. The picture of an armed woman is dear to the heart of the American editor and is always sure to find its place in the columns of our publications.

P. S.—Sherby Hopkins does not pay for the advertising this publication gives him from time to time as one of the cleverest press agents Latin-American revolutionists have ever had. The advertising is absolutely free of cost.

### A MEETING.

A meeting of the Robert Collyer Men's Club was held on January 27 at the Church House, Park Avenue, New York City, to discuss "Our Duty to Mexico—to Other Nations—to Ourselves."

A paper was read by Mr. W. E. Carson, author of "Mexico, the Wonderland of the South," and Mr. John McGregor delivered an address.

Mr. Carson's paper revealed knowledge acquired upon investigation. Mr. Carson made an appeal for fair play and declared that the Huerta side of the case had never been given publicity in the American press.

Accurately citing facts and instances, Mr. Carson gave a vivid picture of conditions in Mexico, impartially "giving the devil his dues." He concluded that in spite of its defects the Huerta Government should have been recognized by the United States and supported his contention with well-founded deductions.

Mr. McGregor was announced by the chairman of the meeting as a man deeply interested in civic welfare, of high ideals, etc., etc.

Mr. McGregor began by stating that he knew little about Mexico and many in the audience were soon convinced that he had spoken the truth but mildly.

Mr. McGregor agreed with other speakers that intervention should be avoided at any cost. So far so good. But the gist of the remarks of this Christian gentleman were in substance as follows: "This is the greatest country in the whole wide world. We are the greatest people in the world. We have done more for humanity than any other nation in the world. The Mexicans are a terrible people. They had occupied Mexico about three hundred years (sic). That is the same length of time that we have occupied this country and the difference between the achievements of the two people was so appalling that our duty toward Mexico is to let them alone, free to kill each other as much as they want. Our duty to ourselves is to find employment for the unemployed. Let Mexico stew in its own broth. And so on.

Now while these sentiments impressed some of the listeners as rather remarkable, coming from a man identified with church work, for they revealed a complete forgetfulness of the commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself," they unfortunately reflected sentiments entertained by many other persons in this country.

We say **unfortunately** because we do not see how we can pretend to be a Christian, civilized people if instead of helping our neighbor we are either indifferent to its troubles or actually make these troubles greater, as we are doing at present with reference to Mexico.

Mr. McGregor evinced a deplorable ignorance of Mexico and Mexican conditions, but only a trifle greater than that of the average American. He might, of course, have declined to discourse on such a subject, but that might have been too much to expect from such a civic worker.

From his words any one as uninformed as he might have thought that Mexico, like the United States, had been settled by a European immigration, that for three hundred years had been streaming to its shores, of people seeking either religious and political liberty or supplying a great demand for unskilled labor.

Also that nearly all the Indians in Mexico had been wantonly killed—as really has been the case in the United States instead of Mexico. The speaker simply did not know that Mexico has a population almost entirely of Indians or mixed stock, descendants of races that have populated it, not for three hundred years, but thousands of years.

It would be worth while making mention of this meeting, if it were not typical of many others taking place frequently in this city.

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To the Editor of MEXICO:

Dear Sir: Once more "General" Pancho Villa has succeeded in taking and sacking a small town, and as his previous exploits were viewed "with complacency" by the Washington Administration, this pure-minded "constitutionalist" has as usual shot his prisoners and permitted his followers to commit unmentionable crimes on the unfortunate inhabitants who fell into their clutches.

It should also cause satisfaction to those who, with President Wilson, profess admiration for the cause of the bandits under Villa, to note that the neutrality laws are being administered with great deference to expressed wishes of those in the highest authority, for while the fall of Ojinaga was caused by lack of ammunition on the part of the Federal troops (due to the neutrality laws) yet the beloved "constitutionalists" were able to get all they wanted from across the frontier.

It is satisfactory, too, to note the fine discernment shown in connection with the treatment of the Mexicans who at one time or another have been compelled to cross the Rio Grande; for example when "constitutionalists" have been driven into the hands of the border patrol they are allowed to "filter back" into Mexico after a short time, so that they may continue their glorious work of loot, rape and murder, but when the case is reversed and Federal troops are taken on this side they are at once disarmed and placed under the strictest guard.

All of this may be very satisfactory to "Watchful Waiting," but does it square with the conscience and sense of justice of the American people?

C. U. MESTA.

Baltimore, Md., January 17, 1914,

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## ARMS FOR BANDITS.

The outcome of President Wilson's long evening conference with the elder statesmen of the foreign relations committee is to be, apparently, a removal of the embargo on arms and munitions for the Mexican rebels.

In other words, the Administration is going to put itself back of the revolutionary movement of Carranza, Villa, Zapata and company; and also back of the bandit band of Maximo Castillo, the Vasquista leader, who is now engaged in the forcible expulsion of Americans from Chihuahua.

In that part of Mexico two large bandit bands are operating—that of Pancho Villa and that of Maximo Castillo; and American residents in that region are required to pay money for "protection" to both of these gangs. The Americans' mild attempt to get along with one series of contributions to the "constitutionalist" cause has resulted in an order to throw them out of the country, neck and crop.

The suspension of the embargo on arms is likely to result in the use of American rifles and American bullets to drive Americans away from their homes. —New York "Evening Mail."

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A "muddle" the President calls the Mexican situation, and it is a muddle which he is unable to clear up. We must assume that his suggestion that the embargo on the shipment of arms to the rebels shall be raised is no more than a suggestion, on which he will not take action without further notice. It would be impolite to call such a suggestion a "bluff," but surely our Government does not intend to lend even the form of support to the murderous Villa or to the Vasquistas of Chihuahua who have sworn to drive all American citizens out of Mexico. He would not go so far as to have arms delivered to certain favored Mexican rebels by agents of our Government, and to lift the embargo altogether would be to place American arms and ammunition in the hands of Zapata as well as Villa, and to arm the Puebla Indians as well. The need of arms by any of these malcontents is not apparent. They seem to be able to kill off their enemies in their accustomed way.—New York "Times."

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It is not pleasant to rebuke our own government's conduct of its foreign relations, but it would be worse to try to mask the fact that that conduct has not for some time commanded the entire confidence of the country, and, indeed, has not led to results which the government itself regards with satisfaction. There is no occasion for alarm. But there is need of a clear-cut, positive, active policy which will inspire the nation with informed confidence and will enable the United States to stand before the world without embarrassment.—New York "Tribune."

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If it were not for these world-wide commotions, all of our own creation and all unnecessary, the problem which we have to solve in Mexico would be much less formidable. That is purely an American question with which no other country would wish to interfere if our policies generally were just and reasonable and in harmony with our high professions. As it is, there can be no doubt that the perils of that situation reflect more than the hostility of a local despot.

We have too many quarrels on our hands. We are too indifferent to the good opinion of our neighbors. We are not scrupulously faithful to our treaty obligations. We are boastful and at times menacing. Is it surprising that the President, carrying the burden of these broils, should plead for adjustments in keeping with the honor of the Republic?—New York "World."

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## BLEEDING MEXICO.

In Mexico, in other days, fair maidens from their windows smiled, while lovers sang their buoyant lays, describing passions deep and wild. But that was in the dear old times before reformers took the helm, and filled with sorrows, tears and crimes that once serene and happy realm. In Mexico, some years ago, the mother rocked her child to sleep, and prayed, in accents sweet and low, that holy saints the child might keep. But that was when the Tyrant held his country free from strife and storm, before the Patriots rebelled, and waved the banner of reform. But now the land is stark and red where once the peasant turned the sods; the mother weeps above her dead, and shakes her fist at saints and gods. In Mexico the children played, through balmy evenings, on the green; and little lad and little maid no ghost of trouble e'er had seen. But now their hearts are chilled with fear, their souls are shrunken with their pain; for death is ever stalking near and dead men lie in every lane. And Mexico, where grief had birth when once old things were overthrown, should teach the nations of the earth to let the "Well Enough" alone. —Walt Mason in New York "Globe."

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## DENOUNCES WILSON POLICY.

### Mondell Arraigns Bryan, Too, for Mexican Attitude.

Pittsburgh, Jan. 29.—Describing the Mexican policy of the Wilson Administration as the work of "amateurs, theorists, dreamers, acting on impulse when not on prejudice," Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, arraigned Secretary of State Wiliam J. Bryan in an address at the McKinley day dinner of the Young Men's Republican Tariff Club here to-night.

"The policy toward the government of Huerta in Mexico, temporarily pursued by the Taft Administration to emphasize our abhorrence and disapproval of the methods by which that government was established," said Mr. Mondell, "was allowed to drift into a state of aimless vacillation while the present Secretary of State traveled on lucrative lecture tours.

"The only feature of our present attitude toward Mexico that appears to have any element of fixity is the fatuous and fantastic theory that we shall decline to hold official relations with any government people on this hemisphere may establish unless composed of persons and inaugurated under conditions entirely compatible with our ideas of what ideal government should be.

"And so we have drifted—making ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world and isolating ourselves from the opportunities of protecting Americans and other foreigners in Mexico and their property. We are holding as prisoners of war hundreds of women and children and constituting ourselves the aiders and abettors of, and to a certain extent the apologists for, outlaws, bandits and murderers of the stripe of Villa and Zapata. While all this is going on, and in spite of the admitted good intentions of the President, our attitude is retarding rather than aiding in the establishment of peaceful conditions in Mexico."

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## THE WIDOW ON THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

Washington, D. C.,

With Ojinaga taken by the border bandit, Villa, who made himself a general, and 4,000 refugees from Mexico at Fort Bliss who are costing the United States Government at the rate of $45,000 a month, the only thing to do now, I suppose, is to sit back and wait for the next move in Villa's and President Wilson's handling of the Mexican situation. This Villa is said to be "some fighter" and, naturally, being successful is idolized by the riff-raff who constitute his army and are doing the fighting. They are a filthy, ragged lot and have no rules of warfare—simply merciless and murderous. * * *

With the gathering of the half-breeds, the lawless, the marauders, who have always lived by plunder, into the "constitutionalists"—the rebels who would throw down any government—under Villa as leader—it is said—it would take only about three days, after he and General Carranza had deposed Huerta, for Villa to shoot Carranza and declare himself the great and only controller of the Mexican government. Then what? Would President Wilson be ready to recognize the Villa—or even the Carranza—power as it stands to-day as less

bloodstained than it was in the beginning of his non-recognition of the Huerta reign? It seems to me we poor benighted people must learn our high moral and humane lessons all over again. It seems to me, too, that our own Wilson reign be not bloodstained and our own country be not thrown into a ten years' war that it would be most becoming and most noble in our scholastic executive if he would even now at this late day apologize to Huerta and give both Mexico and the United States a chance for clear skies. Sherman's "Hell" would not at all express war with Mexico.

The farce of the border patrol is as ridiculous as asinine. The illustration of the asininity is clear cut in the fact of the few hundred cavalrymen taking care of the 4,000 refugees. Five hundred of our soldiers, for instance, are scattered along the Rio Grande from Fort Bliss in a stretch of about a hundred miles. To scatter five hundred men along a hundred miles means only a handful at given points. Any efficient handling of preventing men—Mexicans—from coming to this side or from supplies going into Mexico would appear to be an impossibility. The Rio Grande can be crossed almost anywhere, and the Mexicans, or the ambitious providers of supplies for Mexicans, are not going to cross in sight of armed men who can be seen for miles. They ford the river in places out of reach of patrol or arrest. Once in a while results come, and one man was arrested on the lower river with several thousand rounds of ammunition as he was trying to get into Mexico. He tried an international bridge and was nabbed by the customs officers. * * *

In this Mexican situation, in the condemnation of Huerta's government not having been recognized by President Wilson, there seems to be no division of sentiment, whether the comment is by Republican or Democrat. Everybody speaks most openly, and always the question is asked, "Why should we wave the flag of such high morality," Why do we object to Huerta when Europe accepted him; why should Huerta be singled out when countries whose kings and emperors and sultans have been assassinated are courteously recognized? But here we are with something staring us in the face that certainly looks like chaos—a cruel war that must make guerrillas of our own soldiers to equalize conditions.—The Widow, in "Town Topics," January 22.

Read "MEXICO"

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### ZAPATA.

Like some huge crawling, stinging thing
He sallies from his lair,
And piteous cries and dying sighs
Disturb the desert air.
With this brute chief the shrift is brief,
And blood is everywhere.

He does not fight as patriots fight
Or dream as patriots dream;
His powerful band could aid his land,
But that is not his scheme.
His eyes grow bright, his heart grows light
When he hears the tortured scream.

His soldiers tremble and salute
To do his last decree,
For these wild brutes have met no brute
More merciless than he,
Pitting his might 'gainst law and right,
Laughing at every plea.

Zapata! All his hellish plans
No mind but his may know;
If his brute strength shall serve at length
To vanquish every foe,
Pity the weak that his lust will seek—
And God help Mexico!

—William F. Kirk in New York "American."

### THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS.

The original Monroe doctrine was simply that we should consider attempts to impose monarchical governments upon the Latin-American nations as unfriendly acts and that the time had passed when any part of the American continent was open to acquisition and colonization by European powers. Beyond that there is absolutely nothing that can be called the Monroe doctrine without injustice to the memory of President Monroe and the American statesmen of his day.

In that form and at that time there was nothing in that doctrine which required the assent of the Latin-American people, which, however, would have been, and perhaps was, enthusiastically given. Continental Europe considered the doctrine as a reason for enmity, while England privately approved our assistance in pulling her chestnuts out of the fire. Neither the Monroe doctrine nor any of the new doctrines which we call Monroe doctrines are any part of international law or have any sanction whatever except by the military and naval force of the United States.

But conditions now are vastly different from those which existed in Monroe's day. The larger Latin-American nations have now outgrown or are rapidly outgrowing their revolutionary periods, and even the recrudescence of anarchy in Mexico is almost certain to result in renewed and greater stability of institutions.

The continued assertion of what Latin-American nations consider as an American hegemony, with probabilities of more or less absorption of the weaker, has resulted in general fear and hatred of this country by Latin-Americans—all the more serious because it has become part of the very life of peoples largely illiterate and excitable and more or less affecting the feeling of those of pure Latin extraction, than whom there are no more lovable and competent people on earth.

Our position is regarded with unconcealed dislike and disgust by Continental Europe and is no longer particularly favored by Great Britain, which is likely to regard it less and less favorably as it derives less and less profit and more hindrance from it.

The time has come for the assertion, not of a Monroe doctrine, and not of a United States doctrine, but of a Pan-American doctrine, which, whatever in the end it may prove to be, should be the outcome of a Pan-American conference and should have behind it the sanction of Pan-American authority and force.

That is no new proposition. It was the dream of James G. Blaine when he was Secretary of State and before that when he was in Congress. It is coming to be the thought of many thoughtful Americans. It would be enthusiastically received in Latin America. It would compel the respect and recognition of Europe and Asia. It would be distasteful only to American jingoes.

Incidentally, it would pay.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

### WAR ON MEXICO.

For the murders, outrages and robberies in Mexico since the inauguration of President Wilson the Administration is directly responsible to God, humanity and the nation. This is not a party matter, for President Taft began the trouble by expelling from Mexico its legal ruler and the one man proved capable of keeping that tropical country in order. But the frightful ravages, rapes and worse than hellish warfare since Taft's time are due entirely to the personal and unfounded prejudice of Mr. Wilson against Huerta. Formally recognizing the de facto government of Provisional President Huerta, as all other Powers have done, would have purified Mexico long ago. Instead of this conventional diplomatic recognition, Mr. Wilson has preferred to carry on a stealthy war against our sister republic, blockading its ports, destroying its credit, forcing it into bankruptcy and giving aid and comfort to the brutal bandits who are marching to loot its capital. This secret, one-sided war is disguised under the pretentions phrase, "My policy of watching and waiting." One result is that Mexico has been compelled to default in the payment of the interest upon its bonds, and claims amounting to millions of dollars have been filed already in our State Department. The United States is responsible for every cent of this money and for the claims for other millions that will follow the destruction of American and foreign business investments in Mexico, and our people will have to pay the immense debt incurred through pigheaded obstinacy. The talk about a war of intervention would be amusing if the jest were not so expensive. Mr. Wilson is making war upon Mexico now, and his freak is costing the country as much as if we had declared war honorably, except that fewer American lives are sacrificed. Congress is the only authority that can declare war legally—but have we a Congress? Is the assembly of cowed and tongue-tied misrepresentatives, who cringe before Mr. Wilson and pass any measure he chooses to dictate, worthy to be called a Congress? The people condemned the imperialism of the Bull Moose, but the Wilson regime is worse, because it is more hypocritical. Now that the pockets of the world are touched by Mr. Wilson's forced default—J. P. Morgan & Co. alone held $60,000,-

(Continued on next page.)

000 of Mexican bonds owned by foreigners—Congress may be roused to assert its prerogative and rebuke and control Mr. Wilson by a joint resolution of censure. If to the millions of claims for which he has made us liable he added the losses through the obstruction of the prosperity that is waiting to enrich the country, Mr. Wilson has cost us more than the whole national debt during the eleven months of his administration.—"Town Topics."

## CALLS OUR POLICY "SCANDAL."

Paris, Jan. 24.—Severe criticism of the policy of the United States toward Mexico was voiced to-day by Paul Reynaud, a leading lawyer, and by Andre Lebon, former Minister for the Colonies, at the monthly luncheon of the Association of French Manufacturers and Merchants.

M. Reynaud asserted that the American policy concealed under a puritanic exterior a financial scandal. He said the public opinion of the world must compel the United States to establish peace in Mexico by supporting Huerta or his successor and not allowing the revolution in Mexico to be financed by interests in the United States to the ruin of Mexico and the foreign interests there.

## AN ENGLISH VIEW.

London.—Major Archershee, who has just returned from Mexico, has changed his mind regarding the problem facing the United States. He says that having studied the situation on the spot he fears the present chaos is likely to continue for months, if not for years, unless the United States either reverses its policy of non-recognition of a de facto government or intervenes by force.

Asked what he thought the end of the problem would be, he replied that if no government stained with blood can endure a government established by the aid of a cruel, bloodthirsty scoundrel like Villa cannot endure, and it would appear that the only alternative left the United States is intervention.—New York "Herald," January 23.

## A GALVESTON MAN.

Harry C. Archer, traffic representative of the Santa Fe lines in Mexico, arrived in Galveston yesterday on the City of Mexico from Vera Cruz. Mr. Archer has been in Mexico City for about three weeks. He brought with him on his return Mrs. Archer and his niece, Miss Grace Cornell, who will remain in the States for a couple of months before going back to their home in Mexico City.

"Everything is quiet in Mexico City," said Mr. Archer. "Huerta is still the strongest man in the republic, and, if he can secure money, will be able to control the situation. He is far preferable as a ruler to such men as Villa or Carranza.

"The rebels have gained no substantial advantage in Mexico. They have won no real victories, all of their successes being due to cowardice or lack of generalism on the part of the federal leaders. The only disturbance of any moment is along the Rio Grande; as for the rest of the country, there are only a few straggling bands of bandits here and there who do not amount to anything. I do not believe the rebels will ever get within striking distance of Mexico City, and they will accomplish nothing if they do, for Huerta has about him 10,000 well-equipped soldiers, most of them rurales, the very best in the country. Lack of money is the only thing that can destroy the Huerta regime."—Galveston "Tribune."

President Wilson has shown in his Address to Business Men, delivered in the form of a lecture to Congress, that he can 'bout face when he finds that he is marching in the wrong direction. There is no more talk about hanging anybody as high as Haman; all is good fellowship and mutual concessions, business and the Administration shoulder to shoulder in the procession toward prosperity. The cordiality of the approval with which the new, reversed program has been received in all parts of this country, and in other countries, by the press, the stock exchanges, merchants and investors is remarkable, and seems to inaugurate an era of harmonious progress. The President himself must have been astonished by this prompt and unanimous response to his declaration that the policy of the Administration is to help business, not to tear it up by the roots. I ask, therefore, a similar change of sentiment and policy concerning the Mexican question. In all the civilized world there is not a single person—except Chautauqua Bryan, who does not count—that is in favor of Mr. Wilson's scheme to assist the Mexican insurrectos, because of his personal prejudice against Huerta. There is not a single nation, except the United States, that has refused to recognize diplomatically the Provisional Presidency of Huerta. There is not a single visitor to Mexico—American, English, French or German—who does not testify that the recognition of Huerta is the only way to rescue Mexico from chaos. It is Mr. Wilson against all the rest of the world.—"Town Topics."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir:—Puzzle over it as I do, I cannot make out why it is that newspaper editors and individuals who have professed horrified disapproval of General Huerta should accept as a matter of fact the villianies of Villa and root for his success. It's beyond my comprehension entirely. I have received a letter from a friend of mine who lives in El Paso. In Juarez he has seen Villa, and this is how he described him:

"Imagine a cross between a half-breed bad man and a rattler and you've got this fellow, Villa. The snake in him has given him a diabolical cunning. He's out for loot and nothing else. He has made a lot of money by selling thousands of head of cattle which he has stolen from the big ranches of Chihuahua and shipped across the border. He gets his followers by closing down the mines and forcing men out of work. Then there is nothing left for them to do but join him for all there is in it. He's killed and ordered killed hundreds of men, robbed and destroyed everything he can lay his hands on. There isn't a woman safe wherever he goes. He's a deified devil and don't let anybody tell you anything else."

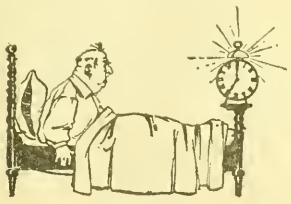
This is a pretty harsh picture of any man, but I have great faith in my friend's judgment, and Villa's record of crime is common knowledge, anyhow.

Will you please tell me why Huerta is condemned so unmercifully and this bandit is getting so much "moral" support from this side of the border?

Yours very truly,

F. G.

New York, January 23, 1914.

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## CALL OFF THE VULTURES.

Suspense is the elemental requisite of fiction writing. Without suspense, sustained to a climax, there can be no fiction.

We respectfully suggest to the officials of the Administration who are embarrassed in their good intentions by the newspaper publication of "interesting fiction" on the Mexican situation, that they themselves have created the atmosphere of suspense that has made such fiction possible.

"Watchful waiting" is fictional suspense under another name.

It encourages speculation, excitation, fabrication.

It suggests that almost anything may happen at any moment and creates an appetite for new surprises and complications, which if they are not inherent in the situation must be concocted to supply the demand for action until the suspense is ended.

These are axioms to anybody who knows how to write fiction.

Mexico is dynamite.

Touch it, prick it, pound it—and the consequences are not hard to imagine.

The Administration has been doing that and the suspense has been of its making.

The atmosphere of suspense has given the opportunity to every force of destruction that is rending Mexico, internal and external, anarchical and financial.

It has forced all minds to look for the climax—an explosion of the dynamite.

The explosion of Mexico.

If that is not what the "embarrassed" Administration, deprecating the "interesting fiction" wants, then it is simply a child playing with dynamite.

Which, under the circumstances, is appalling.

The Administration has let it be known that it considers irresponsible speculation on our foreign relations in the columns of the press as misrepresentative of the Administration's purposes and actions and consequently dangerous.

But all our misunderstandings and the speculation thereon to which the Administration objects have been "muddled" by the merciless campaign of falsehood carried on by the press of this country against the government of Mexico, a campaign which the Administration has not only failed to discourage, but with which it has at times seemed to be mighty well pleased.

It is but natural that nations other than Mexico, observing the Administration's tacit approval of the press campaign of misrepresentation, distortion and biased speculation against Mexico, should attach Administration influence to press comments on ALL our foreign relations and see in them the same ulterior purpose they see in the hostility toward Mexico.

This, of course, has not been conducive to a growth of any particular friendliness on their part toward the United States.

In seeking to placate them and assure them of our good intentions, might it not be an earnest of our sincerity if the Administration would now emphatically indicate to the press of the country its disapproval of the "fiction" published about Mexico?

Call off the vultures.

And put an end to the suspense.

It's the only way to clear the whole atmosphere of doubts and innuendos.

---

If the Administration is so certain of the quick downfall of the Mexican Government, why is it said to be considering giving arms to the rebels?

* * *

What a surprising solicitude the Administration shows for the murdering and ravishing Villa!

* * *

And how painfully shocked it is at everything Huerta does!

* * *

No wonder the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are amazed.

* * *

No wonder the people of the country are scratching their heads in puzzlement as to what it all means.

* * *

Everybody feels that a big game is being played behind the scenes.

* * *

But it was not expected that the leaders of the Administration were the kind of men to take part in any such game.

* * *

Surely they would not have gone into it with their eyes open.

* * *

They will be very lucky indeed to get out of it with clean hands.

* * *

Not smelling of oil.

## LEST WE FORGET.

Never before has the great United States warred upon another country in a sneaky, underhanded manner. That is not the American way.

* * *

But none who is not blind can fail to see that it is the way of our moralists.

* * *

The Administration is carrying on an oblique war against Mexico and calls it "watchful waiting."

* * *

Every report that Mexico is gradually being ruined is received with great satisfaction by the peace-apostolic fighters in Washington.

* * *

Whose allies are Big Business and Bandits—cutthroats.

* * *

Who talk peace and plot destruction.

* * *

The people have no quarrel with Mexico—but the Administration has.

* * *

The Mexican Executive will not yield to the Administration's prejudices and theories.

* * *

We do not know one real, red-blooded American who, if in President Huerta's position, would yield.

* * *

Would you?

* * *

No, no, no, we won't have any war in this Administration, but we will arm the thugs and riff-raff of Mexico to do our fighting.

* * *

The vicious and the ignorant of Mexico are the tools of our "moral" Administration.

* * *

The Administration started by insisting that General Huerta is a naughty, naughty man.

* * *

It's policy since has been to goad General Huerta into doing naughty things.

* * *

So that it can say: "I told you so!"

* * *

Mental suggestion is a very powerful force, as the Administration knows full well.

* * *

But, like hypnotic influence, it is an evil thing when used for certain purposes.

* * *

It would seem to any reasonable mind an evil thing to assist in destroying a country and its people for the satisfaction of saying "I told you so."

* * *

Not many folks would like to have that on their conscience.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. 1—No. 25 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1914 FIVE CENTS

## IN THE OPEN

No longer can it be said in justice that the Administration is conducting a sneaky, underhanded, un-American war against the Government of Mexico. It has been painful at times to be under the necessity of pointing out from week to week that while the Administration was professing the most distinterested motives, the most profound friendship for the Mexican people, the purest sentiments in favor of constitutional government (in Mexico, but not Guatemala or Venezuela) it was in fact a partisan of a particular group of Mexicans and aiding and abetting the continuance of conditions which it now seeks to end by letting those who have made these conditions have more arms!

No longer will it be necessary to point out that the Administration was either ignorant of the most obvious facts or hypocritical.

No longer need it be explained that undoubtedly the Administration started with a wrong conception of the motives of the rebels and bandits but would naturally in the course of time repudiate any sympathy for or encouragement of murdering and ravishing monsters whose deeds of lawlessness, barbarity and rapine have shocked the civilized world.

No longer need we point out in this publication that the leaders of the Administration were not the kind of men who would enter into an alliance with the unspeakable Villa.

No, the day of beautiful words an destructive acts is over.

Behold the dawn of downright shamelessness.

### WHY?

Why did three thousand of the best people of Chihuahua City go on a perilous journey of hundreds of miles across the desert, deserting their homes but saving their women and children, in order not to be in the city when Villa's hordes entered?

* * *

Were they afraid of "constitutional government"?

# THE COST

Either the Administration has an understanding with the Mexican rebels or it hasn't.

If it has, then its professions of neutrality and moral motives are simply pure hypocrisy. Then it is the ally of forces of destruction, not the friend of constitutional government. Then it is warring against Mexico, while professing peaceable purposes.

It is hasn't, then it is simply the tool of a Mexican faction. Then the United States is being used to play the game of political and financial interests.

In either case, it is no honorable role for the Government of the United States, and therefore not representative of the American people.

In order to have a free hand in ousting President Huerta the Administration surrenders to England the benefit of the doubt on the Panama tolls question, a matter involving the future of an American merchant marine.

Nonchalantly tosses $25,000,000 into the lap of Colombia, as an amend for the taking of Panama. It might justly have been millions less, but what of the millions of the American people when the Administration must, to save its face, "get Huerta"?

Advertises to the world that it shows a disposition to yield hurriedly to foreign nations on matters under discussion—and naturally those nations will press just a little bit harder on every point at issue.

All so that the Administration may "Get Huerta."

Is this economy?

Is this statesmanship?

Is this even good common sense?

And what are the people of the United States to get out of it?

Nothing, absolutely nothing, except the ever-present possibility of war and daily dangerous complications.

Everybody understands by this time that the Administration wants Carranza to be President of Mexico.

It has absolutely not an iota of a right to say who should be or who should not be President of Mexico.

But apart from that—

If with the assistance of the Administration, Carranza should become President of Mexico, what then?

In the first place, would Villa, Zapata, Blanco, Aguilar, Urbina, Castillo, Contreras, Genevievo de la O., or any of a score of rebel and bandit leaders, give up a profitable occupation, turn from leopards into lambs?

The type has never acted that way before and the chances are one thousand to one that it never will.

They would hire themselves out to the first trouble-maker with the price.

In the second place, would the people of Mexico as a whole submit to a "Yankee-made President"?

Not if he were a canonized saint.

So with Carranza in power or any other Carranza, there would come another revolution, and the state of Mexico would be worse by far than now. There would be anarchy run mad.

Then if the United States sought to sustain the "Yankee-made" government against the people of Mexico, that would mean war.

So always it comes back to this: Either the United States should recognize the present Government of Mexico until such time as peace can be restored and an expression of the people's will, as far as that is ascertainable in Mexico, can be procured, or the United States will have to intervene by force of arms in Mexico.

Which terrific job European nations would unselfishly, of course, like to see us undertake.

(Continued on next page.)

THE COST—Continued.

And which would be most pleasing to Japan.

Which would involve the entire future and destiny of the United States in a way that well might unlock a world of woe.

If such a future, such a destiny were inevitable, then there might be no reason to cry out against it.

But it is not inevitable. It can be avoided.

And the people of the United States want it avoided.

If the Administration does not avoid it then it is false to the standards of pure patriotism.

And it is crucifying the people of the United States on a cross of cant.

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Villa is spending a few hundred thousand dollars more for supplies and arms from El Paso dealers. It is about time for the El Paso "Times" to publish another editorial extolling the virtues of the High Executioner of Chihuahua, or another "Peace edition"! Perhaps the grateful El Paso merchants will have a medal struck in honor of Villa.

Oh, our delightful, civilized, principled, high-minded, unmercenary brethren of the border town, how they honor the American Commonwealth!

* * *

The El Pasogramists have invented a new Villa.

* * *

One who really wears an olive-colored uniform and reads a "little book" on "The Ethics of International Warfare."

* * *

And gives forth fine-sounding phrases on liberty, loyalty and patriotism.

* * *

The Madero family and connections succeeded in overthrowing Porfirio Diaz by clever press-agent work in the United States.

* * *

They are using the same methods now against Huerta and cannot understand why they are not "putting it over" as before.

* * *

There's a reason.

* * *

The people can be fooled once, but never again!

* * *

The game is made entirely too obvious when such labored efforts are made to whitewash the murdering Villa.

* * *

Remember how Villa was to eat his Christmas dinner in Mexico City? Notice he is still at Juarez, thirteen hundred miles away.

# THE SECOND STEP

The lifting of the embargo on arms to Mexico will go down in history as the second fatal step in the Mexican policy of the Administration. The first was the refusal under any circumstances to recognize the Provisional Government of Mexico. We have already at length expressed our opinion of the significance and consequences of what the world will regard as a disgraceful alliance. Probably the less said about it now the better. The fact that it pleases Villa so hugely ought to stamp it indelibly for what it really is. It will be remembered that the fact that the embargo was to be raised was permitted to "leak out" some days in advance, and that it was cleverly associated with a Japanese scare. Whether the false story that the Japanese Government was secretly aiding Huerta served its purpose, or whether the newspapers and public thought that the Administration was merely bluffing, we do not know, but there was a general disposition on the part of public opinion to listen to the suggestion, although visibly disturbed. But since the official lifting of the embargo the voice of public opinion has been increasingly strong in its protests and its concern for the future. We shall quote what some of the newspapers have to say about it.

## SANCTIONING SLAUGHTER.

Possibly the exigencies of the situation warrant such a step, and it may be that the usage of nations justifies it, but to the layman Washington advices that President Wilson has decided to lift the embargo on exportation of fire arms to Mexico looks much as if he were sanctioning slaughter. For clearly that is the expectation as the immediate development precedent to the overthrow of Huerta.

This appears to be tantamount to a confession that President Wilson's policy of pacification and patience has been a failure, if indeed it is not an admission that refusal to recognize Huerta, and let Mexico be responsible for her own sins, was a mistake. In the assertion of a principle, that the United States would not be a party to installation of government by assassination, the President undoubtedly took ground as admirable as it was lofty, but it has not been effective in hastening the day of peace. Evidently the time is at hand when peace must be had at any price short of a diplomatic triumph for Huerta. So arms are to go in, and fighting is to proceed, and it is to be dog eat dog, until Federalist or Constitutionalist is entrenched and stabilized.

This information comes on the heels of a series of shockingly brutal "executions" by the Constitutionalists and on the day after a cold-blooded murder committed by the amiable Villa. * * * There is concededly not even tacit recognition of Carranza and his followers, but if arms are to be passed over the border the impression is that the Constitutionalists and not Huerta will profit most greatly. The prospect, therefore, is for a new welter of horrors beside which all that has gone before will pale. What Mexico needs more than anything else is a man of dictator's stature and force, and eventually, with the title of president and ostensibly that and nothing else, such one will appear if ever there is to be sustained peace. Meantime the quality of statesmanship which has been operating from the Washington end of the difficulty will be the subject of keenly critical review, and if Mr. Bryan does not find it necessary to establish a bureau of apology and explanation there will be surprise.—Pittsburgh "Gazette-Times."

## BARBAROUS AND SUICIDAL.

The almost incredible announcement comes from Washington that the President has decided to raise the embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition into Mexico. There should be no misunderstanding about what this action will mean. If the embargo is lifted the American government will stand before the world as an active ally of the rebels under Villa, Carranza and Zapata. It becomes morally responsible for their actions. If they commit outrages it must bear the guilt that falls upon an accessory before the fact.

President Wilson will believe he is doing the proper thing in favoring the rebels—we would not for a moment impugn his motives—but if he finally takes action it will be because he has lost his perspective in this matter. His excuse for raising the embargo as far as he has made it known is the plea of a casuist, not of a sober logician, and against it stands out the hard, cold fact that the raising of the embargo will foster barbarism and will place a premium on outrage and assassination. It will place arms in the hands of men who in the past have shown themselves bandits, murderers and common thieves, and who have sworn to show no mercy to such perosns as may be opposed to them. These outlaws must henceforth be accounted friends and proteges of the United States.

# THE SECOND STEP---ARMS FOR BANDITS

Another point—Villa, Carranza, Aguilar, Zapata, et al., do not love America or American citizens. If they overthrow Huerta they will not submit to dictation by this country any more gracefully than has Huerta, and the danger will always exist that the arms we have put into their hands will be u later to shoot holes in the bodies American soldiers and marines.—Detroit "Free Press."

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It has taken President Wilson a long time to make up his mind to raise the embargo against the transportation of arms across the border into Mexico. Hereafter the so-called Constitutionalists can obtain all the supplies that they can find the money to pay for. Carranza and the professional bandit Villa are unquestionably aided by this new policy upon the part of the President.

When the President decreed that Huerta must go he had no plan for enforcing his order. That was the time to supply the revolutionists with arms, for Carranza was apparently taking as nearly a patriotic view of the situation as was possible for any Mexican revolutionist to take. **But since then** whole revolutionary movement has bec turned into one of plunder, murder and assassination. Carranza has proved be a disappointment, while his arm under "General" Villa has been fed on blood and has adopted the most barbarous methods.

When Huerta is assassinated or deposed there will be no one in sight to control the destinies of Mexico except Villa himself, or Carranza, should Villa remain faithful to his chief. No more of a constitutional government will be in authority then than there is now.

It is a little late in the day for the President to come to the aid of the Villa forces. He refused them aid a time when they were weak. Now that they have developed into fiends und the atrocious murderer Villa he changes his attitude. Surely the administration has made a mess of its whole Mexican policy.—Philadelphia "Inquirer."

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After months of a waiting and do-nothing policy President Wilson has decided to lift the embargo on exportation of arms from the United States to Mexico. Of course, he hopes by this to strengthen the constitutionalists and enable them to carry on a more successful campaign against the forces of Huerta. This rather startling action of President Wilson is a specific revocation of the proclamation issued by President Taft in March, two years ago, in the hope that such an embargo would better the conditions then existing in that troubled and troublesome republic. President Taft's action was cordially indorsed by the American people. Now President Wilson claims that since the Taft embargo circumstances have undergone a radical change. He declares that there is now no constitutional government i Mexico, and that the existence of this embargo hinders the very thing that the government of the United States is insisting upon—that Mexico shall be left free to settle her own affairs and as soon as possible put them upon a constitutional footing by her own force and counsel.

**This sounds well, but what does it all mean?** Only that this administration means to let the Mexican internecine scrap go on for an indefinite period, probably with more battles and heavier loss of life than ever. It cannot be regarded as an effort to bring about peace or to satisfy the nations interested that the United States is seeking to do its full duty in the matter. More arms and cheaper arms for the constitutionalists will also mean more arms and cheaper arms for the federalists. It will, in all probability, mean an indefinite extension of the fighting, with no end in sight. Having signally failed in its efforts to cut off all credit from Huerta, it is far from likely that this new move on the part of President Wilson will meet with any better success.

**No doubt the Mexican problem was a knotty one from the start, but after nearly a year of work upon it President Wilson is no nearer a solution of it than when he started. Lifting the arms embargo can only make matters worse.**—Baltimore "American."

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## INVIGORATING VILLA TO DESTROY HUERTA.

The Administration, it seems, after sufficient hesitation, has decided to lift the embargo on exportation of arms and munitions of war from this country to Mexico. Technically this is not a recognition of the belligerency of the Constitutionalists, but practically it is equivalent to such a declaration, inasmuch as Huerta, being practically blockaded, cannot benefit from the open market, while Villa will be limited in purchases only to the extent of his exchequer or the willingness of merchants to accept his promise to pay.

This action means that the Administration has despaired of substituting for Huerta some other responsible Mexican in the provisional presidency. It is a confession of the failure of the financial blockade and of moral suasion. There is nothing left except open intervention or the semi-equivalent of intervention involved in the mental strengthening of the rebel cause. The latter course is better than the former.

The Administration's plan is, however, a palliative rather than a cure. Our munition factories will open for them the road to the capital, but there is no assurance that when they reach there their government will not be more intolerable than the one it displaces. **Judging from Villa's barbarous warfare, murdering captives, killing hostages, looting, theft, brigandage, there seems small chance of improvement.**—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

* * * It is not so much the mere lifting of the embargo as the change that this may imply in the attitude of our Government, and the weighty consequences that we may soon have to confront, which must give us all pause. **Americans cannot help, for example, regretting that any act of theirs should even seem to be provocative of more bloodshed and ferocity in Mexico.** There is also the well-grounded fear lest, if armed intervention is at last forced upon us, the very weapons we are furnishing to the Mexicans may be turned against our own troops. **But the most marked disquiet will be caused by the uncertainty which the Administration still displays in its dealings with the Mexican problem.** The question will be asked whether the ending of the embargo on the export of arms is anything more than one sign more of a mere waiting policy—**one might almost call it a groping policy.** Is the President acting under pressure of European Governments? Has he the next step clearly in his mind? After the rebels are supplied with arms, does he expect to recognize their belligerency?

These are the questions which are troubling many minds, and which ought to trouble them. The Mexican difficulty is not only vexing but threatening. An unlooked for collapse at Mexico City might afford temporary relief, but short of some such break in the situation, the prospect seems to be only of prolonged hostilities in Mexico, attended by every kind of outrage and misery, with the country slowly bleeding to death. It is this view of the future of their country which, we know, fills intelligent Mexicans with despair. * * * Should Villa fulfill his boast that he will end the war in three months, that might mean only the beginning of fresh troubles. President Wilson's action can be interpreted only as favorable to Carranza, but does he mean to back this up by open recognition of the revolutionary chief? Or has he some plan of intervention going beyond the tacit intervention to which we are already committed? * * *—New York "Evening Post."

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When towns like Juarez and Ojinaga were in the hands of Huerta's troops, Washington with fine impartiality demanded that no arms be sent over our southern border.

Presently Juarez fell by surprise to the Villa band, which had without difficulty succeeded in "smuggling" ammunition, small arms, field pieces and such trifles in abundance over that very border. Next Ojinaga fell because its Huertist garrison, their ammunition exhausted, could obtain no more from our side of the line. Hundreds of defenceless soldiers of the established government were shot down after surrender by the very same American bullets that we had denied them for their defence.

And now that no more Huertists remain to benefit by a withdrawal of the embargo now that the Villists control the Mexican States on our border, free importation of arms is immediately to be allowed, so that Mexico "shall be allowed to settle her own affairs and as soon as possible put them on a constitutional footing." The words are President Wilson's.

Considering the ease with which the rebels obtained arms before, the removal of the embargo may not make any great material change in the military situation: but what will President Wilson's

(Continued on next page.)

ARMS FOR BANDITS—Continued.

attitude be toward any future wholesale barbarisms committed by that unlettered and merciless bandit who tossed his sombrero in the air at news of the present decision?

May we not be placed in a false position in relation to other nations with Mexican interests? There are to be further and more extensive orgies of bloodshed to the south, if that is possible. Shall we not be suspected throughout Latin America as deliberately engineering the disintegration of Mexico in our own interests? At least the danger is plain.—N. Y. "Evening Sun."

## ARMS TO VILLA—FOR WHAT?

The President's proclamation removing the embargo on the shipment of arms to the Mexican Constitutionalists is, in effect, an admission of the failure of his Mexican policy thus far. * * *

The President turns for aid to Carranza and Villa. Just what sort of a government he expects them to erect on the chaos which Huerta piled on top of the ruins of the Madero administration it is hard to foresee.—New York "American."

## THE BASIC MISTAKE.

To the Editor of the New York "Herald"—

You say in your editorial columns today that the American people will indorse President Wilson's action in aiding the Mexican rebels in their desire to obtain arms. Perhaps you are right. But to one who has always been a sincere admirer of the President I must confess my disappointment.

In lifting the embargo President Wilson admits that his policy of "watchful waiting" has been a failure. That ebing the case, why is not the President big enough and broad enough to admit that he has been wrong from the start and that his basic mistake was in not recognizing the only government there was, and is, in Mexico—that of Huerta?

P. J. K.

New York City, Feb. 4, 1914.

## PLAYING TAG.

It looks like playing tag the way the Government of the United States is holding no official intercourse with Huerta.

It is remarkable that though we read every day of the inability of the Federals in Mexico to pay their soldiers, we never read that Villa is unable to pay his rebel army.

Who supplies Villa with the money? Is it the American Oil interests who are subsidizing Villa against the Cowdray Company?

Charges have been made again and again in the open by responsible persons that the revolutions in Mexico are the result of business ambitions and that a great American corporation is primarily involved; and yet there is no suggestion of an investigation by a Congress that hankers to investigate everything.—"Catholic Monitor."

# FAKE LOYALTY

It has been iterated and reiterated in the press for many months past that there are not a few of the people's representatives in Washington who believe that the Administration has made a monumental blunder in handling the Mexican situation, but that it is the part of loyalty and patriotism to acquiesce in this blunder because it is a matter of foreign relations.

"My country—right or wrong" is an admirable sentiment in the presence of a national catastrophe like war. It is a pernicious sentiment when it helps to plunge the country into such a catastrophe, when, by pointing out the wrong such catastrophe could be avoided.

We venture to say that nine-tenths of the so-called loyal acquiescence of Congress, press and public in the Mexican policy of the Administration is based on a general lack of intimate acquaintance with Mexico, the Mexican people and Mexican affairs, which it is conceded the President and the State Department are in a position to have.

We say "are in a position to have," but we insist that from the beginning of the Administration, before it was possible to have that intimate acquaintance with the complex problems of Mexico, the Administration had already made up its mind, was closed to all sources of information that might have given it pause to think, and has consistently and persistently continued to handle the Mexican situation according to that first uninformed, preconceived idea.

In these days of commission government, it seems about time for the suggestion that the foreign relations of the country, which are pregnant with weal or woe for the people, should not be guided by the dictatorial say-so of any one or two men, or any group of politicians, but should be in the hands of a non-political commission of experienced diplomats, whose personal feelings would not enter into their consideration of affairs of state.

As to loyalty and patriotism, we repeat that it is in our opinion more loyal and patriotic to place considerations of country above the mere prestige of any Administration.

Last September Secretary Daniels, speaking before the Indiana members of the Associated Press, deplored the fact that many American newspapers have seen fit to criticize, even frankly and honestly, the stand taken by President Wilson toward Mexico. Such criticism of Administration policies should, he thought, be restricted to internal matters and should stop "at the water's edge." The world should know, he contended, that any stand taken by the President in a matter of foreign relations is supported unquestioningly by an undivided people, who, if necessary, would execute it by force of arms. He intimated that the press or individuals giving any different impression to the world were disloyal and unpatriotic.

In answer to Secretary Daniels we made a statement in the following words, which are just as true today as they were months ago and as they always will be:

That frank and honest criticism of any stand taken by the President of the United States which involves the destiny of one hundred million people is necessary for the safe conduct of popular government and should be welcomed by a broad-gauged and well-intentioned Administration.

That a national sense of justice demands free and frank discussion of our relations with other countries, and that this sense of justice is not incompatible with the purest patriotism, the most intelligent loyalty.

That any United States policy toward Mexico affects directly the welfare and property of thousands of Americans in Mexico and other thousands who have commercial or social connections there. Therefore it cannot be altogether a foreign policy and is in a large degree an internal one.

That although Secretary Daniels' point of view is that press criticisms in international crises might on occasion make the avoidance of war most difficult for a peace-loving Administration, the fact is that much of the criticism directed against President Wilson's Mexican policy has come from those who, knowing Mexican conditions and the Mexican people, have firmly believed that his method of handling the Mexican situation was most likely to result in an unnecessary, unjust and burdensome war. Also that many of those who have most enthusiastically supported the attitude of President Wilson have done so in the belief that it was impractical and the hope that it would finally bring about armed intervention.

That Mexicans as a rule interpreted President Wilson's attitude toward the Mexican Government as unfriendly and as foreshadowing intervention. Under these circumstances it is perhaps well for the Administration and for the country that American papers and individuals have by their criticisms convinced the Mexicans that we as a people have no quarrel with them, that we are not their enemies.

That in view of our increasingly close relations with the Latin-American countries it will help rather than hurt the interests of the United States if at least a portion of our press shows a disposition to demand justice and reasonableness in any stand that the Administration may determine to take toward them or any one of them.

"Read" MEXICO" ONCE A WEEK
AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

## INSULTING JAPAN.

We urge those naive souls who not infrequently express wonder at our growing unpopularity in Japan to read and ponder the urbane remarks of Representative Curry of California, delivered in a speech in the Congress of the United States:

"Loose morals are universal among Japanese men and uncondemned among Japanese women; their daughters are sold without shame into immorality, and there are 2,000,000 professional immoral women in Japan.

Strange to say, sensitiveness is not the exclusive attribute of the Caucasian race but exists even among Mongolians. Charges against the morals of their wives, daughters and sisters are no more relished by the men of Japan than they would be by our own husbands, fathers and brothers.

Suppose that a German orator in the Reichstag made the sweeping accusation that the American nation was thoroughly immoral; that immorality was universal among American men and was winked at in American women; that common-law marriages were an established institution among us, and divorces on the most trivial pretexts a flimsy cloak for more hypocritical laxity; that systematized race suicide was a symptom of our degenerate morals, and that white slavery was a characteristic national enterprise. Would we regard this malicious perverter of facts as the spokesman of a friendly nation?

The sanctimonious patter of one little priggish jingo like Curry can do more to inflame a nation toward war than can be undone by the labors of a hundred statesmen. It would be well if this could be brought to Mr. Curry's own immaculate realization and that of his vicious kin.—New York "World."

**The sanctimonious patter about Mexico by one little servile upholder of the Administration at all costs like the "World" can do more to bring about war with Mexico than can be undone by the labors of a hundred statesmen. It would be well if this could be brought to the "World's" own immaculate realization and that of its hypocritical kin.**

## RIDICULES OUR POLICY.

Henry Lane Wilson, ex-Ambassador to Mexico, said in an address before the Baptist Social Union of New York, that, in his opinion, a settled Government at the present time would be in charge of affairs in Mexico and thousands of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property would have been saved if Huerta had been recognized by the United States even as late as August or September of last year.

"If the Administration does have its way and if a candidate, approved by it finally is elected as President of Mexico," said Mr. Wilson, "he will remain in power only so long as the army and navy of this country protect him. Practically every man in Mexico will have a dagger out for the Anglo-Saxon-selected President, and the minute that the American Army and Navy cease to defend him will be his last.

Mr. Wilson said that Mexican history could not produce a ruler who would measure up to the specifications of the present Administration. Before the rule of Diaz, he said, the hands of practically every ruler had been dipped in blood.

**Huerta stands for Mexican nationality and all indications are that he realizes his position patriotically.**

# LEST WE FORGET

The Administration still insists that there is no "constitutional government" in Mexico.

* * *

And makes that shibboleth cover a multitude of sins.

* * *

There is no matter. There is no matter. There is no matter. Repeat it often enough and you may hypnotize yourself into believing it.

* * *

That's Christian Science statesmanship.

* * *

But would the Administration attempt to bully an unconstitutional nation like, say, Russia on any such grounds? No?

* * *

Then might makes right, doesn't it?

* * *

Since when has the President of the United States been the sole interpreter of the Mexican Constitution?

* * *

There is a Supreme Court in Mexico which has declared the Provisional Government constitutional.

* * *

But the Administration says it isn't.

* * *

Can you, can you beat it for perverse egotism?

* * *

It's simply a shibboleth in the mouth of the Administration, an excuse for every high-handed interference in Mexico's affairs.

* * *

If "constitutional government" in Latin America is so dear to the heart of the Administration why does it not try to force out the Dictator of Guatemala and the Dictator of Venezuela?

* * *

The Administration professes to discourage revolutions in Latin-American countries.

* * *

But it encourages one in Mexico because, forsooth, the Mexican Government is not constitutional.

* * *

If that is not a standing invitation to any revolutionary group in any Latin-American country to overthrow any government with the approval of the United States, what is it?

* * *

All they have to do to have Washington on their side is to use the shibboleth, "We are for constitutional government" and use the name "constitutionalists."

* * *

You will notice that Latin-American revolutions have been discouraged recently.

Yes, in Santo Domingo, Hayti, Peru, Brazil and a few others yet unheard from.

* * *

The Administration is in favor of revolution. It is arming one.

* * *

And now they say that Bryan is going to Chautauqua in Europe in the cause of universal peace.

* * *

That isn't nerve. That is simply brazen effrontery.

* * *

And hypocrisy that hasn't even the virtue of being intelligent.

* * *

It is reported that Villa threw his sombrero in the air when he heard that the Administration was going to help him, and despatched a message of thanks to President Wilson.

* * *

Ask any Mexican in the north of Mexico whose wife or daughter or mother has been outraged by Villa or Villa's men—and there are thousands of them—what he thinks President Wilson should have felt when he received that message.

* * *

The Administration felt that the embargo on arms might work some injustice to the rebels.

* * *

Ye gods! How solicitous, how scrupulously fair, how tenderly considerate!

* * *

The New York "Evening Post" points out that the President has assumed full personal responsibility for the Administration's Mexican policy.

* * *

But who will pay the price of war?

* * *

It might be a good idea to let the people know exactly what the policy is and let them share the responsibility.

* * *

It cannot be that one or two men's preconceived ideas can have so much power for evil.

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More trouble! The Committee of Public Safety at Port au Prince has demanded the withdrawal from the sacred soil of Hayti of our marines and blue-jackets, landed "to restore order," though the normal tranquility of the capital has not been disturbed. I am not yet informed who of the candidates in Hayti is personally disliked by President Wilson, and therefore I am not able to take my customary patriotic stand for the President right or wrong—especially when he is wrong. But, as we have no business to interfere with the domestic affairs of the people of Hayti, it might be well to recall our brave boys before somebody gets hurt. —"Town Topics."

# An International Offence

President Wilson's so-called Mexican policy may eliminate Huerta, but it cannot be justified by the rules of international law and is an abrupt departure from the traditional foreign policy of the United States.

Huerta's right to recognition does not depend on his character or the character of his government. Whether it is a constitutional government or not is beside the question. If it is the de facto government of Mexico, it is entitled to be recognized. In 1870 Secretary Fish wrote General Sickles, then Minister to Spain:

"We have always accepted the general acquiescence of the people in a political change of government as conclusive evidence of the will of the nation. When, however, there has not been such acquiescence and armed resistance has been shown to changes made or attempted to be made under the form of law, the United States has applied to other nations the rule that the organization which has possession of the national archives and of the traditions of government, and which has been inducted to power under the forms of law, must be presumed to be the exponent of the desires of the people until a rival political organization shall have established the contrary."

To refuse recognition to Huerta merely because of the horror felt by the American people at the murder of Madero, or because our government believes that Huerta's government is not constitutional, is to invent a novel foreign policy which may return to plague the inventor.

It is interference in the domestic concerns of a foreign nation, which is an offense against international law. For this offense Washington sent the French Minister home, Jackson recalled one Minister to Mexico and Cleveland sent the British Minister his passport.

A private citizen may freely criticize foreign governments. An officer of the government cannot do so without offense.

The offense is the same, whether committed by an Ambassador, a Secretary of State or a President. Americans generally think that the Czar ought to govern Russia with the aid of legislative douma and that Great Britain ought to grant home rule to Ireland, but if an American Secretary of State were to urge these reforms upon Russia and Great Britain the act would be resented and would be derided as a specimen of raw American diplomacy. A rule which applies to these great European powers ought to apply to our nearest Southern neighbor, if we wish to win the confidence of Latin America.

No one in the United States or in Europe can doubt the generous motive of President Wilson. His aim is not to promote American interests in Mexico but to help the Mexican people to a better government. If they appreciate his motive, his policy would not help them. As they do not appreciate it, his policy does them positive harm.

What the Mexican people need today is a strong government, such as Diaz gave them. What they will need hereafter, and sooner or later will get, is a government such as Madero vainly hoped to give them. Under Diaz public order was maintained, brigandage put down, foreign capital attracted and labor and capital made as secure as government could make them.

But Mexico under Diaz was not a real republic, because the people did not generally vote. They were prevented not so much by force as by ignorance and indifference. To advance from such a nominal republic to a real republic, as we understand the word, they need a political education. Their political education cannot precede but must follow their industrial development. Their industrial development will be quickened by contact with American labor and capital. It will be retarded by the anti-American feeling, due to the position of our government, as it is misunderstood by the Mexican people. The recognition of Huerta as the actual head of the Mexican government does not imply approval of his administration any more than the recognition of the Czar as the sovereign of Russia implies approval of the Russification of Finland.

It is not to be expected that President Wilson will now reverse the attitude which he has held for nearly a year and send an ambassador to the Huerta government. It is much to be desired that his refusal to do so shall be placed on safe and tenable grounds.

It is safer to say that without admitting or denying, or even discussing the title of Huerta to the Presidency, our government chooses not to send an ambassador to Mexico, but prefers to leave the legation in charge of the secretary, in order to emphasize our condemnation of the palace revolution of last February, and the murder of Madero which followed.

To put our refusal to recognize Huerta on another ground, as some able and powerful journals have done, by saying that Huerta is not President by force of Mexican law, will be harmful to us in two ways:

In the first place, the assumption by the United States of the right to construe the constitution of a Latin-American republic and decide against the title of a government which all other Latin-American republics have recognized, will cause irritation and perhaps apprehensions in Argentina, Brazil and Chili, whose friendship we ought to cultivate.

In the second place, it will make it harder, with any show of consistency, to recognize Huerta's successor after Huerta is eliminated. If Huerta is President and dies, resigns or quits the country, then, by force of Mexican law, some member of his Cabinet succeeds him. But if Huerta is not President he can have no Cabinet, and there will be no one who has the right to act as Provisional President and call an election of President and Congress. The result will be chaos, and a ferocious struggle of partisans for loot and power. We ought to be in a position where we can promptly recognize Huerta's successor, and help him to borrow money and buy munitions of war. Our offer of support may make munitions of war unnecessary.

This is the short road to peace in Mexico. There is only one other road. It is intervention, and intervention is war, and war is still what General Sherman called it fifty years ago.—George E. Adams in Chicago "Inter-Ocean."

## NAILING THEM.

The New York "World" last Sunday unearthed a Diaz plot against President Huerta. What untruth there was in the story may be gathered from the following jumble:

This plot accounts for the recent activity of the secret police in trying to implicate various persons prominent in Mexican politics, including Gen. Rascon Gamboa, late Minister of Foreign Relations; Gen. Gonzales and Jose Requena, candidate for Vice-President last fall on the ticket with Diaz.

Requena was arrested to-day and put under the "third degree" by Francisco Chavez, head of the secret police, in an effort to elicit from him damaging admissions.

Although Huerta's inquisitors were unable to fix the responsibility on him, Gamboa was taken to Police Headquarters, and, to demonstrate his loyalty to the Government, he was asked to take the field. He is on the army retired list, but to save himself from a more unpleasant fate Gamboa acceded and was given command of one of the army divisions. Thus far the Government has been unable to get hold of any positive evidence against any of the alleged conspirators.

**The Gamboa referred to is not Rascon Gamboa, but Federico Gamboa. There is a General Rascon. Gamboa is an author and diplomat. He is not connected with the Mexican Army any more than, say, Dr. Lyman Abbott with the U. S. A.**

It is almost a hopeless and endless task to "nail" all the lies and misstatements in the press. But the above from the "World" is a sample of how history is written in our newspapers. Anything discrediting, disparaging or belittling Mexico and the Mexican Government is welcome in the columns of papers like the "World" with or without basis of fact. This sort of thing will go on just as long as those papers feel that it is pleasing to the Administration. Which is a sad commentary on the American spirit of fair play.

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The President and the Cabinet may not feel the least concern about the dangerous situation, but the people are very deeply concerned. "Why," they ask, "are we taking the risk of a war with Mexico and with Japan as the ally of Mexico?" Solely because of a personal prejudice of Mr. Wilson against Huerta, a prejudice that is unfounded, unjust, unpolitic and indefensible. The contsitutional function of Congress as the only war-making power is usurped. We are at war with Mexico now, crippling its provisional government in every way possible, cutting off its supplies, blockading its ports, camping our army on its frontier, and aiding and abetting the rapes and rapine of the atrocious bandits who are eager to loot its capital. Congress must speak out, either by a vote of censure or by withholding the appropriations. This is not an affair of diplomacy, to be left to the State Department—if we had a State Department—but a personal grudge of Mr. Wilson, which he seeks to gratify in defiance of all the rest of the world.—"Town Topics."

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What a farce it is for the Administration to attempt to regulate affairs in foreign countries when it cannot control even Governor Blease of South Carolina, who spouts rebellion continuously!

### A RIFT IN THE LUTE.

(By Telegraph to "The Tribune.")

El Paso, Tex., Feb. 1.—For political purposes only General Pancho Villa is claiming allegiance to the cause of Venustiano Carranza. In reality, the victorious rebel leader of Chihuahua is on the point of breaking with the Sonora leader, according to men who are close to Villa.

Americans who are interested in the rebel movement also say that the rebels of the North are about to split, and that Villa, the only really strong leader among them, will carry on his campaign independently. The split, however, may not come until after the United States has lifted the embargo on arms and ammunition or has announced definitely that it will not be lifted. This is said to have been learned by American Secret Service men, who have communicated their discovery to the State Department at Washington.

It is said that Villa considers Carranza a failure as a leader. In none of the fighting at Chihuahua has Carranza given aid to Villa. Troops which he once sent to Chihuahua returned to Sonora before they had joined Villa's army, and twice the Sonora chief has started for Chihuahua to meet Villa and has turned back before reaching the state border.—New York "Tribune."

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"I should like to believe that a government stained with blood cannot endure."

* * *

Therefore we shall give the rebels and bandits more arms and bullets.

* * *

That is Presidential logic.

* * *

Mistake Number One: The refusal to recognize the provisional government of Mexico.

* * *

Mistake Number Two: An open alliance with murderers and ravishers like Villa.

* * *

All other mistakes spring from these two fountain-heads of blunders.

* * *

The terrible consequences of these two monumental mistakes will be understood with the passing of time.

* * *

United States intervention in Mexico is as much an accomplished fact as if United States troops had crossed the border on their way to Mexico City.

* * *

That will be the inevitable development, Mistake Number Three.

* * *

Then War.

* * *

What malefic destiny is guiding the Administration into a war with international complications that make almost any dire future possible?

# A LETTER TO LIND

Sent by a Mexico City Resident.

Mexico City, Jan. 14, 1914.

The politics followed by your President has done a great deal of harm to the American nation in our country. I have not found a business man in this city who has not told me that the blame for everything that is happening to us is to be placed on Americans (government and corporations) and that Mexico is made the victim of your ambitions. This idea is very strongly on the minds of all Mexicans, and right or wrong, is doing a great deal of harm to you.

What the United States government is doing is cruel, immoral and of disastrous consequences to us; to do everything to prevent the government from obtaining money with which to pacify the country is to leave it in the hands of the bandits and the so-called Constitutionalists who are just as bad.

I could understand Mr. Wilson's attitude at the beginning, because I thought he was not well informed, but to-day there is no excuse. I have not the slightest doubt (and nobody here has) that the present revolution is being financed by American corporations that have bought the principal sources of information, and so have created a very strong feeling against General Huerta and in favor of the "constitutionalists." They have intelligently used the ignorance of your country about ours, making people believe that General Huerta is the most hated man in Mexico; that he is fortified in Chapultepec, and that the rebels are people of principles. Here we all know that with a population of 80 per cent. who can neither read nor write, it is the most foolish idea to speak of elections and political freedom, and our experience shows us that we can have only a government that gives protection to all citizens, but that must be harsh against all agitators and rebels. So we have been shaken by revolutions, but we have grasped a dictatorial government and have given it our full support, because we all know that it is the only government best for us.

I remember having read some time ago that Mr. Wilson said that he would never deal with a government emanating from a revolution, and that that was intended to stop the revolutions in Latin-American countries. Innocent Mr. Wilson! Who thinks he can stop the evolution of another country. Each country has its own way of evolution according to its people. Latin America, which is made up of young countries, has got its changes by revolutions, and they will last until its people are ready for a better government as Chile and the Argentine.

To the careful observer, and those who have lived in Mexico for the past three years, it is very apparent that the revolutions do not triumph in Latin-American countries unless they have public opinion behind them.

President Diaz was overthrown by public opinion, and when Madero became President everybody asked each other: "How long do you allow him to be President?" Some said four mo and a few allowed him as much as a year. When I came to Mexico at the end of January of last year, some business men refused to make transactions, because "they were waiting for the downfall of Madero," saying, "They would then be able to see more clearly how to act." In fact, everybody was waiting for the same thing. Then I knew that the new government that would come would be very strong because it would have the strong foundation, public opinion, and the whole nation that then hated Madero would turn over and support the new government. I did not know what government was to have that chance, if it would be Felix Diaz' or Huerta's—afterward we learned that it was Huerta's. So his government was powerful even befor it existed; but with a great surprise for all of us, a revolution began in the north and that revolution grew more and more, much to our sorrow on account of the brutalities done by the rebels.

Every day we, in Monterey, heard of persons who had been stolen by the rebels in the name of freedom, and the honest merchants in the small towns of the Northern States were ruined entirely by groups of a few hundred entering the towns, looting them and burning the stores afterward. The farmers we also robbed and the farms burned, and the "Administradores" sometimes subject people to tortures. All Mexico was shocked with terror, when details of the infamies, that in the name of the revolution were committed ,came to light so our surprise had no limit when we found that the Americans were favoring the "Carranzistas."

How can it be that the people of a country so respectful of others' rights, who claim to be the most just people in the world, approve of this anarchy? My surprise grew more when one day I read that Mr. Wilson was "watching with attention the progress made in the last weeks by the Carranzistas," and when I read letters exchanged between an American governor and Don Venustiano Carranza, I asked myself if the American people, with their President,

(Continued on next page.)

## A LETTER TO LIND---Continued

had lost their heads, and that same question was asked by every one. The adjectives applied to Mr. Wilson, sometimes by men of high culture, are not to be written here. What was the matter on the other side of the Rio Bravo?

At the beginning of December, I went to the United States and I read carefully the American press, and the men whom we had always heard called Pancho Villa and Lucio Blanco, and who we knew well were nothing but bandits, were called General Francisco Villa, etc. The Federal forces, who were our protection, and who more than once had been received in the poor, suffering cities of the North with flowers and music, were called "Huerta's men." The biggest surprise was felt by Americans when I said that public opinion was in favor of the government, or General Huerta, and when they found I was a strong defender of the government, they with certain timidity asked me if I was one of Huerta's employees. They could not understand it otherwise.

At first I thought this was due to the lack of knowledge of our country, but afterward when I had carefully thought this over, I came to the conclusion that the same people who have financed Carranza have bought the information sources, giving only news not favorable to the government, and that has created an atmosphere entirely hostile to General Huerta. Why, the American papers are always ready to print the difficulties of our banks, the stoppage of interest payments, etc., but do not say that everybody condemns the strange policy followed by your President, and that wherever General Huerta goes he is received with cheers by the crowds.

Mr. Wilson's policy is absurd, cruel and strange for Mexico. The reason that General Huerta has not fallen long ago is that everybody looks on him as the only hope for pacifying the country, and he has done more than could be expected for a man that is so terribly fought on all sides by your country; and I am sure he will not give up until there is no more hope. If Carranza wins he will not last any longer than a new revolution will take to overthrow him. Why? Because he has not got public opinion and his position would be entirely forced.

To pronounce Carranza's name in Mexico City always brings a smile of deprecation from the hearers. Having such public opinion, how is Carranza going to do? Unfortunately for Mexico, the American firms who are financing the revolution took sides with the wrong party; the one universally hated in Mexico; and the poor of Mexico, the 14,800,000 out of the 15,000,000 that Mexico has and who care only for peace, are the worst sufferers.

This is the plain truth, such as it is; and I believe I am not taking sides in saying what I say, that I believe Americans are helping the revolution, because it cannot be understood in any other way. Where do they get the hundreds of thousands of pesos a week, undoubtedly needed for keeping their forces? No doubt they help themselves by confiscating property of some, because they are "Huerta's supporters," and of others because they are not. But that is not enough to keep the revolution going.

I know well that you are a man, not only intelligent, but honest, and I hope that now you will explain to the President the true situation of the country. I firmly believe that Mr. Wilson has been a victim, as well as the rest of the American people, of the dirty conduct of some interests, and I earnestly hope that his eyes will be unblinded and that a big and wide satisfaction will be given to the Mexican nation which has been the victim of American speculators. If this happens so, we who love the United States with its great virtues will feel happy, and our people who do not know your country so well will get the idea of blaming the Americans in general out of their heads, for we know that only a few are to be blamed.

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### THE LOOTING OF DURANGO BY BRYAN'S FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

At 10 o'clock one beautiful morning Durango, a city of 50,000 population, situated in a valley at the foot of Iron Mountain, in the heart of Mexico, presented a fairly prosperous appearance. At 11 o'clock that summer night the business section of the city had been laid waste with fire and dynamite, houses and stores had been looted and the property loss amounted to 14,000,000 pesos, or $7,000,000 in American money. In addition to this $1,500,000 in cash and forced loans had been taken and the streets were full of refugees.

The Mexican rebels or Constitutionalists, did all this with 6,000 men in less than twelve hours. Not satisfied with simply looting, they destroyed nearly all of the better business blocks in the commercial district by means of dynamite.

The rebels had begun to enter Durango just before midnight. Detachment after detachment had marched to the city by several routes and gathered at railroad stations. About 10.30 a. m. they began action. There was some armed resistance and during the day there were brief periods of sharp fighting and a rapid exchange of shots. After it was all over some 150 men had been killed and as many more wounded. For the most part the citizens beat a hasty retreat to the outskirts of the city. Storekeepers who attempted to stand guard over their property were forced to leave the premises and it was not long before the rebels were in sole possession of most of the city.

Various detachments were ordered into the stores under able leaders in order to loot them. There were no expert safe crackers among these men, but whenever they found a safe they put enough dynamite under it to shatter it and, incidentally, a good share of the building. Further than this they destroyed many costly buildings apparently solely through revenge because they had met with armed resistance, even though it was slight.

Many of the Mexican business blocks, especially in the older part of Durango, are noted for their portales, which consist of extensions of the second story over the sidewalk, and arcades of fine masonry. Wherever these were found the rebels seemed to take delight in exploding a few sticks of dynamite at intervals along the supporting columns of the arcade and watching the overhead structure fall into the street, much as a boy would knock the underpinning from his castle of blocks and laugh in glee to see it topple over. It was not necessary to destroy these beautiful portales, as the overhead stories were first looted and any property left in them would have been pretty much destroyed in the crash.

While the rebels looted Durango because they needed funds, provisions and other necessaries to carry on their campaign, there seemed to be no necessity for doing as much damage as they did. For example, in the case of Durango's most famous cafe—whatever good silver was in it was taken away, together with table linen for bandages, stores of canned food and other property, and then the rebels deliberately dynamited the place until only the outer shell remained. This was the celebrated "Cafe la Union." The rebels did exactly the same with other buildings.

One clothing house, the "La Francia Maritima," over which the French flag was flying, was looted of its entire stock and everything else of value. The clothes were given out to the most ragged of the rebels, and then the building itself was dynamited until only the four outer walls remained.

Iron Mountain, in the outskirts of Durango, is just what its name indicates, a great mountain of iron ore. More than three thousand men were employed there, but when the rebels got through with their visit in Durango all operations were tied up because they had put the railroads out of commission. Several squads of rebels marched to the station and the freight yards, where they proceeded to burn all the cars in sight; hundreds of them, mostly freight cars. The steel cars were taken by the rebels to use as traveling forts, but the wooden cars were burned on the tracks. Altogether in Durango and its vicinity $500,000 worth of rolling stock was destroyed.

The rebels got many recruits, for since they had destroyed the railroad and put a stop to mining operations many of the miners had to join the army or starve.

Durango's fate was the fate of many other cities and towns throughout that portion of Mexico over which the rebels advanced.

"On many occasions," declared a New York man, who has owned and operated a silver mine not far from Durango for ten years, "rebel leaders have come to me and to other Americans either in mining or other business in that vicinity and demanded loans. There was nothing else to do except fork over. While refusal might not have meant death on the spot, any one stubborn enough to disregard this command was pretty certain to meet with serious so-called accidents a little later that might even result fatally. Of course these levies are always declared to be loans and we were given receipts or so-called notes for same, which were never worth the price of the ink used in the signature."

Even if peace were declared in Mexico to-day, it would take several years and probably longer for Durango to regain her former prosperity. They do not rebuild in Mexico with the energy and rapidity of the United States. The same thing is true of the other cities laid waste by the rebels.—New York "Sun."

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## COLONEL HARVEY HAS HIS DOUBTS.

We said the President's policy had failed. What was that policy? It was set forth clearly in the conditions prescribed by Mr. Wilson and made known to Huerta by Mr. John Lind, to wit: (a) to cease fighting; (b) to give security for an early and free election; (c) Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate; and (d) all parties to agree to abide by the result. This virtual ultimatum was delivered in August. * * *

No doubt the President gave the subject his best thought and study, as he should have done, but the outcome remains the same. The fact is, as we pointed out and as Dr. Theodore S. Woolsey, Professor Emeritus of International Law in Yale University, states more bluntly, the Administration "started wrong" and has felt obliged to persist in the course. "So far as the American public has been informed," Dr. Woolsey continues, "this is the sum and substance of Wilson's policy—never to recognize Huerta nor his Congress—and for the reason that Huerta is so bad a man. Meanwhile, the Administration, upheld by its good intentions, optimistic that Huerta, under the weight of disapproval, will climb down from his high horse, is exposing itself to the derision of an uncharitable world * * *. Our policy should be to strengthen somebody in Mexico, not to weaken everybody; to build up, not to pull down. In refusing ever to recognize Huerta, the Administration has violated our usage and the dictates of common sense. Is it honest enough and strong enough to correct its blunder? There is an obstinacy of strength; there is also an obstinacy of weakness."

These are the vigorous words from our highest authority. * * *

This fetches us to the question now on everybody's lips! After Huerta, what? Or should we say, with Because such a thing as free government by the expressed will and consent of the people of Mexico to-day is simply inconceivable. Nobody understands this better than Mr. Wilson himself. Nobody has expressed the fact more truly or more exactly than he did when he wrote some years ago:

"Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be 'given' the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession."

This is what the Mexican people must have—"a long apprenticeship of obedience" to law and order. And some one, backed up by the United States, must enforce that obedience for a period of years. The President thinks that ultrafish leaders may spring up out of the ground—men who "prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions. Maybe so, but we doubt it. * * *—Colonel George Harvey, in "North American Review."

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## THE MEXICAN PROGRESSIVE.

According to recent news items, Francisco Villa, born criminal and one-time highway robber of the Mexican State of Zacatecas, is now preparing to "establish a bank" in some place in the United States.

This professional bandit has prospered considerably since he has lent his valuable services to Mr. Bryan's State Department in the capacity of defender of the Mexican Constitution in Chihuahua. His recent feats of arms and his efficacious disposal of prisoners have brought him political and social recognition on this side of the border, and he was even banqueted by American admirers in El Paso, Texas, and as a consequence his ideals have been extended. In former times he was quite satisfied with simple brigandage; now he aspires to be a bandit in the country and be acclaimed as a "liberator" in the towns and to enjoy the opportunity to choose his personal victims from a higher society.

In the files of the highest court of the State of Zacatecas it is recorded that on one occasion Pancho Villa disguised himself with a bridal veil in order to rob and murder a rich Spanish merchant, and as this trick succeeded so well he repeated it quite often. Even today we find him hiding under the bridal veil of "constitutionalists" and eagerly sought by the ardent suitors of the Democratic Administration in Washington. To their eyes he is no longer the savage bandit, but a firm friend of a "constitution;" in fact, one of those grand leaders "who put the liberty of their fellow-citizens above their personal ambitions," described in a recent Presidential utterance.

Pancho Villa, imbued with the prevalent spirit of idealism now so general, has become a "forward-looking" bandit who wants to make his chosen profession efficient, so he decides to enlarge his field and become a banker. Soon we may see installed in some American city —say New Orleans or San Antonio, Texas—new, spacious and well-appointed offices bearing the simple legend "Frank Villa, banker," where this most estimable gentleman will lend his plundered hoard to a moral public. And perhaps when he can spare the time he may make a little trip to Washington in order to shake hands with the uplifters there, who, like himself, have discovered the financial possibilities of democracy and the Constitution.

Perhaps later on in recognition of his valuable services he might secure a booking on the premier Chautauqua circuit. Democracy is a great thing, Mr. Villa.—C. U. Mesta in the Baltimore "Evening Sun."

## ANOTHER SCHOLAR.

Gen. Francisco Villa has seen a new light. For the first time in his career he has put his faith in a book. Hitherto he has despised persons who have played the war game according to book rules. Like many golfers and billiard players, he has insisted that his game can be learned only in actual practice; a book later has seemed as contemptible to him as a correspondence school warrior. But Fate, with the assistance of some of the United States soldiers at Presidio, has placed in his hands a copy of "The Ethics of International Warfare," and it has aroused civilized sentiments in his hitherto savage breast. Hereafter, Gen. Villa promises, he will not have captured officers shot down unless some excuse can be found for the shooting. In his new mood Villa bursts into poetry of the Walt Whitman brand:

"My alphabet has been the sight and trigger of my rifle,
My books have been the movements of the enemy."

He declares, moreover, that he will never be President of Mexico, thus indicating that his ambition is less aspiring than that of his friend and fellow-revolutionist, Emiliano Zapata, who proposes to make himself President and drive all the foreigners out of Mexico, tear up the railroad tracks, and turn back the hands of the clock to the era of bridle paths and pack mules.

Villa, however, is rather more in the public eye than Zapata, who seems to have no sort of constructive ability. Villa's advance guard is now as far south as Escalon, which is very near the southern boundary of Chihuahua and too near Torreon for the comfort of the much-afflicted inhabitants of that once thriving manufacturing center. But another battle is not imminent, and Villa's unexpected confidences touching his change of heart indicate a desire to correct the evil impression of his character which has gone abroad rather than an intention to reopen hostilities at an early date.—New York "Times."

## THE VILLA AND ZAPATA PUBLICITY BUREAUS.

General Francisco ("Pancho") Villa, the victor of Juarez and Chihuahua, is surprising his critics by wearing a new olive green suit and giving out interviews in good English and sonorous Spanish. He has acquired a tailor and a press agent, as befits his fame and dignity. There is nothing astonishing in the transformation. Even Emiliano Zapata, who had a worse reputation than the outlawed Villa and looks it, employs a literary bureau, and one is conducted in his interests.

At Dallas, Tex., any one may buy (price five cents) the "Emiliano Zapata," described as "the Paladin de la Revolucion Agraria Mexicana," and published in Spanish and English three times a week, Jesus Mora Aguirre "responsible editor." Five thousand copies are printed for distribution "all over America and Europe." The object of this personal organ is to sound the death knell of feudalism in Mexico and restore the great estates to the people. It is aggressively, incoherently radical, but contains no signed articles by the chief of the agrarian revolution. If he is responsible for its fulminations General Carranza may abandon hope of ever placating him, for the "Emiliano Zapata," which has no

kind words for the ill starred Madero, associating him with Huerta as a tool of the rich, declares that they "support and personally aid Carranza, of whom they expect another iron hand which will permit them to continue exploiting the poor."

General Villa's loyalty to the leader of the revolution in the north has been under suspicion since the occupation of Chihuahua by the insurgents. Villa assumed so many purely civilian functions and Carranza has been so mute and inconspicuous that want of harmony between them seemed to be a warrantable conclusion. But at last General Villa has spoken. He says that he knows his limitations, and as a fighting man, not a diplomatist, he has "no aims or ambitions to become the ruler of Mexico"; accordingly he swears allegiance to the constitutional cause "and to General Carranza as its recognized head."

This is reassuring in that it sounds well, and it is to be said in the ex-outlaw's favor that he was faithful to Madero in days when obscurity and poverty were Villa's portion. He is now hailed as the strategist of the revolution and has displayed unsuspected executive talents. Whatever may be said of his past, Francisco Villa is something more than the brute force his enemies would have the world believe he is. Crude, uncouth and illiterate, he has won the opportunity to set up for himself as a leader brooking no rival. If he resists the temptation he will be a remarkable Mexican; in fact, quite a historic character, assuming the success of the Constitutional cause.—New York "Sun."

## MICAWBER.

The Wilson-Micawber policy of watching and waiting * * * has been endured long enough. Congress should end it by substituting a man's policy, an American policy, that will give Mexico a chance to restore peace and order. This may be done by a joint resolution recognizing the Provisional Presidency of Huerta and calling for all the papers relating to the arbitrary attempt to force the Mexican people to submit to the bandits.

President Huerta has up his sleeve a card that will trump the Wilson waiting and watching trick. Last week I foreshadowed the dangers that would arise from our armed intervention. But suppose that Huerta, tired of being grossly insulted and of the aid and encouragement openly given to the insurrectos, should refuse to await our intervention and boldly declare war against the United States, with the slogan, "On to Washington"? Absurd, you say? The Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff, whose duty is to keep fully informed upon military matters, do not agree with you. They tell you frankly, as they have told the House Military Committee, that "If you sent our troops into war as they are now, without guns or ammunition, it would be absolute slaughter. If called to fight suddenly we should have a very small allowance of ammunition, even for the guns in the hands of the troops, and we should have neither guns nor ammunition enough for our field artillery."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

What is the use of shutting your eyes to such official facts? I know, of course, that one unarmed American soldier can whip a thousand Mexicans armed to the teeth, but this is in dime novels and moving pictures. Perhaps all the Mexican people would rally to Huerta's standard if he offered to lead them to Washington; perhaps, and probably, the Villas would prefer rapine and rape at home. But such an uprising would not be necessary, and neither would a serious attempt to capture Washington. The mere declaration of war would suffice to bring all Europe, South America and Japan into the quarrel. Thanks to the Bryan diplomacy, we have not a single friend, except Russia. At first there would be a pretense of neutrality, but when the commercial and industrial interests of Europe were disturbed and the temptation to cripple this arrogant Republic was presented, could we face the whole world with "neither guns nor ammunition"? Let Congressmen consider the situation and act promptly. This—or intervention!—"Town Topics."

## UNDER OATH.

Testifying under oath on September 9, 1912, Lawrence F. Converse, an officer in Madero's party, and one of his closest friends, said:

"Mr. Madero stated to me several times, as also did his other trusted officers, that Standard Oil Company was back of them. He told me that several times for a positive fact.

"Mr. Madero told me, as did his provisional Secretary of State, Braulio Hernandez, that the Standard Oil Company interests had bought bonds of the provisional Government of Mexico (Madero's bonds to finance the revolution).

"They (the Standard Oil people) were to have a high rate of interest, and there was a tentative agreement as to an oil concession in the Southern States of Mexico.

"The three men, Abraham Gonzales (Madero's Governor of Chihuahua), Hernandez and Madero himself said that Standard Oil would back them to the last ditch. I remember that expression for the reason that these gentlemen spoke broken English and they delighted in using such foreign expressions as that."

The above evidence is available in the State Department, and I believe is on file there, so I am unable to understand why they give out that they have no such evidence.

It was taken before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. There is much other corroborative evidence to the same effect. S. G. Hopkins, as Washington attorney, who from October, 1910, down to date has been legal adviser to the Maderos and their successors, the present so-called constitutional leaders, and who during at least a part of that time was counsel to H. Clay Pierce, president of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, testified before the same committee that the Standard Oil Company owned a controlling interest in the Waters-Pierce Company when the Madero revolution broke out and that Pierce was fighting Lord Cowdray, who had oil concessions unfavorable to the Standard Oil.

There is an empire of oil in Mexico. For several years I have seen a very bitter fight over the sale of kerosene in Mexico between the Pierce Company and the English company of Lord Cowdray. They alone are doing the fighting, for the Standard Oil, through the Doheny Company, owns more oil land and has a larger investment in Mexico than both of these companies put together. If it didn't own one side or the other, the Standard would surely be in that fight.

Naturally, Standard Oil covers its tracks, but I venture to suggest that when American oil interests get what they want in Mexico the supply of ammunition to the Constitutionalist bandits will be cut off and the so-called revolution will die out.

The United States can stop the furnishing of ammunition to the bandits any day the administration wants to.—Major Cassius E. Gillette, U. S. A., in the Philadelphia "Evening Bulletin."

## SAYS U. S. FOMENTS REVOLT.

(Special Cable Despatch to the New York "Sun.")

Paris, Feb. 1.—The writer of the weekly financial article in "Le Temps" is very much irritated against the United States this week. He says only one definite thing stands out from the Mexican imbroglio, and that is the equivocal role of the United States, or rather of President Wilson. Europe, the writer says, is surprised that this high, upright magistrate, who is so severe on the great trusts, allows himself to be dominated by the Standard Oil Company.

The article continues: "Granted that the Monroe Doctrine prevents European intervention, where does it authorize the United States to foment revolution in South and Central America which the United States pretends to protect, and that, too, for individual material interests?"

## THE MEXICAN TRAGEDY.

For the last three years I have been an observer at first and of that most appalling of modern tragedies—the Mexican situation. During these years it has been my lot to see and hear things so horrible in character that as I think back upon them it does not seem possible that they could have happened in this enlightened age and so close to our very doors without arousing a protest nation-wide in scope and of such force that it would have demanded some definite action upon the part of our government.

It has been repeatedly said that the average Mexican has no appreciation nor qualification for the right of suffrage. Elections such as we have in this country—not at our elections are conducted on an very high plane—are unknown in Mexico. Anything approaching a popular expression of the people at the polls is impossible. The election of Madero was a great a fiasco as that of Huerta. The Mexican does not vote; he is voted. This apathy toward politics is largely due to illiteracy; only about 10 per cent. of the Mexicans can read and write.

A great many people in the United States have conceived the idea that there is a great issue of principle existing between the Carranzistas (Constitutionalists) and the Federalists. An analogy has been drawn between Mexico and our own country. No one appreciates the value of this misconception better than the few shrewd individuals who are financing the Carranzista cause and the Carranzista representatives in Washington. Nor am I prepared to say that all

(Continued on next page.)

of the followers of Carranza are hypocrites. It does seem that I have met some who were genuinely sincere in their ambition to better the conditions in Mexico. They were high class, cultured men who were staking their all in this struggle. On the other hand, the best men that I know in Mexico are all Federalists. Men upon whom Mexico depends for its prosperity and existence as a sovereign state are Federalists. And I am sure that no one appreciates this more than Mr. John Lind. At least 90 per cent. of the educated and intelligent Mexicans, and more than that percentage of the better foreign population, if not fully in accord and sympathy with the manner in which Huerta came into power, at least recognized him as the man of the hour and the one most capable of bringing order out of the chaos which existed. And all are strong in the belief that had he been recognized conditions would be normal and prosperous in Mexico today.

I want to explain why Carranza has a following. Any man with the necessary means can start a revolution in Mexico. That Carranza is being financed from the outside is beyond a question of a doubt. In Mexico they say that the Standard Oil supplies him with the money. But as the Standard Oil is accused of everything this indictment stands for little. The fact remains that Carranza is getting all the money he needs, and from the United States. Carranza is a patriot to the extent that he wants to be President of Mexico. If Huerta is not acceptable to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Wilson, surely Carranza and Villa should be less so. One is just as good and no better than the other. If Carranza should succeed it will mean another revolution at once. If Carranza succeeds thousands of the best and most cultured Mexicans will become exiles.

Where will it all end? Even now Carranza is losing prestige among the renegade Mexicans which composed his following, and Villa, the outlaw, the bandit, is gaining the ascendancy.

Surely the United States will not recognize Villa in preference to Huerta. After committing itself to the colossal error of non-recognition of Huerta, of doing everything in its power to weaken and handicap him to the extent of juggling and interpreting international law as best suited its purpose, the administration now finds itself confronted with greater difficulties than ever before. It has made of Mexico a permanent and bitter enemy. Intervention in one form or another is nearer to-day than ever before. And let no man make the mistake in thinking when intervention comes, as it must come, that the Mexicans will not fight. As to their fighting qualities, be not deceived, either, in the thought that one American can whip ten Mexicans. They are the most indifferent people to death and danger on this continent.

After having said all of this, have I a remedy to offer? Yes; here it is. While it is late, it is not too late to remedy the error. Acknowledge the mistake. Even Mr. Bryan and Mr. Wilson should not profess to be infallible. Recognize Huerta! Then what? Just this: Declare martial law in a zone ten miles wide along the Mexican boundary and tell our soldiers to stop the smuggling, and it will stop. This done, the Carranzista cause or any revolution will not endure a week, Peace will come to Mexico and conditions will become normal.

J. D. B.

Laredo, Tex., Jan. 14, 1914.

### VILLA, MEXICO'S CAESAR.

Villa, in the latest interview had with him, makes humble confession that he is without ambition to rule the destinies of Mexico. He prefers to spotlight as the unaffected patriot, fighting for his country and with a single-eyed devotion to Carranza. With the dictatorship linked with his name as possible successor to the federal Huerta, he renounces any such prospects in advance and prefers to be the unambitious Caesar of his land, with the difference that what Villa renounces is not a crown and is something he probably never would have a chance actually to discard.

Habilitated in his first custom-made uniform and seeking habilitation in the good esteem of this country, he wonders why he should have the reputation that has been given him in the United States. He states that in case of taking Torreon and Mexico City there would only be a court-martialing of the heads of the government and of the army. How many heads this would make in the total is another question.—Baltimore "American."

### THE PRESS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

If we understand President Wilson's latest objection to criticism, it is that newspaper comments on our foreign policy often give foreign nations incorrect and hurtful impressions, which it is difficult for our diplomats to explain away.

It may be noted that the Wilson selection of diplomats also often gives foreign nations incorrect and hurtful impressions which it is most difficult for our patriotic press to explain away. But perhaps this is one of those comments which the President so deprecates.

Of course, the President is fundamentally wrong in this matter. Public interest in his foreign policy is the more keen because of the general public conviction that the State Department portfolio is the weakest point in his Cabinet. If any one thing had been settled by the State Department since the incoming of this Administration there would be less newspaper scrutiny of its present work. But the gradual accumulation there of unfinished business has given it an unusual news importance.

Instead of deploring the pertinacity of the press, the President should applaud the papers for trying to get the Secretary of State to attend to business.—New York "American."

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: This is too much. It is press-agenting run wild. They have trotted out that unspeakable Villa in an olive-tinted khaki uniform and pictured him reading a little book, procured from United States Army officers, called "The Ethics of International Warfare!" Whereupon Villa is made to announce that hereafter civilized warfare would be "adopted by the rebels!" Of course the book idea was intended to impress our scholarly President, although we are not told who the author of the quaint volume is, or that Villa cannot read a word in Spanish, let alone English. In publishing such truck do the newspapers really do it for the fun of the thing or do they believe the people are consummate fools?

Yours very truly,

New York, N. Y., Jan. 31, 1914. F. G.

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## THE REAL SUFFERERS.

Dr. Frank Crane writes in the New York "Globe":

It would help a great deal toward clear thinking if we would remember that there is a difference between a nation and the people who compose a nation.

A nation is an artificial affair. It is a device. It corresponds to a business company or a social club. It has no rights other than those drawn from its population.

In Mexico one captain or another does not interest us. But we cannot stand and ought not to endure that outrage, barbarous cruelty, rapine, murder, and pillage take place in a country at our doorstep. It is the people who are getting the worst of it.

While we should not rush into war at the first call of indignation, while it is right to give a neighbor nation full time and opportunity to attend to its own troubles, the sentiment is rapidly crystallizing in the United States that by and by, if the chaos of inhumanity continues, we will owe it to the people of Mexico to interfere sufficiently to insure to them some government that will mean law and order, justice, and the conditions of civilization.

It is the people of Mexico who are getting the worst of it, and that is the tragedy which is constantly lost sight of in the Mexican situation.

There is a government in Mexico, which whatever else may be said about it, really stands for law and order and the protection of life and property.

Instead of giving that government the moral support of the United States, the Washington Administration has done all in its power outside of actual warfare to overthrow that government.

Because of a theoretical conception of what government in Mexico should be.

Which hostile attitude has given power to the forces of "outrage, barbarous cruelty, rapine, murder and pillage," to down which Dr. Crane naively suggests more strenuous United States interference.

He says further: "It is sometimes necessary to wrong a nation technically in order to help a people actually."

But we are wronging a people actually in order to help a nation technically.

Surely Dr. Crane can see this. Surely any fair-minded observer cannot help seeing that this is the actual situation as regards Mexico, however it may be clouded with technical issues.

It is the PEOPLE of Mexico who are getting the worst of it.

## SECRECY AND INTRIGUE.

The New York "World" is an abject supporter of anything and everything Wilsonian. But even the "World" resented editorially the Administration's suggestion that the press should not discuss speculatively the foreign policies of the Government. This is what the "World" had to say on the matter of press-muzzling:

When the President expresses the hope that American newspapers will not speculate about foreign relations, does he mean that they are to express no opinions about foreign policies of the Government, or that they are to suppress all news that has a bearing upon such policies?

Must they refrain from publishing the fact that California Congressmen are demanding the exclusion of Japanese labor? Or that Hobson on the floor of the House of Representatives predicts a war with Japan within a year? Or that naval officers are clamoring for four new battleships? Or that Congress has violated the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to subsidize the coastwise shipping monopoly? Or that Colombia's claims against the United States for the forcible seizure of the Canal Zone are still unsatisfied? Or that there is no longer a commercial treaty with Russia? Or that the United States Senate long refused to ratify the arbitration treaties?

Foreign policies are no more sacred than domestic policies. In the long run they are much less important, and we do not quite see how discussion is to be prevented. Indeed, such discussion is highly necessary, except in Russia, where the people are supposed to have no concern whatever with the doings of their Government.

It is undoubtedly true that newspaper discussion of foreign policies is sometimes embarrassing, particularly when it is based on false information; yet the injury done to international relations by such discussion is small in comparison with the injury done by vain, meddlesome and ambitious diplomacy. Most international misunderstandings are brought about by blundering diplomatists. Most wars are brought about by diplomatic and political intrigue. As a historian the President is doubtless well aware of this fact.

If the President is well aware of the fact, then the "vain, meddlesome and ambitious diplomacy" which has muddled our relations with Mexico and encouraged conditions that may lead to war, is inexplicable.

Continuing, the "World" has the audacity to make the following statement:

The President in his Mexican policy has had an illuminating example of the value of openness and frankness in dealing with foreign relations. He took the country into his confidence, and as a result practically every newspaper of importance in the United States is holding up his hands. If he will take the country into his confidence in respect to his other foreign policies, he can reasonably expect an equal measure of support.

Openness and frankness in the Mexican policy! Great Scott! The President himself would not claim that he has been open and frank about anything save his opposition to President Huerta, which personal opposition has accomplished nothing of good for either Mexico or the United States and much of harm for both countries. The "World" concludes:

Of all the myths of government the most ridiculous myth is that of diplomacy—the notion that international relations must be conducted in hide-and-seek behind closed doors lest each side might miss an opportunity to cheat the other. There is nothing in it. The more nations know about the purposes of one another—provided their purposes are honest—the less room there is for suspicion and misunderstanding, which are ever twin causes of strife. Let the President remember that publicity, not secrecy, is the great friend of peace, and that in a free country the people have always a right to know about the international agreements to which their Government seeks to commit them.

Very, very true. Let us have more publicity as to the Administration's purposes as regards Mexico. Let us brush away the atmosphere of secrecy and intrigue.

## THE NEW FREEDOM.

Why the Bandit Villa is Elated.

As long as your shibboleth is "constitutional liberty" you may murder, loot and rape to your heart's content.

But don't forget the shibboleth.

* * *

No longer is it hands across the sea. It's arms across the border.

* * *

The mask has been taken off, anyhow, and the moralists are shown in their true colors.

* * *

Allies of Villa or Zapata or anybody who will help them to "get Huerta."

* * *

"Get Huerta"—that's all it means in the final analysis.

* * *

Isn't that a beautiful, ennobling spirit in which to handle a most delicate international problem?

* * *

They talk of the Constitution, but their acts are Prostitution.

* * *

The best proof of the Administration's awful Mexican blunder would come if Carranza and Villa should ever reach Mexico City.

* * *

The present state of Mexico would be heaven in comparison with what it would be then.

* * *

And another revolution would be only a matter of months.

* * *

All thinking Mexicans know this.

* * *

Which is why they see in the policy of the United States a deliberate attempt to destroy their country.

* * *

And why they will support Huerta against anarchy on the one hand and United States spoliation on the other.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# The Destroyers

The civilized world is still watchfully waiting for the slightest indication that the Administration has any constructive Mexican policy. So far the Washington policy as disclosed has been one of negation and destruction. It has sought to tear down rather than to build up. Perhaps the policy has been based on a sincere belief that the destruction of Mexican nationality by United States interference from without and fostered rebellion from within will in the end somehow be a good thing for Mexico. There really are minds that can view human woe and national suffering in so cold and impersonal a manner.

But Mexico and the rest of the world vitally concerned in Mexican conditions cannot be expected to acquiesce supinely in the personal belief or theory of any one man, no matter how powerful. And the people of the United States, as they realize the situation, cannot be expected to follow blindly a course of action that gets them nothing and gets them nowhere, at the expense of their friendly relations with the rest of the world.

Naturally, then, there is a universal impatience in the watchful waiting for an announcement of the Administration's constructive plans.

There is a grave doubt whether the Administration has any such plans. Apart from a purely destructive campaign leveled at President Huerta, there has been no evidence of any plans for the future whatever.

It has been suggested, however, by the Administration's apologists that its attitude toward President Huerta was justified as a constructive measure to discourage revolutions not only in Mexico but in all Latin America. But the Administration is morally supporting the present revolution in Mexico and there has been a recent outbreak of revolutions in five other Latin-American countries! So much for that apology.

Other apologists have suggested that the constructive feature of the Administration's Mexican policy is the gradual extension of the sphere of American influence over the countries from the Rio Grande to the Panama Canal, without resort to arms. If such is the Administration's purpose, its course toward Mexico has done more to alienate those countries and make them resent and repel American influence than would their conquest by American arms. There is no building up in that direction. On the contrary, we are destroying the work of a generation of earnest, far-seeing men who have promoted Pan-American friendship.

It has also been said for the Administration that it is seeking to construct "constitutional government" in Mexico and that this justifies its effort to destroy the present Government. Apart from any discussion as to the constitutionality of the present Mexican Government, apart from the truism that Mexico as well as every other country in the world, including the United States, must have and will have that form of government that is most workable and adapted to its needs—does the Administration see no other way of promoting the cause of constitutional government except through the encouragement of armed rebellion? If those who are opposing the Mexican Government are actuated only by motives of political freedom, is there no other way to get it than by burning railroads, robbing, murdering, looting and raping? If the Administration disinterestedly wants to see a certain kind of government in Mexico, is it necessary to work through such forces? Has it exhausted the possibilities of counsel, advice, reason, study and conciliation? Has it made the slightest effort to use these methods of civilization? No, it has simply truculently sat on its hind legs and bawled out that "Huerta must go," and gone to unbelievable extremities of uncompromising antagonism.

The remaining alleged constructive feature of the Administration's Mexican policy is the exertion of pressure against the granting of concessions to foreign interests by the Mexican and other Latin-American governments. The only excuse for calling this constructive is that to carry it to its logical conclusion we should have to administer Mexico and those other countries according to our own sweet will, that we should take over their economic and financial problems, that we should maintain this grand and noble attitude against not only the people of those countries but against the combined armies and navies of all the powers of Europe and Asia! Yes, that is constructive. So is building a tower to reach the moon.

It is possible that all of these alleged constructive features are vaguely and nebulously at the back of the minds of those who are shaping our Mexican policy. But their very vagueness and nebulosity, their impractical, dream-like haziness preclude their discussion in any sensible interchange of ideas as to the future of Mexico. The European diplomatic representatives have been fed on this kind of pap for months past. The people of this country have to a great extent allowed themselves to be lulled to sleep under the spell of beautiful but meaningless phrases.

But the question is daily becoming more insistent: "If you do not want Huerta as President of Mexico, what in the name of common sense do you want?

"Do you want Carranza? They'd say in Mexico that he was a Yankee-made President and he would be lucky to last a month.

"Do you want Villa? Well, God help Mexico.

"Do you want Zapata? He says he'll tear up all the railroads and send every foreigner out of Mexico.

"Do you want any of a score or more of other rebel and bandit leaders, every one of whom is no better nor worse than Villa and Zapata?

"Or do you just want to save your face somehow, and you don't care how, no matter what the results are for Mexico, the Mexican people or the destiny of the United States?"

In the absence of any indication to the contrary in word or action the world, with every desire to credit the Administration with the highest motives, will be forced to conclude that the answer is "Yes" to the last question.

# AFTER ONE YEAR

If Provisional President Huerta, when he accepted the job of pacifying Mexico, planned to entrench himself in power for an indefinite time he could have contemplated no better assistance to that end than that which has been given him by the Washington Administration. If he was ambitious to prove to Mexico and to the world that he and he alone could and should hold the reins of authority, he must daily give thanks to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan for his opportunity.

As one looks back over the eventful year since the fall of the Madero regime, no fact stands out more strikingly and ironically than this: Every attitude, every move, every action of the Washington Administration directed to the end that President Huerta "must go" has made it inevitable that Huerta must stay, whether he wanted to or not.

Perhaps in some subtle, subterranean way the Administration really wants to see General Huerta remain President of Mexico and has intended all along to strengthen his hands. How else can one explain the anomalous situation? Surely it cannot be said that the Administration was ignorant of the effect its policy would have.

We do not profess to know whether President Huerta likes his job or not. It is not impossible that he may be tired of it. But if he really wants to remain President of Mexico, enjoying the consent and support of the vast majority of the Mexican people, he can—with the able assistance of the Washington Administration.

## HUERTA'S YEAR.

For a whole year and in the face of violent opposition Gen. Victoriano Huerta has held the Dictatorship of Mexico, and nothing beyond the low state of the governmental finances justifies the present belief that his power is waning. That a majority of the intelligent people of Mexico desire a constitutional government is not to be doubted, but that there is any man in sight to whom they can confidently look as the leader of such a Government is very doubtful. Felix Diaz has turned out to be a nonentity, a mere pawn in the Huerta game; they have been disappointed in de la Barra and Lascurain, and they distrust the remnant of the Cientificos. About Villa they can have no illusions.

As a military commander Huerta served Porfirio Diaz loyally in the later years of his rule, and he transferred his service to Madero when that unhappy leader became President. When Orozco rebelled, Huerta pursued him as far as Bachimba in Chihuahua, and seemingly crushed his rebellion, which, according to popularly accepted reports, had been financed by the bank of Terrazas, an adherent of Diaz. Anyhow, Orozco retired from the field. At the very moment of his victory, however, Huerta was recalled to the capital by Madero, and was then after [illegible] service. When the uprising in the capital under Felix Diaz was [illegible] and Huerta assumed power Orozco emerged from retirement and offered the service of the Provisional President.

A review of the incidents of the last two years in the disturbed republic indicates that a strong and shrewd mind was in action long before the overthrow and the establishment of the Dictatorship. By attributing forethought and steadfastness of purpose to Huerta we are certainly not belittling his character. The country was in a state of turmoil long before he asserted himself. Every step he has taken has tended to increase the measure of his personal authority. He has lacked the men and the money to suppress rebellion remote from the capital, but in spite of armed resistance north and south, he has held the Federal District and the seeming allegiance of the people in all the important cities. For a whole year he has maintained a rule which was not expected to last more than a few months, and has met all opposition with audacity, tact and remarkable self-control.

That he is an extraordinary man, who has had few equals in ability in the whole history of Mexican leadership, the world must recognize. His bed is not made of roses, the outlook for him is not bright, and that he possesses qualities which would be useful in a period of peace and commercial and industrial prosperity may fairly be doubted, but it is certain that the whole character of Don Victoriano will not be comprehended until the last chapter of his history is completed.—New York "Times."

## THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY.

(By cable to the New York "Tribune.")

Mexico City, Feb. 8.—To-morrow is the first anniversary of the beginning of the military uprising headed by Felix Diaz, Bernardo Reyes and Manuel Mondragon, which ended ten days later in the overthrow of the Madero Government. The experience of the last year ought, it is thought by many, to be a lesson to Mexicans for the future, teaching them that the overthrow of constituted government by violence is no joking matter and is likely to bring all sorts of evil in its train.

It is generally agreed that now it is necessary to make the best of things as they are and to turn all efforts toward the restoration of peace and the country's rehabilitation. A majority of the people of this section fail to see how the attainment of that object would be aided by the retirement of General Huerta. Lifting the arms embargo by the United States has increased Huerta's popularity in this part of Mexico and generally throughout the country, except in the states wholly or partly controlled by the rebels.

Conversely, the disfavor with which General Carranza is regarded has been intensified. Impartial observers here declare that Carranza would be an impossibility were he to triumph as the result of Washington's recent decision enabling the rebels to procure munitions of war unrestrictedly in the United States. He would, they say, be regarded as the protege of Americans and as a sort of Gringo President. It is thought doubtful that he could govern in peace for a single week.

Peace reigns in this city, despite the recurrent rumors of plots and conspiracies. The people go about their business and pleasures unmolested, and the city continues to present all the manifestations of metropolitan life of the Latin type.

## INDEED!

### Catholics Take Notice.

There is a deal of quiet talk among informed persons that the real task in Mexico rests with the American church rather than with the War or State departments. There will never be stable conditions below the Rio Grande until the people have become enlightened and educated and infused with the ideal of a free and intelligent nation.

This is slow work. It will take at least a generation. The only agency now in sight for imparting the necessary training is the missionary and educational propaganda of the American Protestant churches. All of the denominations that work in Mexico at the present time maintain schools for training in secular education as well as for religious instruction. That this is no longer to be carried on in hit or miss style, but according to one coordinated plan, with a central cooperative direction, means more for Mexico than many of the battles fought.

Missionary leaders declare that only the concerted action of all of them can arouse the American churches to the needs of Mexico. And only combined effort could economically administer the work that must quickly be done.—Religious news of the New York "Evening Sun."

## EITHER WAY.

Herald Bureau, No. 1,502 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., Monday.

The question of recognizing two revolution-made governments in Latin America, came before Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, to-day. Cable despatches from the American Ministers at Lima and Port au Prince informed the State Department of the establishment of governments in Peru and Hayti.

Both appear to be prototypes of the Huerta government in Mexico, except that the Presidents who were driven from office have not been harmed. But both are the direct results of "the appeal to arms," which President Wilson has declared must cease in Latin America.

The indications are, however, that the United States will recognize both governments if it possibly can do so without leaving President Wilson open to too severe arraignment in Latin America for abandoning the positive stand he has taken against revolution-made governments. The Administration appears to be desirous of avoiding another Mexican situation, and that probably would be the result of non-recognition.

If the Administration recognizes the new revolutionary governments of Peru and Hayti, it will be a confession that the theory on which it refused to recognize the government of Mexico is impracticable, and if thereafter it still continues not to recognize the Mexican Government it will lay itself open to a charge of maintaining a deliberately destructive Mexican policy against the dictates of experience and humanity.

(Continued on next page.)

If the Administration, to be consistent, takes the same attitude toward the new governments of Hayti and Peru (and possibly Venezuela) as that it holds toward Mexico, our Government will simply find itself more and more estranged from all Latin America at a time when we are seeking closer relations.

And this is the kind of foreign policy it is intimated that none should criticize!

## HOW HISTORY IS WRITTEN.

The author of an article in "World's Work" states erroneously that "Carranza went to Mexico City as Senator from Coahuila and remained there ten or fifteen years, despite his independence of the Diaz political machine.

"Instead of becoming subservient Senator Carranza undertook to smash the Diaz ring. Carranza ran for the governorship himself against the Diaz-Reyes candidate."

While this statement neither adds nor detracts from Carranza's character, viewed in the light of recent events, yet it is important to point out its falseness because this shows how history is recorded even in a magazine like "World's Work."

Any one that knows anything about the Diaz regime knows that no senator could endure ten or fifteen years in office unless he was subservient to the Diaz political machinery.

When Carranza first accepted a candidacy as Governor of Coahuila, a place which he had coveted for many years, he did so at the instance of General Diaz, who feared the influence of General Reyes in the Coahuila elections.

Shortly before these took place, however, General Diaz requested Carranza to give up the race and Carranza who, whatever his faults may be, is a man of character, refused to be an easy tool in Diaz's hands.

He ran for governor and ran with the support of General Reyes, not against the Diaz-Reyes candidate as affirms the writer, evidently profoundly ignorant of Mexican politics.

Carranza was a Reyista and became a Maderista only after General Reyes had lost his prestige and the success of the Madero revolution became assured.

Thus to say that Carranza was the father of the Madero revolution is contrary to the truth.

Carranza is represented in this sketch as a total abstainer from liquor and tobacco. Whether this is true or not the statement is evidently made to appeal to a portion of the American people. Some of the greatest scoundrels on earth have been abstainers from liquor and tobacco, while some of the greatest men that this country has produced were men—like General Grant—who were not famous for being abstainers.

# The FLUSTERED "WORLD"

The New York "World," with characteristic maliciousness, takes occasion to criticize those newspapers which have accepted President Huerta's invitation to their correspondents to come to Mexico and report truthfully the conditions they see. The "World," which, since the death of Joseph Pultizer, has shown in its editorial policy the pettiness and pettifogging manners of a shyster lawyer, has this to say:

### Will Hurt U. S. Policy.

It is unfortunate that the American papers that have swallowed Huerta's bait seemingly do not understand to what extent they are aiding in making President Wilson's solution of the Mexican problem more difficult. Huerta has maintained, and still believes, that the press and a majority of the American public are with him against Mr. Wilson. This notion is carefully kept alive by his parasites among certain injudicious Americans, both in and out of Mexico, who are desirous of obtaining his favor for private gain. Every news article and editorial which favors Huerta and criticizes Mr. Wilson in the slightest degree is reproduced on the front page of the official Government organ.

So far as the correspondents who are coming here at Huerta's expense are concerned, it is unlikely that they will be successful in gaining any further insight behind the scenes of Government, either in its administrative or military functions, than the correspondents who have been on the ground for months.

Even Capt. William A. Burnside, United States Military Attache here, who has been trying for nearly two years to follow the Federal military operations, has not succeeded. His search for a battle worthy of being classed as more than a skirmish also has been vain.

If what Huerta believes about the American press and public is untrue, why should either the Administration or the "World" worry about it? It isn't Huerta's notion in this respect that the "World" is so concerned about, but the obvious fact that the number of those who believe that the Administration's policy toward the Mexican Government is wrong is growing daily.

As to the slur cast on "parasites among certain injudicious Americans, both in and out of Mexico, who are desirous of obtaining favor for private gain," it seems to be absolutely inconceivable to that small shyster mind that anybody would have the courage and hardihood to tell the truth except for a price. The "World" is entirely too self-conscious. As to parasitism, it has been remarked that there is no counterpart in modern journalism for the "World's" slavish, blind and slobbering support of anything and everything Wilsonian, or its picayune, petulant peckings at every tendency that threatens to knock down the Wilson-"World" house of cards.

"Every news article and editorial which favors Huerta and criticizes Mr. Wilson in the slightest degree is reproduced on the front page of the official Government organ." In the first place, there is no official Government organ except "Diario Official," a small daily bulletin of government orders and decrees and nothing else. The "World" probably refers to the Mexico City newspapers, which in this country are invariably referred to as Government organs when it is necessary to quote anything from them favorable to the Government and as "the only independent newspaper in Mexico City" whenever they contain anything that might be construed here as against the Government. If all these papers devoted their first pages daily to editorials and news items from American papers favorable to Huerta and criticizing President Wilson, they wouldn't have room for anything else. Why, MEXICO publishes weekly many pages of editorial criticism of the Administration's Mexican policy and it doesn't pretend to reproduce one-tenth of it. We haven't got enough space.

Captain Burnside's search for a battle worthy of being classed as more than a skirmish is pathetic, but true. But how is it, then, that the "World" and other yellow journals have for the last year been regaling the American public from day to day with battle news that would lead anybody to think that Mexico was a shambles and the country in the throes of an organized and formidable civil war?

Carefully, carefully, "World." In your petulance you may some day let the cat out of the bag.

## A WORRIED AND CARELESS NEIGHBOR.

These are evidently flustered days in the office of our neighbor the "World," and we have no desire to be captious in criticism.

But in printing a column of "dope" under a Mexico City date line, for the apparent purpose of implying what it must know to be untrue, it seems to us to have merited a kindly word of advice. This piece of "news" carries throughout the suggestion that the "Tribune's" special representative in Mexico is traveling at General Huerta's expense. The direct contrary is the truth, as the "World" must know. If there could he any doubt of the "World's" knowledge it would be removed by the careful fashion in which the "World" avoids a direct charge against this paper while making the implication to the reader unmistakable.

"Accuracy, terseness, accuracy" used some time ago to be a five-foot sign in the "World" office. When our neighbor recovers its equilibrium we suggest that the sign have some fresh paint and be restored to a place of honor.—New York "Tribune."

# Plain Words from the Border

By C. F. Z. Caracristi, Ph.D., C.E.

The lifting of the embargo on arms and munitions of war into bandit-stricken Mexico at least asserts our position squarely and openly. No longer are we operating through channels of hypocritical subterfuge. Now we are open allies of Villa, Zapata and other noted highwaymen.

It was indeed time that we should throw off the transparent mask that has been disgracing our political body corporate since the days when Madero, the Mad Mullah of Mexico, began a war of egotistic fanaticism against a friendly power from American soil.

What surprises me most is that we have not folded these leaders of brigandage to our manly breasts and suckled them with material assistance from the golden nipples of the United States Treasury Department. It seems that we are developing a marked preference for the polecat element of the human race—that is, if men like Villa and Zapata can be classed as actually human without insulting everything else that belongs to the biped type.

I presume that it makes no difference to our national pride and self-esteem that the rest of the civilized world is looking upon us with horror mingled with contempt. The old saying that if you will let the Democratic Party alone it can be depended on to do the wrong this has again proved true in our Mexican imbroglio.

Suspending the neutrality laws certainly aids the Mexican Government side of the proposition, because, as the President admits himself, the rebels were getting their only supply of arms and ammunition by smuggling it over the border, while the Government could not purchase in this country. He frankly admits that through subterfuge the rebels could not get quite enough war material; now he says, take all you can pay for and God help you in your crimes. It is probable that the Administration discovered what I have known since the embargo has been on, that certain so-called "constitutionalists"—mostly American renegades and border greasers—were smuggling arms and war equipments for both the rebels and the Government. But they could only pass it if they posed as Carrancistas, otherwise our noble officials would confiscate the goods. It was a lucrative business. Thirty thousand cartridges, worth from $18 to $20, told to either Federals or rebels and by the same people at $50 per thousand. The rebels actually sold and delivered to the Federals 41,000 special cartridges for machine guns just a few days before a certain battle on the border in which the rebels were defeated.

I am just pointing to these facts to show the state of governmental prejudice and partiality. Had the people who smuggled this ammunition been Federals they would have landed in an American jail.

But the advantage that the lifting of the embargo on war materials will give the government of Mexico is the same that the United States gained over England in the noted Alabama claims case. I wonder how many of my good countrymen, who, like myself, have interests in Mexico, know that from the day that we openly allowed the craven hordes of Carranza to outfit with munitions of war from the United States we lost all rights to receive indemnity for loss of life or property in Mexico. England discovered this to the tune of $100,000,000 in property losses during the Civil War, and afterward an international tribunal made that country pay us $30,000,000 in addition.

This bandit copartnership may be all right for those who feed on United States Government pap, but it's darned hard on us innocent Americans who have their little all staked down in dear old Mexico. No, we have not yet lost enough in Mexico, but that Mr. Wilson, a wise and great President no doubt, has to take it into that magnificent head of his to so arrange the matter that we can never be paid for our losses and invites more. "Run like hell," he says metaphorically, "and if you happen to get killed, why, old chappy, you really had no business in Mexico, don't you know! Also if you happen to be robbed of everything you have, dear me, or drop your valuables while you are running, my friends Zapata and Villa will see that the money is well spent."

Now what in the merry devil are you going to do with an insane proposition like this? Do? Why not a blessedless thing, except to grin and bear your burden; and be so glad, and then some, that you have a great and glorious Fourth of July, a Government that floats battleships in grape juice while not occupying the side-show stage with the lady snake charmer who, at least, "eats them alive," Big Willie "the ladies' man," and the mermaid chiropodist. Just think of the great blessing of being a free-born American citizen—to be robbed and murdered by bandits abroad, and these bandits tacit partners of our paternal and benevolent home government, besides being bulldozed and bullyragged by politicians at home—that is, if you amount to a "son of beans" and have opinions to boot.

And President Wilson goes a little farther than other Presidents. He advises the American press not to discuss our foreign policies, as if our thinking masses were wholly incapable of solving those problems that confront our nation even as they attempt to solve them at the polls when they send gentlemen like President Wilson to the White House. Unfortunately for our country American intellectuality does not control politics—but the politicians do; and yet, we would not personally trust but a very few of these very men to attend to our individual business.

President Wilson, when he attempted to stop the discussion of the Mexican situation except as viewed by his grossly biased and wholly misinformed viewpoint, certainly paid no compliment to the learning of the American people. I fear that the President misunderstands our people if he believes that they will tacitly accept from any ruler a self-imposed paternal attitude on any question that applies to our national welfare. There is quite a marked distinction between the possibility of gag rule over college boys and the muzzling of the press and the thinking public.

After having visited, in a professional capacity, nearly every country in the world, having learned to speak and write various languages and studied humanity at close ranges, I have about concluded that we dearly beloved citizens of "God's country," of which we boast so much, are the most gullible set of hero-worshippers and servile followers of official mandates, right or wrong, of any civilized people. If you do not believe it just read the daily papers and magazines on the Mexican situation. If you do, you will be buried under an avalanche of palpable lies. But what is more is that our Government knows them to be libelous and baseless untruths, yet it promulgates these inventions by suppressing the truth that it daily receives from its diplomatic and consular agents in all parts of Mexico.

Children can hardly have very great affection for parents who are known to habitually lie, and the subjects of a government that wilfully misleads its people on any vital public matter can hardly render that respect and support that honesty always commands.

I want to predict that within sixty days the American press will begin to expose true conditions in Mexico to the shame of the Democratic Party, and who knows what may happen at the next elections?

It is time that the truly American spirit and the public conscience should awaken to the demands of its political duties, for we shall reap through future generations the harvest of the wrongs inspired by malice or ignorance, in which we are allowing ourselves to drift.

(Continued on next page.)

A pistol-carrying frontier bully, whom Bryan's influence has placed in high Federal office, told me some weeks ago that Bryan had stated to him (he is openly helping Carranza) that if Carranza, Villa and Zapata could not win alone the United States would help them win to the extent of intervention in their favor.

The man may have been lying, but I am inclined to believe him.

---

When you see particularly virulent attacks in the newspapers directed against Sir Lionel Carden you know that the American oil interests are showing their claws.

* * *

It is reported that the British Ambassador is coming to Washington to talk with President Wilson.

* * *

We hope that he will tell him the source of the lies and calumnies concerning him and the Mexican Government.

* * *

It may surprise the Administration to find what company it is keeping in opposition to President Huerta.

* * *

The story of revolution in Mexico that Sir Lionel Carden might tell goes back to the time when Porfirio Diaz refused to do the bidding of Standard Oil.

* * *

That sealed his doom.

* * *

The Administration knows so well the ruthless methods of the American Trusts and has fought so valiantly against them, isn't it strange that it has not seen that same ruthless hand in Mexico?

* * *

A newspaper cartoon pictured the President as ripping out the canal tolls plank of the Baltimore platform.

* * *

What is a party platform when you must "get Huerta"?

* * *

Surrender to England's contention may be a point of national honor and good faith, but would the surrender have been made so willingly if it weren't for the Mexican situation?

* * *

In other words, we are paying a price so that we may continue a policy that is tying our hands right and left.

* * *

And nobody must talk about this? What is this, a democracy or an autocracy?

* * *

Gomez is still dictating in Venezuela and Cabrera in Guatemala. No objection from Washington.

* * *

Why? Ask the Asphalt Trust—and some others.

* * *

It makes a whole lot of difference according to whose Constitution is being gored.

# LEST WE FORGET

Villa is going to prove to Bryan that he is not a bandit by hanging his brother bandit Castillo to "the nearest tree."

* * *

Oh, Castillo, you made a fatal mistake. Before embarking on your recent career of crime you should have had a press agent in El Paso to announce to the world that you were fighting for the Constitution.

* * *

A terrible blunder.

* * *

Notice that the Peruvian Minister in Washington, in his explanation of the overthrow of the Peruvian government, stated over and over again that the new government was constitutional, constitutional this, constitutional that. He's a wise Minister. He's learned the shibboleth all right.

* * *

Everybody with an axe to grind now in a Latin-American country will start something for the Constitution.

* * *

They have seen how easy it was for the Mexican malcontents to take in the Administration.

* * *

Gullibility in the State Department. Who was it said you can hand him any old kind of gold brick?

* * *

This is a great week for the Mexico City correspondents of the papers—the anniversary of the Tragic Ten Days.

* * *

They can manufacture rumors and plots and counterplots to their heart's content and everything will go. The reading public will gobble it up.

* * *

One day last week the papers scareheaded the fall of Mazatlan, a Pacific seaport. A downright lie. They gave the denial three or four inconspicuous lines.

* * *

And they continue to speak of Huerta's loss of the whole North of Mexico. The rich border States of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon are entirely under Federal control and the railroad is operating from Monterrey to the border of Nuevo Laredo.

* * *

And Villa still at Juarez, thirteen hundred miles away.

* * *

Dollar diplomacy was, at least, open-faced.

The present brand is star-chambered.

* * *

Pitiful publicity!

* * *

Thousands and thousands of heads of cattle are sold across the border by Villa.

* * *

But he's fighting for a principle, he says, or his press agent has him say.

* * *

The principle of loot.

* * *

Whereas Castillo is just a plain bandit.

* * *

See the difference?

* * *

Carranza is still busy putting miles between him and Villa. How that precious pair love each other. And Villa invited him so cordially to come to Chihuahua.

* * *

Anyhow, Carranza has the fun of forming paper cabinets and giving his hangers-on highfalutin titles, like Secretary of Fine Arts and Belles Lettres!

* * *

"Well," thinks Villa, "if the old gentleman likes to amuse himself that way, let him do it. He gets the glory but I get the swag."

* * *

Meanwhile Villa says he is most happy to do anything that Bryan will tell him.

* * *

Nice little bandit! 'Oo are not a naughty, disobedient child like Huerta, are you? No, indeed, 'oo are a sweet little fellow.

* * *

But, Pancho, my boy, whisper, don't forget the shibboleth.

* * *

The Constitution!

* * *

The Protestant missionary organizations are making great plans to "save Mexico."

* * *

Some months ago Mrs. John Lind said the trouble with Mexico was the Catholic priests, who kept the poor people down.

* * *

She had been in the country only a short time, did not know the language of the people, had seen only Vera Cruz and Mexico City.

* * *

And yet she had the whole situation at her finger tips.

* * *

So like the Administration when it sets out to harry Huerta.

LEST WE FORGET—Continued.

Speaking of dictatorships and unconstitutionality, we are not aware of any provision in the Mexican Constitution which contemplates the dictation of Washington as to how Mexico shall govern itself.

* * *

On close reading of that formidable document we are convinced that the interpretation of the constitutionality of any Mexican Government is a prerogative of the Mexican Supreme Court.

* * *

The framers of the Constitution were very able men but somehow or other they did not designate the President of the United States as supreme arbiter of Mexico's internal affairs.

* * *

Consequently the Administration's interference is unconstitutional.

* * *

And the Administration is a dictator of greater presumption than President Huerta would dream of being.

* * *

The word constitutional in the mouth of the Administration is simply a verbal excuse for a most flagrant violation of another nation's sovereignty.

* * *

At latest reports Bryan's conscience is still undisturbed.

* * *

Not the slightest perturbation as the result of Castillo's killing of fifteen Mexicans.

* * *

His heart goes out to those noble Mexicans who are heroically fighting to overthrow "the usurper."

* * *

Villa? Oh, well, Villa's a pretty rough fellow but he's fighting in a good cause, bless his little heart.

* * *

Castillo? Oh, yes, he's a bad one, but my friend Villa will see to him. You know you can't expect them all to be good friends of the Constitution.

* * *

Zapata? Oh, we'll think about him afterward.

* * *

And so on. His mind can clear away all obstacles and his conscience is serene.

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At any rate the public has learned that the President formed his opinion months ago and that he positively will not listen to any suggestion opposed to his preconceived ideas as to what the situation ought to be. The first indication of this was seen last summer when Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson was summoned to Washington and summarily dismissed as soon as it was seen that his opinion, formed by accurate inside knowledge, did not coincide with that new diplomacy which is based on the ruin of a nation by bandits armed by selfish interests on this side of the border, lauded by the press and encouraged and recognized by the Administration in Washington.

# STACKED CARDS

BY ALFONSO L. JIMINEZ,
Vice Consul of Mexico in New York, in New York "Press."

Mexico, a rich and beautiful country just south of this Republic, is hardly known by even a third of the citizens of this United States of North America.

This assertion may seem absurd, and yet it is absolutely the truth, and no honest man who may have any knowledge, however small, of things beyond the borders of this country could deny this fact. This accounts for the ready acceptance of the absurdities with which the press is filled daily, sometimes maliciously, sometimes by incredible ignorance of the facts.

The present state of revolution and strife is so little understood and so much magnified and maligned that the average American has come to the conclusion that Mexicans are all a lot of cutthroats without a vestige of civilization.

Of course everyone knows the truth—they are all well informed. I have known many an American who has gone down on a round trip of the Ward liners and stayed in Mexico between ship sailings, which means that he only remained in Mexico City two or three days; yet when he came back, only 15 days after having left New York, he knew all about Mexico and the present situation. In two days he had learned Mexican history; he had investigated all the facts; he had talked with every man of note; he knew our religions, our traditions; he knew all. Isn't that simply wonderful?

But let us return to Mexico. It has been said time and again that the present revolution is fostered and encouraged by American capital; and that is the absolute truth, but the press, that part of the press which thrives under the present trouble, discredits and ridicules this.

What can be the object of the press in making the trouble worse, in maligning and distorting everything connected with the Federal Government, while all that relates to the rebels is painted in the most beautiful colors? I had always thought that one of the most beautiful purposes of the press was to enlighten the people, to promote the welfare, or, at least, the betterment of the already sad conditions of this hard struggle for life. And is the American press doing this? No. This press is making every possible effort to foster the revolution, to magnify the trouble, to malign and vilify the Federal Government and glorify the rebels.

Have you ever stopped to think how much more good could be accomplished by trying to instill in the minds of Mexicans of either side that our only hope is in uniting? Has any one paper ever printed any story that may tend to show any sense of humanity and nobility of purpose? Has there been an instance in which our trouble has been discussed impartially or even lamenting our trouble? Has any one ever spoken words of peace and charity toward our misfortunes? No. It seems that they glory in our misery and our tragedies seem funny to them.

The motives of the press are as dark as the purposes of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. Mr. Wilson may have excellent reasons (perfect in his own mind) in pursuing his present policy, but how much more good he would have accomplished by openly trying to get at the bottom of the trouble, since he deemed it necessary to interfere against all right and reason. But since he did interfere, why not have made an effort, openly and before the world, to impartially and, above all, humanely strive to bring the two factions together? If his purposes have been altruistic, why not prove this to the world by actions which would show that he was trying to better conditions instead of fostering trouble and desolation?

Can there be any doubt yet that President Wilson rejoices with Bryan in every rebel victory? When has the world witnessed the spectacle of the president of a civilized nation rejoicing in the misfortune of a weaker country? And supposing he was justified in his attitude toward President Huerta, what in the name of sense can justify the killing of thousands to avenge the death of two people? And has this been proven?

One of the daily papers in New York said the other day that Henry Lane Wilson's lectures are becoming monotonous because he says the same thing over and over again. But the truth shall remain, and, sure as fate, history will record in its indelible pages that President Wilson's and Mr. Bryan's policies have wrecked a country which has done nothing to the United States but give a royal welcome to thousands of her sons who have enriched themselves in Mexico, finding always the preference, and now, in return, receives the best wishes of this Administration for its destruction and ruin.

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**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# Mexico and the United States

**By Major Cassius E. Gillette, Formerly of the United States Engineering Corps**
**In "The Trend" for February.**

Mexico City is to-day the greatest "rumor-factory" in existence. All sorts of fantastic yarns are put afloat and the newspaper men, hunting for "news" send them merrily on. For example, our papers have printed reams of telegrams from Carranza when he was 500 miles from the date line of the message and sometimes 200 miles from a telegraph office. There are not less than six "eye witness" tales of just how Madero died, all totally different. If there was ever a steadfast man it is General Huerta, yet our papers alternate daily with his defis, submissions, disappearances, and mind-changing fickleness generally. Barrels of rot have been printed on this subject.

A wave of destructive savagery is gathering in all northern Mexico, and, unless checked, it will soon blot out civilization completely. It is appalling to contemplate the way in which the United States is helping this wave along.

I believe we are the only civilized country that permits foreigners to plot insurrections against neighboring friendly nations. There is little doubt that the Madero revolution was planned in San Antonio, with the assistance and connivance of American oil interests. Practically all the arms used by the bandits, except a few that they captured from the federals, have come in from the United States and are mostly old style army guns, and Senator Bacon has for many months been sitting on a bill to prevent this kind of wrong-doing under the auspices of our country.

There might be some justification of this if the struggling masses of Mexicans had any political capacity whatever, and could really make a free, self-governing people, but this can never be accomplished with the present population; such a thing is utterly preposterous. Only in Sonora and along the border where the natives are sufficiently mixed with intelligent Americans, and where they have learned the advantage of making a good showing is there any pretense made that the outbreak is anything but plain banditism, or the inevitable trend to chaos and savagery, rather than democracy. The peon wants chaos and savagery. He knows nothing of democracy.

Madero made no effective effort to control the savages he had armed and put on the warpath. He had promised them free land, as I have said, and when a very few of them came in to get it, he told them they would of course have to earn it, but that he would arrange for very favorable terms. Without exception they scorned this proposition and returned to the vocation for which he had equipped them. It would be a perfectly fair comparison, had some rich renegade in the south after the war started in arming the negroes, promising them forty acres of land and a mule each, if they would elect him governor—say, of Alabama, supposing that in that state the negroes outnumbered the whites four to one. How long do you imagine the Southern people would have been in lynching that ambitious individual, and what would they have done to him if he succeeded, and, if, after several months in office, with no attempt to curb his black cohorts, who were outraging and destroying everything, when they asked him to do something to stop the destruction and halt the savages, establish peace and let business go on in the country, he blithely chattered in reply, "Well, if you haven't got peace, you've got liberty, haven't you?"

Can you imagine him not being promptly strung up? Well, this is exactly what Madero did and the civilized people of Mexico patiently stood for it until conditions became entirely unendurable.

The question may be asked here, why all this hub bub to "oust Huerta," that seems to be much like the frenzied shriek of "mad dog" which has caused the death of so many innocent canines.

Now let us review for a moment the action of the United States in connection with the outrageous conditions in Mexico. Americans helped, and our government did not prevent them from helping, the initial outbreak.

Under the Monroe doctrine we have arrogated to ourselves, and have succeeded in "putting it over," that no Latin-American government shall be able to borrow money unless we recognize that government, the recognition of foreign governments cutting no figure whatever. This is a situation different from anything else on earth and is fraught with pregnant possibilities for good or evil.

Victoriano Huerta personally can borrow little or no money; neither can Woodrow Wilson, as such, but when duly recognized by the United States as representing Mexico, President Huerta could borrow large sums. On March 7 last, President Wilson refused to give this recognition, and from that moment the feet of civilized Mexico were tied. Even patriotic Mexican citizens, if they lend money to their government, do so at their own risk, because President Wilson has it in his power to recognize Villa or Carranza, and the papers are now seriously proposing the latter. What Villa or Carranza would do to bonds issued by General Huerta can be readily imagined.

Our government has therefore not only permitted the arming of the savages, but has hobbled Mexico with the deliberate plan of making her helpless against the savage inroads. Carranza and Villa do not have to borrow money; they loot banks, stores and individuals, and get their food supplies as bandits, whereas, General Huerta has to conduct a civilized warfare, which does not permit such outrages.

The Apaches of our Southwest, who are the same kind of people as the northern Mexico bandits, used to have a playful fashion of "staking out" on the plain a captured prisoner. They would tie the victim's hands and feet each to a stout stake, stretching him flat on his back so that he could not move, then cut off his eye-lids to give the sun and flies a good chance, and occasionally they varied the proceedings by building a small fire on the pit of his stomach. What the United States is doing to civilized Mexico is strikingly analogous. We have "staked her out" while the Apache-like "constitutionalists" are building the fire of destruction and outrage upon the pit of the unfortunate national stomach, and unless checked, they will soon leave nothing but the blackened corpse.

Everyone, perhaps, considers the administration's motive to be honest, but it has many things to explain. With calm complacency it continues to view the horrible things going on in Mexico. This complacency is hard to realize as being due to mere ignorance of the situation, and yet it is difficult to conceive of a human being capable of planning any more diabolical scheme, and it is utterly impossible to conceive of such person having the nerve to call it "moral suasion."

On August 27 last, the following statement was included in the President's message to the Congress:

"The actual situation of the authorities at Mexico City will presently be revealed."

Could anything be more callous than such remark from the principal author of that unfortunate situation? After six months of preventing those authorities from borrowing money, he then said:

"We have waited many months, months full of peril and anxiety, for the conditions there to improve, and they have not improved. They have grown worse, rather."

Surely, the American people at this late day are entitled to be enlightened if there is anything in secret diplomacy now possibly going on that will tend to justify those astounding conditions. On August 27, the President gave what he called "very fully and without reservation the facts concerning our present relations with Mexico," and the only further explanation of the reasons for the present awful mess vouchsafed in his message, Dec. 2, was a vague allusion to Huerta's "usurped" authority. Heretofore he has apparently assumed that Huerta is a traitor and an assassin as

(Continued on next page.)

## MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES---Continued

well as a usurper. Now he merely assumes the last of these, but he has never given out anything whatever definite on the subject.

The further bald statement that "Mexico has no government" is simply not a true statement of fact. The principal functions of government are to preserve order and have the executive, judicial and legislative departments in proper action.

In the City of Mexico to-day, and in Guadalajara, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, Pueblo, as well as in practically the whole of the large states in which these towns are located, there is absolute order. The courts are in session, the congress is in session, the streets are safer at night than are the streets of Philadelphia; bands, children and fountains play every Sunday in every large park, and there is as little sign of disturbance as there is in Washington. Does this not constitute a government? Then, is there "no government in Mexico?" There is disorder in Mexico, principally in the north,—awful disorder, sickening crimes are committed and horrible deeds far beyond what is known or ever will be known, are being perpetrated, and the two principal causes for that horrible condition are apparently the oil interests of the United States and the present administration, consciously or unconsciously working hand in hand.

To what will this disorder lead? What will be the result of this "waiting policy?" After Huerta, what? The President gives only a "hope." He says, "and then when the end comes we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of her people to their own ambitions." Only a "hope,"—a tin cup to put out a forest fire!

Constitutional order is to be "restored." When did it exist? Not before Diaz. Not under Diaz, and not under Madero. The latter's "election" was exactly like those of Diaz. There was never any pretense that it was otherwise. Voting was always "free" under Diaz, but neither he nor Madero permitted more than one real candidate. Censorship and arbitrary actions were more rigorous under Madero than under Diaz. To what ideal previous "constitutional order" is the country to be restored?"

By what "leaders' concert and energy" will the work of restoration be accomplished?

How are they going to be constitutionally elected? Are they to select themselves and then go though the same empty farce of an "election" that Huerta tried? As shown above, no real election is now possible. Who is going to control the bandits while this self-constituted committee of "concert and energy" are displacing and breaking up Huerta's well-organized military and civil forces? I have asked every American and every Mexican of prominence that I knew in Mexico, who could handle the situation except Huerta. Not a man has ever been suggested except Blanquet, Huerta's right hand man, and he would not take it. He says Huerta is the only man.

How long would it take the "Committee" to prove satisfactory to the United States? Gamboa was 3,000 miles away from Madero's demise for two years before and two years after, yet Mr. Bryan doubted if he were "sufficiently disassociated."

If Huerta should resign to-day, after selecting his successor, this administration would not recognize his selection. If he resigned without such selection, he would be a traitor to his country—because he would leave his country demoralized and at the mercy of the savages, while various ambitious leaders struggled for the mastery—and even if Mexico gave up all her national dignity and let President Wilson select a successor—the savages might destroy her before the new man could get "organized." While at such a crisis the rights of one man are small, yet what right have we to make General Huerta resign in disgrace, just because he is maligned by poisoned news? He's an honest old soldier who did nothing worse than to answer the call of his distracted country —a call perhaps technically imperfect because we did not prevent Madero and American oil interests from fomenting revolts against a friendly nation.

When the "waiting policy" has been carried out—when the savages have destroyed Mexico to help the administration "get Huerta," what are we to do with Zapata, O, Villa and the other wolves? Recognize Villa? Think you that would establish "constitutional order" in Mexico? It is preposterous. And even then he would have exactly the same problem Huerta has now. Not one of the bandits started by Madero has come in or will come in until forced to or killed.

When Villa "crumbles" Huerta, which of course may not be as soon as our yellow news dispatches and our President's expressed hope may indicate,—and Mexico is a ruin, our Government will have just two horns of the dilemma to choose. Abandon the Monroe Doctrine and let Europe pacify Mexico, and own it,—or intervene. The President has said we will "never" acquire land by conquest. He has not said we will not intervene. Bryan has abjectedly declared for "peace at any price." But McKinley opposed the war with Spain—could he stop it? Hearst, with his powerful battery of newspapers is for intervention. Other big oil, mining, cattle and timber interests want intervention. Some of them are represented by President Wilson's closest advisers and heaviest contributors to his campaign fund. Could he stop intervention if somebody sinks another Maine? The people have been systematically fed on wrong information through the press for many months. All atrocities are credited to Mexico and not to the savages we have started to destroying Mexico. A match may fire the magazine, but we must "get Huerta." We who may have to do the "intervening" in the deserts and jungles or sacrifice our sons and brothers in that behalf, would like to know more of the situation than has been vouchsafed in any of the glittering generalities of the various presidential messages. Previous presidents have used more words, but they could be understood. We think we are in an awful mess and would like to see our way out. Our business men are losing all our Latin-American trade, for all those people are turning against us.

### MEXICO WILL CARE FOR THE PRISONERS.

From El Paso "Times," February 9.

"Mexico will bear the expense of feeding and clothing the federal prisoners and refugees now detained at Fort Bliss," said Miguel E. Diebold, inspector of consulates, to a "Morning Times" reporter yesterday at his offices in the Caples building. Continuing, he said: "There will be no suffering, neither will it become necessary for the United States government to reach into its treasury or the good people of El Paso go into their pockets for funds with which to provide food and clothing for these people. General Huerta has provided funds with which to bear this expense.

Mr. Diebold stated that he had received orders from President Huerta to secure the release, if possible, of all women and children and other refugees now detained with the prisoners at Fort Bliss and to return them to Mexico at the government's expense. He will take up with General Hugh L. Scott this matter of releasing the non-combatants at once.

The Mexican inspector of consulates has received an estimate of the cost it would require to transport the refugees from the camp to points along the border, where they could be safely transferred to Mexico. The figures were furnished by the Southern Pacific Railroad and if he is allowed to transport them to Mexico the trains will be backed to the siding at Fort Bliss and the refugees loaded there to prevent any of them escaping in El Paso. The caring for the prisoners and refugees by the Mexican Government relieves the situation somewhat and the expense of holding the federals by the United States will be materially lessened and it will not be necessary for the charitably inclined people of El Paso to come to the assistance of the men, women and children that are detained, as all their needs will be met by their own government.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## SOME WISDOM IN MEXICO.

* * * The Mexicans probably comprehend their own needs better than we do. All reports agree that the people quite generally would resent intervention by the United States, and in this they would probably be right.

Self-government by consent of the governed, as that is understood in this country, is out of the question there. The people are incapable of working a constitution like ours. They hardly even know what it means. If we intervened it would be to set up a foreign military dictatorship—a government that is supported by arms and deriving none of its powers from the active consent of the governed. Our intentions would be purely benevolent; but it by no means necessarily follows that our dictatorship would be superior to some native one.

A benevolent Diaz could do much better by the country than we could, because he could comprehend it much better and he could much better make himself understood. Out of the chaotic welter down there a strong and wise man may emerge who will rule as firmly as Diaz did, but with a wider view to the ultimate good of the people. The ruin of the landholding caste may open the way to a tolerable economic constitution, with ownership of the soil allotted to its cultivators.

That Mexico may work out her own salvation, in short, is entirely possible. That we or any other nation, however well disposed, can work out her salvation for her is very doubtful. It is entirely probable that our intervention in the long run would hinder rather than help. In preferring to be let alone the Mexicans are wise.—"Saturday Evening Post."

## A REAL DEMOCRAT.

A few days ago the writer talked with a man recently from Mexico. He was sitting one evening in a cafe in Mexico City when a quietly dressed elderly citizen came in and sat by him, and, learning that he had just made a journey across country, questioned him about his experiences. When he had left, a waiter informed my acquaintance that this was President Huerta, who walks about the city like any other citizen. The general opinion of all foreigners in Mexico, said the traveler (and I give his statement without prejudice), was that Huerta should be recognized by the United States, and that, whatever criticism could be leveled at his methods of accession to power, the section of the country under his control is the only center of anything like order and security. The excesses and brutalities of the followers of Carranza have alienated any symapthy that any person on the spot, or unblinded by interest, could have for this band of rebels.—"Pan-American Magazine."

Though the removal of the embargo is not to be regarded as any special favor to Villa, nevertheless coming just as this time, with Villa in command of the whole international border, the effect of the removal is greatly to strengthen Villa's hand. The removal would not have been decided upon if President Wilson had not had so strong a hatred of the Huerta regime as to lead him to look with satisfaction upon anything likely to bring the Huerta government more quickly to ruin. It is a case where really being neutral satisfies his dearest desire as well as his Scotch Presbyterian conscience.—El Paso "Herald."

## A RESULT OF ENCOURAGING REVOLUTION.

Maximo Castillo, a Mexican bandit who is practically on the same footing as Pancho Villa, except that Villa has a larger force under his orders, has committed one of the most horrible outrages known to the history of outlawry. In fact, there is nothing on record quite so dastardly as this. Deliberately wrecking and setting fire to a freight train in the midst of the darkness of a long tunnel, so that the smoke obscures signals and serves as a trap for any approaching train, Castillo lies low with his gang and permits a passenger train to plunge into the wreck, and into what was worse, the suffocating fumes of the smoke. All the trainmen and passengers, including fifteen Americans, perish in this direful trap.

The bandit's motive for this abominable crime is the fact that Pancho Villa, himself a bandit, has shot some of Castillo's men in trying to repress his rival banditry.

Villa is profuse with his assurances that this horrible crime will be punished. How can he punish it? The mountains of Chihuahua are open to Castillo and his gang; and Villa's activities are centered in the revolution against the Mexican federal government.

So far as the United States is concerned, one of these bandits is as good as the other. Castillo sheds blood by the same right of the trigger and the dirk as that by which Villa sheds it. Revolutionism and anarchy in Mexico are responsible for the outrage, and revolutionism and anarchy in Mexico have been encouraged or kept alive by the temporizing policy of the United States Government. — New York "Evening Mail."

## THAT WASHINGTON LAWYER.

Provisional President Huerta lets no day pass without producing evidence that nothing could be more "constitutional" than his government, but for him it is too late. That Washington lawyer who instructed his Mexican revolutionary clients to call themselves "constitutionalists" gave them too long a start. He knew what was to be might be expected under a democratic administration, and for the knowing deserves high place among the "profits." — New York "Herald."

## AN OMINOUS COMPARISON.

Murry Nelson, doorkeeper of the convention that named Abraham Lincoln, in his eighty-fourth year chats delightfully about the days since the birth of the Republican Party and compares politics then and now, in a New York "Times" interview. Among the passing remarks of this old warhorse, his mind cleared of partisanship by his ripe old-age wisdom. the following is deeply significant:

As for President Wilson, time alone will tell whether he is to be a success. Certainly his foreign policy is not what one would call either brilliant or successful. Curiously enough, one of the elements which contributed very largely to the discredit of the Democratic Party before 1860 was its attitude towards a Latin-American country, Cuba, as exemplified in that amazing document, the Ostend Manifesto. The country has waited sixty years to see anything in the way of foreign policy which approaches that preposterous Democratic pronunciamento. But Mr. Wilson, in his communication to President Huerta, has rivaled Gen. Pierce and raised himself a Frankenstein's monster that may yet destroy him.

## WHITHER?

But where is this idea of democratic government, as opposed to benevolent despotism for Mexico of the Diaz and Huerta type, taking President Wilson and his country? First of all it brings the United States into conflict, diplomatically at least, with countries that have large interests in Mexico. According to the "Saturday Review," English and French bondholders are the chief creditors of Mexico, and middle class folks have taken its bonds, Government and industrial, of enormous value. It would be impossible for "the British Government to remain inactive while Washington waits for chaos," we are told, and Huerta's financial policy leads to "eventual chaos." And again the progressive idea (the new democracy for the American continent south of the Canadian line) must contend with the alternative to the overthrow of Huerta, that is to say, with the capacity of Carranza, or possibly Villa, or some other Huerta, to rule, with the consent of the governed, a people who do not understand the first principles of democracy.

That Mr. Wilson "cannot wait indefinitely" is the obvious conclusion of the "Saturday Review." If the right man who might solve all difficulties in Mexico does not come to the front within a reasonable time it sees intervention forced upon the President. There can be no disputing this view. The truth is that Carranza is Mr. Wilson's hope, and it is disquieting to know that the Constitutional chieftain has doomed Huerta to death, and with him his active supporters and fellow conspirators against porters. * * *

Carranza must fight or make his way to the city of Mexico and set up a government before Mr. Wilson can draw a free breath. And then there would have to be an interval of probation before the recognition of Carranza's provisional

(Continued on next page.)

government, unless all Mexico supported him, and that would be highly improbable. But suppose Carranza were to fail? Into such a maze of perplexities has deference to the new tradition driven Mr. Wilson.—New York "Sun."

### DEPLORABLE LOCALISM.

So far there is not the slightest evidence of any intelligent effort on the part of this Administration to promote opportunity for American commerce abroad. Instead of a sane and intelligent handling of foreign relations we see the Secretary of State absorbed in "piffle" treaties whose only result is to tie the hands of the United States in its dealings with those Latin American governments which the United States must "police." Of course, we have the gratification of knowing that Denmark and Switzerland have agreed to a breathing time before attacking the United States. **Then there is "watchful waiting" whose only effect has been to encourage revolution on the part of a band of bandits in Mexico. What can any sane man say in defence of that policy?** On top of this, a slap in the face of Russia in the Pindell incident and an almost as pointed slap at France in the juggling of the Ambassadorship to that country. In diplomatic appointments to South America, where we should have our best men, there has been disgraceful resort to the old spoils policy resulting in the inconsiderate throwing out of men trained to the diplomatic service—just the sort of men needed there. Not one of the appointments made by this Administration to those important countries is defensible. For the outrage upon American commercial interests perpetrated in these appointments, President Wilson must be held responsible, either directly or because of his responsibility for Mr. Bryan.

Japan has been inconsiderately treated. No effort has been made to promote friendship with Russia. From every standpoint our foreign relations are in a truly chaotic state.

What I am getting at is this. The condition that exists is due to the deplorable localism, the almost criminal ignorance, of the present Democratic Administration. Do you think the people are not beginning to understand this? You are sadly mistaken. From one end of the country to the other intelligent business men and intelligent workingmen—for the American working man thinks—are coming to the conclusion that what this country most needs is a man in the White House who has world knowledge.—Harvester Champion in New York "Herald."

### CRUDE PETROLEUM.

It is absurd to suppose that capital will not continue to come from Europe as it has in the past to finance the New World, or that the owners of such capital will not direct its employment themselves; the wishes of both Europe and Latin America will be placed before any academic utterance from politicians, whatever its interest as an "extension of the Monroe Doctrine."

The second point is that any discouragement of a rival of Standard Oil is encouragement of Standard Oil, and when we think upon the story of that company in its birthplace, of its tyrannies, its dominance, its triumphs over the law in defiance of denouncements and commands and penalties, it is unfortunate that any action should lend color to the suggestion that its powerful influence is able to obtain aid in the pursuance of its well-known desire for monopoly.

Oil exists in many a new country of Latin America. Sooner or later that oil will be in such acute demand that no source can be neglected, and in the case where such a country cannot find the money for development for herself, a problem which Costa Rica has gallantly solved, outside help and outside management of the fields is sure to come. For Standard Oil, or any of its ramifications to gain possession of such fields would be disastrous for the consumer as well as for rivals in the oil market.—"Pan-American Magazine."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### THE MEXICAN MUDDLE.

Since the removal of the embargo on the shipment of arms into Mexico the situation in that unhappy country has taken on a new and more serious aspect. Both the rebels and the Federal Government have arranged for the shipment of arms and ammunition from this country, but as the insurrectionists control the whole of the northern border of the neighboring republic they are able to secure munitions of war with greater ease.

In order to prevent the Huerta government from continuing the importation of arms through the Mexican seaports, the rebels are endeavoring to purchase and fit out suitable vessels for operations against the gunboats controlled by Huerta. Under the customs of international law there is no bar to the purchase even of war vessels, but when it comes to fitting such ships out for war purposes in the United States and providing them with fighting crews, international law interposes a serious objection.

It is to be assumed that in removing the embargo on the shipment of arms President Wilson had no intention of suspending all neutrality laws and customs. There should never have been an embargo on the shipment of arms to any purchaser, but no country can permit the fitting out of armed expeditions within its borders or the commissioning of ships of war in its ports for hostile operations against a foreign power with which it is not at war.

There are not lacking indications that the Huerta government is entering a period of severe stress. Mexican finances are at a very low ebb, and the refusal of the United States to recognize the provisional government, coupled with the recent successes of the revolutionists, render it difficult for Provisional President Huerta to borrow money. There are also fears of a coup d'etat in the Mexican capital. Such an event might put a sudden end to Huerta, and as there is no other man of sufficient personal strength to dominate the situation, there is grave danger of a very serious condition of affairs developing at any moment.

The sudden overthrow of Huerta would probably bring the revolutionary elements into immediate control, but as there is no bond of unity between the various factions at present in arms against the Federal authority, it is not unlikely that the collapse of the provisional government would render the situation more complicated and delicate than ever. Such an outcome would certainly make the position of foreigners residing in Mexico, and their interests, more precarious than ever. This is a danger that may well give our administration at Washington serious cause for reflection.—New Orleans "Picayune."

### THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO.

The lifting of the embargo on arms to Mexico is the most incomprehensible move so far in the President's incomprehensible Mexican policy. It will not have any appreciable material result against Huerta, for the rebels have been able to get all the arms and munitions of war they wanted, while the Federals have not, as at Ojinaga. But morally it is putting the stamp of approval by President Wilson on the actions of the rebels and destroying Northern Mexico.

That a man like President Wilson should officially countenance such things is a disgrace to civilization, a blot on our national honor, and should make us hang our heads in shame. What does it mean? Has our President two standards of morals, one for home consumption and another in dealing with Mexico?—C. H. STAGUE, in New York "Tribune."

### A LETTER FROOM AN EYE-WITNESS OF REBEL ATROCITIES.

On October 22nd the City of Monterrey was attacked by the rebels. Owing to various circumstances the city had on the day of the attack only 500 soldiers and with irregular forces, policemen and volunteers, did not have over 1,100. The rebels, amounting to about 4,000 or 5,000, attacked the city all the 23rd and 24th. A heroic defense was made in spite of there being not enough troops to defend the whole city. The soldiers only defended about 20 blocks which make the down-town district. The 24th, at midday, and when we had lost all hopes of not falling into the hands of the Carranza people, a big garrison commanded by Generals Anaya Ocaranza and Pena, entered Monterrey scattering in about three hours of fighting all the rebels outside of the city.

The joy of all the inhabitants when we knew that we were completely saved by the arrival of the Federal troops is not easy to describe. The ladies threw flowers on the Federal soldiers, the churches rung all the bells and everybody shouted, "Viva El Gobierno."

The troops arrived in Monterrey about 4 o'clock in the evening and immediately started fighting. Next day it was absolutely safe to go in any part of the city. I went to the places that had been occupied by the rebels; the factory district where all the warehouses are located, depots and railroads. It was not until then that I fully realized the big danger in which we had been in those two days. Many warehouses, lumber yards, stores and residences were all burnt out after they had been entirely looted. In the private residences located in that part of the city the rebels had opened doors with axes and absolutely cleaned out everything, leaving the houses absolutely empty.

I had heard that the rebels used to do that, but I always thought it was exaggerated. Nevertheless, I am now absolutely convinced that everything I had heard and read was true, there being no exaggeration.

The rebels after leaving Monterrey, went to several other towns in this State, such as Montemorelos and Linares, and also looted all the leading stores and burned them afterward. I have talked with some merchants from those places and they told me that the rebels had left them with only the clothes they had on and without any other thing in the world.

Within the last few days I have had the opportunity of reading some American papers and I have been greatly surprised how mistaken American opinion is regarding our country. It seems

(Continued on next page)

to me from the papers I read that American opinion is much in favor of the rebels, who are nothing but bandits (and to-day I am not afraid to say it anywhere, after seeing what they have done in Monterrey). Indeed Mr. Woodrow Wilson does not realize the enormously big mistake he is making in not recognizing the actual Government. Public opinion in Mexico is with the Government and the attitude taken by Mr. Wilson is criticised by all Mexicans, Americans and foreigners residing here. Mexico is very far from being a country with a democratic government, and the best proof of this is that it never has had one. When Gen. Huerta became President, we all looked on him as a man of good luck, but without believing he would some day be the man of the situation. The man of the day was then Felix Diaz. The partido Felixista was composed of the best that Mexico had, not only in politics, but men of high financial standing. Nevertheless, very soon it was realized that Felix Diaz was not the man, and Huerta, little by little, was seen as a man of big energies and talent. Public opinion began to forget Diaz and applaud Huerta until it was in the conscience of all of us that he was just the kind of man we needed.

Mr. Wilson says he does not recognize the Mexican Government because it is a Government born of a revolution. Has ever been in Mexico a government that has not come from a revolution? Madero overthrew Diaz; Diaz could have resisted very much longer, but he was a man of talent and realized that the country did not want him any more. We wanted a change, so Madero triumphed by public opinion. De la Barra was only President by name. Everybody knew that Madero was then the real chief of the Republic, but Madero took the Government when Mexico was all mixed up by the same revolution he had made, and he also was swallowed.

If Huerta should have taken the Government when Madero did, I believe he also would have failed, but he has done it when the country has been suffering by a civil war of three years and when everybody wants peace before everything and he has found public opinion ready to approve everything he does to secure peace.

Mexico is to-day so entirely against Maderism and Carrancism, which is the same thing, that there will never be a government by these elements. This is why it is surprising how this revolution has increased so much, and this is why nobody can understand it, but by saying that it has the help of some powerful concerns of your country.

Mr. Wilson says he cannot recognize our Government on account of the illegal acts it is committing and because the elections under Huerta were a farce. Has there been any time when elections have not been a farce in Mexico? During Madero's Government, the Governor of our State was the father-in-law of Don Gustavo Madero, and all the deputies were placed by Madero. Don Porfirio simply elected himself for six times and the American Government had never anything to say about it. Why has Mr. Wilson become so particular?

The attitude taken by the United States Government has stirred the sympathy of all Europe and South America for Mexico, as I have read in papers of those countries and everybody agrees in one thing: "It is not the United States' business to tell us Mexicans what kind of government we ought to have," and everybody asks where is that spirit of justice of which the Americans boast so much.

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"Villa thinks he will adopt civilized warfare," says a news dispatch from O Ginger or O Piffle or some such Mexican flag station.

He will have to adopt it if he uses it, for civilized warfare is certainly not a child of his own brain.—New York "American."

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The Constitutionalists at El Paso were in such a hurry to realize on President Wilon's order opening up traffic in arms that in rushing a carload of arms across the river they forgot to pay for it. Mere details like this are apt to be overlooked, but they are all included in the proclamation.

According to advices from revolutionary sources in Peru, the President who is now in jail or in exile was a usurper, and the new junta which is to rule is proceeding strictly in accordance with the Constitution and the laws. Is this a bid for local support or is it intended to placate the severe constitutionalist who resides in the White House at Washington, D. C.? —New York "World."

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### ATTACKS BRYAN DIPLOMACY.

(Special to the New York "Times.")

Mobile, Feb. 6.—Americans and other foreigners in Mexico City are disgusted with Bryan diplomacy, according to refugees from the Mexican capital passing through here. P. L. Echols, of Fort Smith, Ark., was outspoken in his denunciation of the Secretary.

"Twelve months ago nearly all Americans in Mexico were pronounced Democrats," said Mr. Echols, "and there was general rejoicing in President Wilson's election, particularly because it meant the end of the Knox dollar diplomacy. Bryan was popular among Americans in Mexico, and they were pleased with the announcement that he had been selected for Secretary of State. To-day they are disgusted with him. His dreams of world peace will not fit the present situation in Mexico."

### THE TRAGIC STATE OF MEXICO.

The utter breakdown of our State Department in handling the Mexican crisis, combined with the European and Asiatic international complications resulting therefrom, must now, more than ever, be a matter of grave concern to the whole American people, absolutely irrespective of political affiliation.

To suppose that the substitution for Huerta of a man of the character and antecedents of Villa (for he and not Carranza, the idealist, is the man to be reckoned with) will bring peace to our distracted southern neighbor represents a most interesting and curious but, under the circumstances, tragic state of mind, for any one at all acquainted with Mexico and its political conditions must recognize that only a patriotic, vigorous and intelligent armed despot (at least as a preliminary condition, if Mexico, unassisted, is to work out her own salvation), and not a bloodstained and illiterate bandit, can bring order out of the present chaotic conditions existing in that unfortunate country.—SAMUEL L. PARRISH, in New York "Tribune."

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## CONSTITUTIONAL SOMETHING.

There is one thing constitutional about those Mexicans who are using the Government and the press of the United States to help their game—they are constitutional liars. The extent to which they will go is so appalling that one is almost forced to conclude that they have a peculiar kink of the brain, which like the Administration's Christian Science denial of the constitutionality of the Mexican Government, really produces a constant state of self-hypnosis. If it serves their purpose to say that black is white or vice versa they have not the slightest hesitancy in doing so. To show how this works out:

Roberto V. Pesqueira, described by the New York "World" as "diplomatic agent of General Carranza" and the active head of the propaganda for the privilege of importing arms "openly" from the United States, says in a prepared statement for last Sunday's "World":

> The talk of confiscating and dividing up the great estates among the poor is but idle gossip, indulged in, for the most part, by foreign newspapers having an imperfect understanding of conditions in Mexico. The real policy of our cause is to expropriate certain portions of these great estates, and to pay their owners the corresponding value of the land taken, allowing the people to purchase small tracts for farming purposes, and granting them ample time within which to reimburse the Government.

Mr. Pesqueira is one of the owners of those great estates—in Sonora. Naturally he wants a Government of his own cronies which will pay him his own price for the land and then sell it piecemeal to the poor Indians. With the proceeds from the sale to the Government, Mr. Pesqueira would not have to think about Mexico or its problems any longer. Broadway and Paris would be much more alluring. And we haven't the slightest doubt that his fervid enunciation of constitutional principles was music to Mr. Bryan's ears. There is one born every so often.

Further on this young prevaricator with the freedom of the American press in his vest-pocket says:

> We have no fear of intervention on the part of the American Government, because, aside from the faith we have in the policy of President Wilson, we know that the thinking men of this country, the great minds, realize that no great reform was ever brought about, no reign of corruption was ever destroyed, without bloodshed. They know that the abolition of slavery in the United States and the establishment of the supremacy of the Federal Government over the doctrine of States' rights was only accomplished through one of the greatest and bloodiest fratricidal wars the world has ever seen. They know that during the war certain of the powers of Europe were disposed to intervene, and effect a compromise between the contending parties in order to impose peace, a peace that would have meant a disrupted union and an indefinite continuance of intermittent warfare, suggestive only of an eventual national disintegration. During those dark days the Government of the United States valiantly resented even the suggestion of interference and threatened to withdraw its Ministers from London and Paris if even the slightest move was made in this direction, notifying Great Britain and France that intervention under any pretext would be considered by the American Government as an act of war.
>
> If the Government of the United States resented all suggestions of intervention during the devastating struggle of 1861-65, who could imagine that great republic interfering in the affairs of Mexico at the present time? What could justify such an inconsistency?

We simply give it up. In the presence of this evidence of the contagious character of the Washington self-hypnosis we do not know whether or not to blame Mr. Pesqueira for asking, "Who could imagine the United States interfering in the affairs of Mexico at the present time?" This thing is really getting us all mixed up. Who could imagine such a thing? Preposterous! President Wilson never did send ex-Reverend Hale and John Lind down to Mexico City to snoop around and tell Huerta to get out. No, siree, they simply went down there to throw oil on the troubled Waters-Pierce. There is no matter. All is oil and grape juice.

God bless us, it's a funny world!

## A BANDIT TO CATCH A BANDIT.

It is really amusing to read that Pancho Villa, bandit (we beg Mr. Bryan's pardon—it should be General Villa) turned white with rage when the report reached him in Chihuahua while he was reading "The Ethics of International Warfare" that Maximo Castillo, bandit, his old friend Max, was wrecking trains and incidentally killing fifteen Americans.

There was nothing amusing about the grimly tragic fact, however, and coming on the heels of the lifting of the embargo on arms to the Mexican bandits, it must have touched the conscience of those who are responsible for the disgraceful alliance with just such persons as Maximo Castillo.

It is worthy of note that although fifteen Americans were killed by the diabolical act of the Mexican bandit the newspapers that have been supporting the Administration's Mexican policy treated the awful crime with less emphasis than many of them attached to the reported capture in San Luis Potosi of an American oil man, Dobson by name, by "Huerta's men!"

The Secretary of State blandly told the newspaper correspondents that "General" Villa had gladly complied with his request for an armed escort for a rescuing party—who found nothing but charred bones—and that he was inclined to believe that "General" Villa would see to it that the culprits were punished!

It should make the blood of every true American boil to think that the Administration, in the beautiful name of constitutional government, has encouraged conditions in Mexico which make such monsters as Castillo and Villa powers of evil, that the Administration was actually concerned that they were not getting all the arms and ammunition they needed, that the newspapers and the Administration will make light of the death of fifteen Americans and plunge a whole country into distress because some conspiring Mexican deputies are arrested, that the Secretary of State will enter into negotiations with a bandit like Villa to catch his brother bandit Castillo!

Ugh!

## CALL OFF THE VULTURES.

From private and official advices the Administration knows full well that nine-tenths of the rumors and insinuations against the Mexican Government in the press of this country are downright perversions of fact.

The Administration knows also that the worse the case made out against the Mexican Government the better bolstered up is its own attitude toward that Government.

The fear of foreign complications that has led the Administration to suggest to the press that it put the soft pedal on discussion of issues with countries more powerful than Mexico has not operated to dampen the creative ardor of writers of pernicious fiction about the country below the Rio Grande.

On the contrary, the Administration has seemed to encourage the fiction, evincing smiling satisfaction on hearing any news concoction that would help it find an excuse for "getting Huerta."

Is this the strictly honorable new freedom?

Or is it the new privateering?

## SIX LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS.

"This makes six revolutions in Latin-America," says the "Herald's" Washington correspondent in recording the outbreak that has come to Ecuador, in which the town of Esmeraldas is preparing to be bombarded to-day by the rebels that are harassing it.

Mexico, Hayti, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil and Ecuador are listed as the six bases of revolt, and Mr. Bryan's poor, bedraggled dove of peace is all a-flutter at the dismal outlook.

Europe, it is recalled in Washington, predicted when Mr. Wilson entered office that Mr. Bryan's scheme of Latin-American amity and brotherhood would be welcomed with more bloodshed than accompanied the tenure of any of his more militant predecessors. Is this a fulfilment of the prophecy?—New York "Herald."

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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# Blunderers

How history is made.

When the Wilson Administration came into power, March 4, 1913, enthusiastically determined to carry out its platform pledges of tariff, financial and trust reform, recking little or nothing of foreign affairs, it immediately ran into an area of unexpected high pressure.

Concerning a matter that was for the time, at least, outside its program, and outside its intimate ken.

Two areas of high pressure, to be exact. The first was an inheritance from the Taft Administration. The second was an adroit assault on the temperament and character of the leaders of the new order.

The inherited pressure was from those Americans and American interests who for purely material and selfish reasons wanted the United States to intervene by force of arms in Mexico. They had almost brought the Taft Administration to the verge of this national crime. Only the Republican President's innate patriotism and his reluctance to take a step so momentous in the last days of his term could resist the pressure.

When President Wilson and Secretary Bryan took over the reins of affairs they were advised and petitioned and briefed and buttonholed by American interests in Mexico after this fashion:

"We have put our money into Mexico, upward of a billion. They've been fighting down there for nearly three years and we've lost millions. The country's rich. It's a gold mine. We ought to go in there and show them how to run it and make it pay. We ought to get something out of it, too. There's Lower California, with Magdalena Bay! The Northern tier of States, along our border, are sparsely settled and they never will be fully developed until we take them over and put more of our people and capital in there under the stars and stripes. Here's your chance to put something over for the old U. S. A. It's our destiny. It's evolution. Every strong nation absorbs its weaker neighbors. Don't waste any time trying to figure out who's who down there. They're all the same and the only solution is American intervention."

To the credit of the Wilson Administration be it said that this disingenuous pressure was given short shrift. The proposed course was against the announced and well-known ideals of the Administration. Hearst's cry for intervention was given the quietus by Secretary Bryan's characterization of those who thought in dollars and not in moral principles. Cleveland H. Dodge, of the Phelps-Dodge interests, with large holdings in Mexico, friend and adviser of the Administration, was constrained to admit that although American intervention in Mexico would be a good thing for him, he could view it from a broader, more patriotic standpoint, and consider the loss of American lives and money it would involve.

So far the Administration followed the best traditions of American statesmanship and represented the will of the mass of the American people, who no more wanted a war to benefit Big Business in Mexico than they wanted to take up arms against the Seven Seas of trouble.

Now comes the second area of high pressure, an adroit assault on the temperament and character of the leaders of the new Administration.

The Administration would not listen to such words as "intervention," "war," "material interests," "manifest destiny," "territorial acquisition," "imperialistic evolution." It was a Democratic Administration striving to live up to Democratic traditions. These things smacked too much of cold and heartless corporations and dollar diplomacy, always repugnant to the minority that had become all-powerful.

But these Administration leaders of fine ideals had been trained to love such words as "constitutional government," "consent of the governed," "free and fair elections" (outside of the South) and were filled with an ardent dislike for conditions represented by such words as "privileged classes," "usurpation of authority," "dictatorship," "military oligarchy," etc.

Into Washington swooped the Maderos and their cohorts, all well coached and primed by their clever adviser, the attorney of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, and the second area of high pressure on the Administration were the wailing cries of a widow and the equally well-calculated importunities of the destructive tribe that had brought anarchy to Mexico and looted its treasury. These wily appliers of pressure were well aware of the words and phrases that would "catch the conscience of the king." Every one they worked to a frazzle—though it wasn't really necessary to be so strenuous about it. The Administration bit—so gulpingly that it wasn't any sport at all for the fishers. A considerable part of the pressure was brought to bear against the American Ambassador to Mexico, because he knew the true status of affairs in Mexico. Hence the campaign to discredit him and get him out of the way.

Thus, although the Administration held out righteously and earnestly against the pressure of those selfish and material interests who advised United States occupation of Mexico, it succumbed without a struggle to the pressure of those who cleverly worked on its

(Continued on next page.)

righteousness and ideals—for equally selfish and material interests—and probably felt that it was the soul of everything noble when it refused to recognize the provisional Government of Mexico.

Then upon this highly ideal Administration, with its mind made up self-satisfactorily against intervention in Mexico and against recognition of the Mexican Government came another area of pressure — THE PRESSURE OF FACTS.

These facts are:

The Administration's theories and preconceptions are not applicable to Mexican conditions.

Those who sought to force the Administration to intervene in Mexico are just as well pleased with its present course, as it creates the very conditions that will make a plausible excuse for intervention.

While professing to wish peace in Mexico the Administration has in fact encouraged rebellion and disorder.

Foreign as well as American interests in Mexico have suffered and it is perfectly natural that foreign governments should have pertinently asked the Administration "What are you going to do about it?"

The position assumed toward the Provisional Government of Mexico has proved untenable, as witness the precipitate recognition of the revolutionary government of Peru, which came into power under precisely the same conditions as the present Government of Mexico.

Despite the efforts of the Administration to overthrow the Mexican Government, it has steadily gained in prestige and power with the Mexican people, principally because of the opposition and antagonism of the Administration.

The bandit hordes whose paid agents have prated of constitutional liberty and democracy for the benefit of the Administration and the American people have been shown up in their true colors as the enemies of society under any government.

These are cold, hard facts which need no propaganda to demonstrate them. They are obvious to the naked eye and the unclouded reason.

Against the pressure of these indisputable facts what has the Administration done? It has simply postponed, hedged, manoeuvred obliquely, impulsively grasped at straws, in desperation virtually formed an alliance with outlaws, battled by indirection and insinuation against the plain truth of the situation, and seems ready to go to any extreme to escape the logical inevitable results of its first blunder.

It would be a pity to see a promising Administration wrecked on the rocks of prejudice.

When the chart is so plain except to those who will not see.

# Plain Words from the Border

By C. F. Z. Caracristi, Ph.D., C.E.

The other day an American Carrancista, who is mostly noted for the fact that he is getting stoop-shouldered from packing hand bags, suit cases and poodle dogs for the would-be and near great, and for his ability in packing American juries to throw out neutrality cases, stopped me on the street to protest against my last article on Mexico. He said that my comparison of the Mexican "patriots" that roam the country in search of loot under the banner of "constitutionalists," to the American negro was a libel; and embellished his opinion with the choicest collection of unprintable expressions that ever disturbed the border atmosphere in winter. It is fine to hear the other side of any argument, as knowledge comes from comparison, while the "sic him Towzer!" of a few more timid friends gave him courage to speak to me of the matter.

I feel that there are others who would like to join his chorus, which compliment is gratefully acknowledged. Anyway, it gives me an opportunity to say a little more on the fallacy of our Government's attitude toward Mexico and to point out our inconsistencies; at least, some that are more glaring than others.

While we sob and we weep for the past and establish splendid benevolent orders under the names of the North American Indians, we did not hesitate to kill poor Lo until we have just a few left to exhibit in the menageries and other shows. The brave Indian has been sent to the happy hunting ground by our equally brave fellow citizens who did it out of pure gratitude and because they wanted a billion acres of land or more. Yes, just pure philanthropy—we are just full of it! On the other hand the Spaniards, whom we so often condemn without reason or knowledge of the people themselves, assimilated the Indian in Mexico and elsewhere. They attempted not to destroy him, but to civilize him, and make him an asset to their convenience and country. It was easier and less costly to the Spanish to enslave the Mexican Indian than to just kill him, as we did, and import Mr. Black Man. True, the Mexican Indian was not the warrior of the Indians further north, but was still a savage.

Four hundred years of civilization and European vice and infirmities have not made the impression upon him that has been made upon the negro since 1865. The American Government maintains schools and colleges for the Indian but they are kept in reservations, not allowed to drink "booze," not allowed to vote and systematically and continuously robbed of what little they have left. They are wards of the nation, handed over to a set of more or less honest or dishonest Indian agents and kept under lock and key.

Poor, dear Indians! The poets turn on the weep spigots when they write of them, but the "Great White Father" at the White House does not issue many proclamations giving them freedom and a vote. Does he? But the same Great Father does tell General Huerta and those Mexicans who by thrift, application and intelligence have acquired wealth and influence that the Mexican Indian must be free—must vote and must be given back his land with equal social, political, financial and moral rights. Hearken to that!

Was there ever a case so well developed in the world's political insane asylum as this proposition from our noble President?

Not one-tenth of one per cent. of all the Carrancistas, their officers, men, officials and sympathizers in Mexico are of pure Spanish Caucasian blood. Not one per cent. are over one-quarter white, and not one-half of one per cent. are half white. The rest are just Indians who can speak Indio-Mexican. Of course, there are great Indians in Mexico, men like Juarez and Diaz, but they belong to a different class of Indians; to the ancient ruling classes of prehistoric times, and who are in no way reflective of the vermin-covered riff-raff that goes to make the Villa-Zapata-Carranza brigands and cutthroat mobs.

Why is it, to be logical, indeed, that President Wilson and Mr. Bryan do not turn our own Indians loose and give them the right to rob, to rape and to burn up all property in the States of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona? Why do they not give them back the lands they claim, give them a vote and allow them to burn and destroy all the railroads in those States? If it is right in Mexico, why in the name of glorious fulminate of mercury and Jupiter Pluvius, is it not right at home? If any man connected with this Administration can answer the questions that I ask, even with a fairly remote degree of logic, I will forever hold my peace. I am a Democrat and always have been one and always will be, but it is hard to teach a jackass his alphabet and harder still to reform a crook. Of course, I am speaking only of the Democratic emblem, not the Government; why, of course not. Who would dispute the Government? Not I! for I am orthodox in my Democracy and would not dare say what my real opinion is because I might desire to run for office or do something equally disreputable some

(Continued on next page.)

## PLAIN WORDS FROM THE BORDER---Continued

day and I do not want this laid up against me.

Have the American people ever stopped to think how very ridiculous we are in the Mexican matter? Certainly not! But we get as angry as a muzzled lion in a butcher shop if any one tells us that the Rubeville "Gazette" or the "Scientific Impostor" furnishes us our predigested opinions, but it is so just the same.

I am not defending General Huerta. I am condemning our own imbecilic policy, because we are practicing one thing at home and demanding another of Mexico.

But our Great and Glorious Government, whose principal duty is to watch the stars and see that the stripes do not get away, spend the people's money and fight the Trusts in public and pat them on the safe deposit combination in private, says that Huerta is a terrible man and cannot be tolerated or syncopated, etc. They say he killed a man or two or maybe three, and therefore he must retire to some far and distant loneliness. In other words, that the peculiar style of landscape architecture on his physiognomy being incompatible and at variance with the moral ideals of President Wilson he, Huerta, should first consult the contract diplomatic agent purposely dug out of the ice palace of Minnesota to thaw out at Vera Cruz, and then evacuate to some adjacent domain, just like that or something worse.

No; our great and glorious country could not stand Huerta. **He must go, muy pronto, carramba!**

Has it ever occurred to the average reader that Mr. Wilson's misguided sense of morality is costing Mexico hundreds of lives, and ten million dollars per month and that this with the consent, approval and connivance of our Government has gone on since March 4th, 1913? I only wish that the American press was not muzzled on this greatest of all American crimes.

If we were to admit the ridiculous probability (which competent judicial tribunals have disproved) that Huerta really did have the two disturbing elements, Madero and Suarez, executed, are they not dead? Why should Mr. Wilson in order to avenge a presumptive crime against two irresponsible agitators **condemn a hundred thousand men, women and children** to death by aiding a few ambitious bandits like Villa, Zapata and Carranza?

Where is your precedent, Mr. President?

Let me just name a few:

1st. We helped to drive the French out of Mexico and were the cause of the murder of Emperor Maximilian. State Department records prove it. Did that prevent us from recognizing Juarez and Diaz?

2nd. Emperor Don Pedro of Brazil was driven out by force and we were the first to recognize the republic.

3rd. The King and Queen of Servia were murdered in cold blood and the facts never ever denied; we were among the first to recognize the new king.

4th. The Kingdom of Portugal was overthrown by murder and war. Did we refuse recognition?

5th. When it suited our convenience to steal the Panama Canal from Colombia we ourselves got up a fake revolution and recognized as Panama Minister a man who was a Frenchman and was the drummer who had the Panama Canal for sale. He never had been a Colombian.

6th. When the revolutionists in Ecuador dragged President Alfaro's prostrate form through the streets of Quito until his head was practically knocked off against cobble stones, did we protest or fail to recognize the Ecuadorian Government?

7th. When Governor Goebel of Kentucky was shot to death why did the State of Indiana and the District of Columbia (United States) refuse extradition papers for ex-Governor Taylor when charged with responsibility in the alleged assassination?

8th. How about Wilson's recognition of China and Peru?

I cannot believe that the President is responsible for his attitude toward Mexico. He is being misled by a litter of sinister co-partners in the **Mexican Murder Syndicate.**

Of course, when the buffalo disappeared from the American plains the Indian had to surrender. When the Mexican leaders of the revolution have sold off all the available cattle to their American partners (are there any border Congressmen interested in this ???) the Mexican Indian "peon" and "pelado," for they are nothing but a low grade of Indians, will find no food on the range and will surrender as the North American Indian did when the bison had been destroyed.

In conclusion, I would like to know upon what real or imaginary ground and upon what tangible or reflective hallucination our government is withholding recognition to Huerta.

The fact is that the self-styled constitutionalists do not want Huerta, nor Villa, nor Carranza, nor anything on earth, over the earth or under it that really represents a government. They do not want any government and the leaders, mostly just common thieves and gentile renegades, are leading the semi-civilized Indian peon and city pelado to loot, for whom? Just for the leaders, so that if they should ever win they might ascend to the profession of Lagartijas on San Francisco avenue in Mexico City or in the States.

The President says that he will not support "The Interests" in Mexico because I believe that outside of the Waters-Pierce group all are clamoring for the recognition of Huerta. It is not because any one has any personal interest in who is President but because nothing short of a benevolent despotism and mild dictatorship can ever bring Mexico back to peace and prosperity. Those of us who have interests in Mexico want a government of force because the Mexican Indian masses in Mexico can no more understand governmental paternity and affection than our Indians can. **I am sorry to have to say it, but in Mexico a government without a club and willingness to use it is impossible.**

President Wilson and Mr. Bryan both have absolutely refused to listen to the facts submitted through the diplomatic or consular corps in Mexico, to the reports of army officers stationed on the border, to the results of investigations made by the agents of the Department of Justice and to reputable private advices. I hardly know if it is politic to state that our attitude in Mexico is entirely due to the evil influences of a certain secret society, the individual members of which were promised vast concessions by Madero. These people are fighting Huerta and the Roman Catholic church in Mexico by using our government as the catspaw. Too well do I realize that this is a dangerous statement to make, but it is nevertheless a true one and I make it so that the Catholics of the United States may know that our country is lending itself to the nefarious machinations of private anti-Catholic societies seeking to reap personal gain for its members in Mexico through star chamber devices and traitorous methods. Strange that the American Catholics have never discovered this infamous plot to use our non-religious government against their creed.

Of these facts I have absolute evidence. Does the President know that he is being made a tool of by a few men in Mexico City who want to dominate that Government as they dominated Madero? I hardly believe it possible.

Some one will quote to me that "fools rush where angels fear to tread," but some one had to say this in order to reform American ignorance on the Mexican situation and in its place substitute intelligence.

---

**Loud hints of trouble between Carranza and Villa.**

* * *

**Carranza reported moving to Juarez to attack Pancho.**

* * *

**Don't believe it. Carranza will keep just as far away from the bandit as he would from a rattlesnake.**

* * *

**But if Villa goes south to Torreon—well, he had better keep an eye for a metaphorical knife in his back.**

# What Does It All Mean?

By Saterios Nichelson.

## UNITED STATES POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MEXICO.

That the Great Powers are becoming restive under the conditions imposed by the "Watchful Waiting" attitude of President Wilson toward the abominable situation existing throughout Mexico today, is not to be wondered.

It is now fully understood that the Lind mission was a direct result of the simultaneous sending of an identical note, by the various members of the Diplomatic Corps in Mexico City to their respective governments, expressing the conviction that the "Non-recognition" policy of the Wilson Administration, was contributory cause of the chaotic conditions then existing in Mexico. Courteously, but firmly requesting the United States government to give definite information as to the results expected from its attitude, and at the same time pointing out the responsibility the continuance of such a policy necessarily involved, the powers expressed the hope that the Washington Administration would see its way clear to reverse its decision, hus recognizing the sovereign right of the Mexican people to adjust their internal affairs as they saw fit.

That the complacency of the Wilson Administration has experienced several severe shocks since the avowal of its purpose of adhering strictly and unalterably to the policy of "non-recognition" was natural and despite the transitory good effect of his Mobile speech by the President declaring that the traditions and principle of the Monroe Doctrine would be vigorously upheld and defended if necessary; still a fuller realization upon the part of the American public of the import of that responsibility, has awakened a feeling akin to anxious concern as to the goal toward which such a policy will inevitably commit the American nation.

It is now quite apparent that the Powers will not be content with the mere reiteration of the present policy and that they expect from this government an early and more definite statement as to just how Mr. Wilson conceives his present course will secure the much needed peace in Mexico, and as to how the duty incumbent upon the President as advocate of the Monroe Doctrine can be fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The important questions now confronting the Administration seem to be: "What is the government of the United States going to do to lift the grievous burdens now imposed upon foreign interests in Mexico and just when shall the Government set about securing the needed reliefs?" That European governments look to us as the paramount power in this hemisphere is natural and that no coercive action may be taken without our consent is beyond question. The "restiveness" however, is natural and pertinent because no one can foresee what the result is to be. Now, it is all very well to insist upon the elimination of President Huerta, but what if he is eliminated? Will the Wilson Administration recognize Carranza, or Villa or any other of the constitutionalist leaders who may happen to be more powerful than Carranza? President Wilson's pronunciamento against Huerta, upon moral grounds solely, surely is likewise applicable to brigands of the Villa and Zapata type as actual violators of all rules of civilized warfare, whereas Carranza himself is indictable upon similar charges, at least as an accessory both before and after the fact, as the history of pillage, rapine and murder in many instances conclusively proves. Truly then recognition of Carranza would be a repudiation of the standard set up by our President to the effect that "not only consent of the governed" would be required, but that in any case no government founded upon blood would be recognized by the government.

A fair-minded man is credited with having considered all available facts germane to the case, before committing himself to a final decision and it is to be assumed that the President not only has access to, but has carefully examined such facts in the Mexican controversy. It is assumed he became convinced that whether or not the leaders of the opposing factions in Mexico are fighting for revenge and retaliation, their respective followers are for the most part seeking either the paymaster's money or the "dinero" plus the grand opportunity to loot, pillage, etc., at will and with immunity. A less sagacious man than our President could not fail to foresee that the inevitable result of such a warfare must necessarily mean the mere replacing of one President by another, who, in turn, will be declared an usurper by the disgruntled force which has not profited by the change in leadership. That Mexico is overrun by professional revolution-organizers (the majority of whom hail from other countries) is an indisputable fact and that they would be satisfied merely by a change in the personnel of the government is not at all conceivable, unless they themselves should acquire the power.

Now, the American press and public have been most docile and patient, even in the face of the inaction imposed and enforced by the attitude of "watchful waiting" and this in itself is singular when the temperament of both is considered. Then, too, the Powers have been at considerable pains in giving the Wilson policy a fair trial and ample opportunity has been afforded the administration to develop a definite plan serving to terminate the intolerable situation existing in Mexico. Now that the situation is no longer "a family affair," it is to be expected that foreign governments will demand some form of action upon the part of the Wilson Administration, whether drastic or conciliatory does not so much concern these Powers as that something be done and done without loss of time. Thinking Americans perceive the diplomatic advantage of these Powers over the United States, for whereas the Monroe Doctrine guarantees protection of their interests, these powers are not pledged in the slightest degree to abstain from individuality or jointly securing the protection they may judge necessary for their subjects in Mexico. "Waiting," HOWEVER "Watchful" may eventually degenerate into procrastination and it does not in any case secure the desired results; hence it is conceivable that even though the United States Congress may tacitly agree to remain silent upon the subject it is highly probable an informed press supported by a citizenship that delights in fair play, and is apprehensive of the possibilities of complications with foreign Powers may insist upon a full and impartial discussion of the Mexican situation, if the present policy is not changed considerably.

In view of the above facts it occurs to the writer that but one of two courses remain open for President Wilson to follow: namely, that of an immediate reversal of his policy of "non-recognition of the de facto government of Mexico," by morally requesting the Provisional President Huerta to designate the day for general elections irrespective of candidates; guaranteeing him in return that such persons as may be elected will be acceptable to the United States Government. The only other course is that of intervention, actual, prompt and effective.

The former policy would be not only more humane, prudent and honorable to the nation as a whole, being in accord with the desire of our respected Secretary of State, who has so earnestly prayed for peace for the Mexican people, but it would meet the approval of the majority of American citizens. Such an act of reversal of opinion would afford an enviable example for the magnanimity of the President himself. In any event as the present policy has borne no effective results and is disapproved by well-informed Americans as it has been openly ridiculed by foreigners, and as this consensus of opinion should be respected by the President it is hoped he will do his manifest duty to all—for the wishes of the people, the honor of the nation, and the welfare of suffering Mexico, are of paramount importance.

Alternately praised for the President's courageous advocacy of the Monroe Doctrine and censured for the injection of the personal element into the consideration of the Mexican situation, it occurs to the writer that due deliberation should be given to the following and it will lead to a conclusion different from that so persistently pursued by the present Administration.

Grotius has laid down the legal axiom that "non-interference in the internal affairs of a foreign power is a law" that should not be violated. The non-recognition policy is in effect a violation of this law in that it has blocked financial aid from foreign Powers, morally pledged to follow the initiative of the United States. Here was an act of intervention, morally at least, in the internal affairs of Mexico. That this slight to the sovereignty of the Mexican nation was resented in sundry and humiliating ways cannot be disputed and that it served to cement the more or less disorganized loyal Federal Mexicans into one group and made more adhesive their factional opponents is not singular, so that the resentment evinced by all classes toward the American Administration was but natural.

Secondly, it should be remembered that the Monroe Doctrine was not conceived in a desire to oppress, much less to dismember any of the Latin-American republics, but was formulated to protect them against European aggression. Now the "non-recognition" policy has indisputably and deliberately oppressed the de facto government of Mexico and is a contributory cause to the continued strife and dismemberment of said government, which is derogatory to the

(Continued on next page.)

**WHAT DOES IT MEAN?—continued**

principles of the "non-interference law" and the Monroe Doctrine as well. This much the Mexican nation can charge the WilsonAdministration as being guilty of.

Let us look at the situation from another, a more selfish, more practical, and more business-like angle. With the opening of the Panama Canal is it not conceivable that the protectorate policy in Mexico may lead to general distrust of the United States not alone in Mexico but throughout all Latin America? Upon this broader viewpoint is the present Administration warranted in thus arousing the enmity of our sister Republics? Hardly. The proposed protectorate over the Central American countries and a sympathetic understanding at least by the Mexican Government as to the intents and purposes of such a policy is a "desideratum" President Wilson ought to appreciate. That protectorate should be extended so as to embrace such South American Republics as Argentine, Brazil and Chile into one grand Pan-American Monroe Doctrine. That the President should have formulated a policy that has awakened the distrust of our South American Sister Republics and has aroused a pronounced feeling of resentment against the Washington officials responsible for that policy, upon the part of the Mexican nation, is surprising in the extreme.

I am convinced, however, of the high motives of the President and confident that his loyalty to Democratic principles is such that he will not permit the opportunity to pass without securing to his party the prestige consequent upon the fathering of the Pan-American Monroe Doctrine Protectorate; nor do I conceive it possible that he will forego the great opportunity of asserting his vigorous constructive statesmanship along this line. In view of the pressure from without and the incentives from within to prompt, effective and magnanimous action, I anticipate we may witness in the near future a complete reversal of the "non-recognition" policy.

Now, such reversal of policy will secure to Mexico the needed aid from abroad that will determine the victor to the present struggle there in the shortest possible time. Nor will the raising of the embargo upon arms be inconsistent with such a policy of fair play. In any event, the recognition of de facto government will render unnecessary the only other solution of the Mexican problem which is intervention, and which bleeding Mexico does not deserve, nor the American people desire, however much certain soulless corporations are striving for it.

---

Castillo says it was Villa's men who were responsible for the Cumbre tunnel outrage, in which fifteen Americans were killed.

* * *

Castillo or Villa—what difference does it make? They are all of the same breed.

# LEST WE FORGET

Friend Villa has to see that his rival Castillo is executed—after a trial, of course.

* * *

The Administration's efforts to draw a distinction between them are pitiful.

* * *

You know, Castillo's a bandit, while Villa, why, Villa's a friend of the Constitution.

* * *

But Castillo was Madero's bodyguard.

* * *

Then, of course, he was a noble patriot.

* * *

When is a bandit not a bandit?

* * *

When he is playing the game of the Maderos, the American oil interests, and incidentally the Administration.

* * *

When he is in partnership with Texans for the disposal of stolen Mexican cattle.

* * *

When he can hire a press agent to whitewash him.

* * *

Who through the gullible press correspondents outlines a millenium for Mexico when "Huerta falls."

* * *

What would we think of a man in this country who would start to loot and destroy and murder and rape and incite the riff-raff of the country to do the same, because, according to his press agent, crime and poverty should not exist in the world.

* * *

The man would be branded as either a blithering idiot or an arch-criminal.

* * *

But the pure-minded Administration in Washington is supporting that kind of thing in Mexico.

* * *

Why?

* * *

It cannot be through ignorance, because no matter how conditions in Mexico were misrepresented to the Administration in the beginning, it has since learned the truth.

* * *

Is it with the idea of helping Mexico destroy itself?

* * *

Is it simply pig-headedness?

* * *

Is it blundering ineptitude?

* * *

Or is there some ulterior purpose hidden from the people?

It appears now that the Administration is no longer opposed to revolutions in Latin-American countries.

* * *

But the revolutionists must say they are for constitutional government.

* * *

How easy!

* * *

Why, they always say that.

* * *

What a terrible story that was about a naval lieutenant who bruised his hip on the seat of a carriage.

* * *

Which trivial incident was twisted by the nimble correspondents into a Mexican plot to assassinate our naval officers, blow up our ships, and all sorts of dire things.

* * *

Is it fair to distort the truth like that?

* * *

But why look for fairness in the press of this country as regards anything Mexican?

* * *

Carranza has sent for Reverend Tupper, according to press reports.

* * *

Remember he's the Peace Forum commissioner who pleaded so piteously for the lifting of the embargo on arms so that his dear friends the Mexicans might kill one another more expeditiously.

* * *

What does Carranza want him to do now?

* * *

Get the Administration to send somebody down to assassinate Huerta?

* * *

Oh, these reverends and ex-reverends are an influential lot.

* * *

They can give more beautiful reasons for arming bandits and wholesale executions, not to speak of fouler crimes, than the devil's advocate.

* * *

This fellow Tupper says he had a very satisfactory talk with the President and Secretary Bryan.

* * *

Um-m, really!

* * *

The President asked Congress to reverse itself on the Panama Canal tolls legislation.

* * *

But the Administration will not reverse itself on its Mexican policy.

* * *

Which more than anything else is responsible for the foreign complications that threaten the peace and prestige of the United States.

# HE KNOWS

Washington, D. C., Wednesday—Senator William Alden Smith, of Michigan, one of the Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which made an investigation of Mexican affairs under the Nelson resolution, gave exclusively to the New York "Herald" of February 12 the first statement he has made in regard to the Administration's Mexican policy.

**President Wilson's action in lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms from the United States into Mexico is condemned by Senator Smith as "inhuman and barbarous." He strongly criticizes the administration for not having recognized President Huerta.**

While the Administration's policy was in the formative stage Senator Smith and other Republican Senators refrained from hostility and criticism. It has been generally understood this was in deference to the President's wish to present abroad the appearance of united opposition to President Huerta and thus force his early abdication.

Assails Arms Policy.

This having failed, Senator Smith feels that he may freely criticize the policy that has been adopted. In part he says:

"I think the lifting of the American embargo against the shipment of arms and ammunition to Mexico was a barbarous proceeding. At the time the act of Congress was passed emphasizing a little more strongly the attitude of this government with reference to neutrality, I did not favor it. I feel that it was an attempt on the part of some one—I do not know whom—to strengthen the hands of the Mexican rebels who had at that moment become supreme in Mexico. But the forces of Madero disintegrated so rapidly that our attempt to strengthen Madero's tenure through greater vigilance in withholding arms and ammunition from his former chiefs, who at that moment were engaged in rebellion against Madero, failed.

"To arm bandits freely on this side of the border is, in my opinion, a crime. If the President had granted belligerent rights to the rebels upon the ground that a state of war existed and that a government was sought to be erected in place of the established government there might have been some reason in such a course. To hand over to semi-savages and bandits American arms with which they may murder one another is barbarous and inhuman.

Favors Recognition of Huerta.

"Because our government had made a mistake in not recognizing the de facto government as had been done by other countries of the world having representatives in Mexico, except Argentine, Chile and Brazil, was no good reason why we should continue to align ourselves with the disorderly prowling bands who preyed upon the property of American citizens at will and murdered American citizens when such a course seemed to them for their purposes to be necessary.

**"I have no hesitation whatever in saying that hundreds of American lives have been sacrificed, American women have been attacked and the torch has been applied time and again to the property of our citizens. This condition will not be improved by the course which this government is now taking. Instead, it will be aggravated.**

"All the leaders in arms against Huerta except Carranza, who is a feeble old man, are bandits and ruffians of the worst character. Zapata was execrated by public opinion when he was in rebellion against Diaz. The world looked upon him as an irresponsible and venturesome half caste when he was in rebellion against Madero. It is not surprising that he is now in rebellion against Huerta for he will be in rebellion against any government until he himself holds the reins.

"Aguilar, who is second among the prominent leaders in the rebellion, fought against Diaz, then against Madero and now against Huerta. His contribution to the cause of constitutionalism was the massacre of soldiers and non-combatants after the capture of Victoria.

Calls Villa Mere Bandit.

"Villa has been a famous bandit in Northern Mexico for twenty-five years. His contribution to the cause of constitutionalism were the massacres at Juarez, Ojinaga and Chihuahua.

"It will be no credit to our government if the time ever shall come when Villa, Zapata and Aguilar will govern Mexico. Their government would be a 'travesty and a disgrace to civilization and the officers of our government who shall be in any way helpful to them will not be excused for taking this horn of the dilemma as the lesser of the evils with which we are now confronted.

"I cannot understand how treaties of peace and good will can literally be showered upon us from the Department of State, while at the very moment we are being urged to join in such a wholesome festival of peace we are blindfolding our soldiers and tying the hands of the officials of the Department of Justice and permitting revolutionary juntas with headquarters in the United States to obtain arms and ammunition with which our neighbors are to be permitted to kill one another.

"I regret exceedingly that the circumstances attending the death of Madero should have been permitted to influence the action of our government.

**"No single foreign Minister who was in the Mexican capital at the time of Madero's death has reported to his government that Huerta had anything to do with that unfortunate phase of Mexican affairs.** It will not do to allow such a circumstance to so prejudice our government that further lives of Americans and Mexicans, as well as those of other foreigners, shall be taken in revenge. Yet there has been abundant evidence that the attitude of our government under both the administrations of Taft and Wilson has been influenced more by the ghost of Madero than by consideration for the real situation as it now exists in our neighbor to the south."

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Villa will think twice and then some more about going far from the American border.

* * *

He has made his money and salted it away in El Paso and New York banks.

* * *

Why should he go so far away from it?

* * *

Or spend it to advance the interests of the Maderos and Carranzas?

* * *

Extensive military operations cost piles of dinero.

* * *

It is so much easier and profitable to loot and "confiscate" in Chihuahua.

* * *

The New York "Tribune" sent a man down to Mexico to "write up" the situation.

* * *

After forty-eight hours in Mexico he cabled a long story to his paper to the effect that the Mexicans want United States intervention.

* * *

He knew it all in forty-eight hours!

* * *

Why did he go to Mexico at all? He could have written as intelligently right on Park Row, without the slightest knowledge of Mexico.

* * *

The chances are that like John Lind he doesn't even speak Spanish.

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## National Honor

**We must give in to England on the Panama Canal Tolls.**

**We must continue to destroy Mexico.**

## National Buncombe!

### A CHARITABLE VIEW

Even those who are most impressed by Mr. Wilson's lofty moral standards, and who are most anxious to see him emerge safely from the new and grave responsibilities which he has brought upon his country in connection with the Mexican problem, and who admire his determination to avoid war if possible, frankly admit that they cannot see how he will find a way out of the situation when he is called upon, as he presently will be, to choose a stable constitutional and blood-guiltless government for a country that has never known peace in all the centuries of its history except under the iron rule of a military master.

The secrecy and silence of the Wilson Administration may do for the present. Democrats, Republicans and Progressives alike refuse to make the President's difficulties any greater than they are by public criticism.

All seem to understand the impasse to which his uncompromising theories have brought the country. All feel that whatever mistakes he has made he is, after all, the President of the whole country and that party spirit and hostile judgments should remain mute while he attempts to grope in his own way for a solution that will avert the bloody and costly alternative of war.—New York "Evening Mail."

### The Shibboleth for Bryan's Ears.

If Joseph W. Bailey still takes interest in mundane affairs, what joy must fill his heart when he notes the rapid spread throughout this hemisphere of a faith of which he was once the sole custodian—that which has its feet firmly imbedded in the constitution!

Down in Peru, by way of illustration, a "constitutional!" President is evicted, jailed and exiled by forces boasting a truer "constitutionalism." In Hayti several bands of sable patriots are fighting for domination, each trying to outcry the others in their demand for "constitutionalism." In Nicaragua American marines are bolstering up a "constitutional" government and giving it protection against "constitutionalists" who would, if this protection were removed, get their "constitutional" hands on whatever is left of the treasury

**We are amusing Europe.**

* * *

**A laughing-stock to some, an invitation to others.**

* * *

**Nothing is impossible in that line—to the would-be autocrats in Washington.**

* * *

**One would think he was U. S. press agent for the "cause."**

* * *

**Which will get us nowhere.**

* * *

**Unless the Administration intervenes with an army.**

* * *

**Which is the very thing it professes not to want to do.**

* * *

**Huerta stands for Mexican nationality.**

* * *

**Whereas the Carranzas, the Villas, etc., don't give a hoot about their country, and deliberately sell it for their own selfish ends.**

* * *

**All of which will be revealed in due time as surely as right is right.**

# THE FLAG OF PILLAGE

From "El Independiente" of Mexico City.

A revolution does not simply mean that a group or various groups of armed outlaws declare themselves against authority in order to engage in sacking, homicide and violence.

**A revolution in order to deserve such a name must form a body and contain a spirit, be consistent and diplomatic, be prudent and intelligent, employ force whenever it may be necessary; destroy its enemies, but only its enemies; be aggressive but must know how to arouse sympathy; and, above all have cohesion and know the direction in which it is going.**

Even the worst bandits, when they enter into a compact to fight the common enemy, agree to a truce among themselves in order to realize their purpose. Never do they fight one against the other, while the spoils are in sight. The fighting among themselves is carried on after, when the spoils are to be divided.

The "constitutionalists" are not even capable of having that patience which is favorable to their interests.

**These wolves are devouring themselves.**

So it was before. President Madero never had worse enemies than his debts, relatives and favorites. His brother Gustavo used to attack him in the "Nueva Era", and tried in the last moments of his ephemeral power to make it appear that Francisco was ousted by Congress, in order to assume the presidency himself, by means of an intrigue in which Pino Suarez figured. Pino Suarez also aspired to the supreme control, and exploited himself in "El Intransigente." Nor is it strange to those who know the workings of the press that Don Ernesto Madero was paying four thousand pesos monthly to a paper of greater circulation to cruelly attack the deceived Don Francisco.

All of the wolfish band tried to make the weakness of Madero a stepping stone to power.

Those who are still struggling to take root in the mire are the rotten branches of that polluted tree. They are those who are decorated with the pompous title of revolutionists. We have already demonstrated that they do not deserve that name and that they are not capable of triumph. Now, these very men are giving us new proof of the base passions that impel them to claw each other, even in the most anxious moments of the strife for power.

Emiliano Zapata repudiates, detests and condemns Venustiano Carranza. Francisco Villa, in power in Chihuahua, forbids Carranza to approach that section; Maytorena, master of some ranches, is independent of the bearded "first chief." And if to-morrow Villa found himself in need of the help of Carranza or Maytorena, and asked for it, it would not be strange if they took him a prisoner and shot him. And if Zapata, importuned, started toward the North, he would be destroyed by any one of his co-religionists.

Each one of them wishes to have a territory of his own so that he may rule supreme over it without contradiction, and all coincide in one thought: that of getting to be President of the Republic and ruling the entire nation. If any one of them triumphed we would see unthought-of things: the "revolution," instead of being united and transformed into the government, would be infinitely multiplied and sub-divided. Then we would not only have the plan of San Luis, of Tacubaya, of Villa Ayala, etc., but that of Huehuetoca, of Calera, of Cautitlan, of Chupaderos, of Xochimilco. Each infamous city would produce its plan and its leader. On each ranch there would be a candidate, armed and mounted, who in expectancy of assuming the Presidency, would engage in robbing and raping.

The "revolution" has got control of some places by force of arms, but nevertheless, it does not triumph. Why? Because the organic resistance of society is superior to that superficial infection of brigandage; because the actual government is not supported by force of bayonets or the amount of the national treasury, almost exhausted; but the public conscience, the strong tendency to maintain order, peace and achievement, which is the one thought of all the intelligent classes of progressivism.

The great thought of the revolution is systematic robbing. And notwithstanding the theories which drop from the lips of the Washington Administration and the resources which it offers the bands of brigands who pillage the country, the revolution does not triumph. We do not think that we deserve the shame of being governed by bandits.

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**Nobody Wants to See the Administration Confounded.**

**It is Tying Its Own Hands by Its Blundering Mexican Policy.**

**WHY?**

# The Troubles of A Bandit

(By Telegraph to the New York "Tribune.")

El Paso, Tex., Feb. 13.—If reports received today from apparently authentic sources in Sonora are to be credited, General Pancho Villa is waiting on the border to greet Venustiano Carranza—but not as first chief of the revolution. Reports, unconfirmed but persistent, are that Carranza, with nearly three thousand men, who until to-day was supposed to be on the west coast of Mexico, planning a campaign against points still held by Federals there, in reality is in the hills of Eastern Sonora, awaiting an opportunity to come to Juarez.

According to the reports, some of them from rebel secret service men. Carranza purposes to take Juarez peaceably, if he can, but forcibly if necessary. In Juarez he plans to establish his provisional government until such time as it will be safe for him to go to Chihuahua City. The Sonora chief expects to catch Villa unawares, and, with his three thousand men, he expects that Villa will see the futility of opposing him, there being fewer than one thousand of Villa's men in Juarez or available in Northern Chihuahua.

Carranza hopes that Villa will hail him as chief. If he does not, then Carranza expects to use his three thousand men in forcibly seizing Juarez. All of his is according to the reports coming from Sonora, where Carranza is supreme.

### Villa Knows of Plans.

That Villa has learned of the plans of Carranza and has known of them for days, and that he is remaining near the border to thwart the Sonora leader's ambitions, is admitted by rebels who are close to the Chihuahua rebel leader. Villa came to Juarez hurriedly and unannounced about the time Carranza gave out the report that he (Carranza) was going to the west coast.

When advised about Carranza and his plans Villa has time and again said that he was not friendly with the Sonora chief, and he has often said that he knew nothing of Carranza. He has intimated that he cared little what Carranza did, provided he did not interfere with Villa's plans.

The split between Villa and Carranza is believed to be real. Villa does not trust the Sonora chief, and is not willing to surrender to him any of the prestige which hard fighting has given to the ex-bandit in Chihuahua. Villa may leave Juarez at any time. He will not say when, but it is regarded as certain that if he goes it will be only to Chihuahua City to strengthen his position there and not to Torreon, near which his army of nearly 12,000 men is anxiously awaiting him.

The rumors say that Villa considers the movements of Carranza just now of vastly greater importance to the rebel cause than the campaign against Torreon. For a time Villa gave out the impression that he would recognize Carranza as chief and would welcome him to Chihuahua. That was before President Wilson had lifted the embargo on arms to Mexico, and when Villa counted on receiving recognition for the rebels in Washington, provided they presented a solid front. Even then it was said that the two factions were widely apart.

### Expect Battle at Juarez.

That Juarez is again to be a bone of contention and the scene of a battle is becoming a settled conviction among those who are in touch with the situation, and if Carranza is really in the hills of Eastern Sonora the battle may not be far distant.

Federal soldiers operating in squads of fifty or sixty men and attempting to burn bridges and destroy tracks on the Mexican Central Railroad between Juarez and Chihuahua are proving a menace to Juarez. As a result of the renewed Federal activity rebel troops are being sent up and down the railroad, and it has become necessary to station forces at various points.

Rebel officials fear that the Federals are trying to isolate Villa at Juarez and make easy his capture in case a large Federal force reported moving from Saltillo to attack Chihuahua succeeds in accomplishing its purpose.

The Federals appearing at various points below Juarez to-day are believed to be some of those who succeeded in crossing from the American side near El Paso on Wednesday night.

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(By Telegraph to the New York "Tribune.")

El Paso, Tex., Feb. 12.—Federals at Torreon, to the number of twevle thousand, have started an aggressive campaign to drive back the rebel army of General Pancho Villa, and have won the first battle, according to official dispatches received at the Mexican consulate here to-day.

The dispatches say that the Federals have driven the rebels from Jiminez, where Villa had planned to establish a base for the Torreon campaign. The Federal commander, General Velasco, has moved his headquarters from Torreon to Gomez Palacio and has established outposts as far north as Jiminez.

The reports also say that a Federal command is moving from Saltillo to attack Chihuahua and reclaim the State.

To destroy rebel communication with Juarez and cut off Villa in the border city, 258 armed Mexican Federal sympathizers are moving into the interior of Eastern Mexico. The expedition is one of three which had planned to enter Mexico last night at three different places.

One of the expeditions was headed off by American troops near Ysleta, Tex., and a second was scared away from the border by knowledge that the plot had been discovered, but the third, comprising nearly 300 men, succeeded in getting into Mexico from Ysleta.

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## FRANCISCO VILLA.

No great man in the public eye at present understands the value of publicity to greatness better than Francisco Villa, sometimes a filibustering marauder, now General in Chief, and the only commander actually in sight of the constitutionalist forces in Mexico. Villa is fond of being interviewed. He has lately been picturing for the press the transformed Mexico which will follow his forthcoming successes on the field of batttle. A chicken always in the pot in every peasant's home was the promise made by royal Henry of Navarre. Forty acres and a mule were promised to every liberated slave in the South in carpet-bagging days. Similarly, Villa promises to every poor Mexican a piece of land, and he also promises that he will establish schools for all the children. The army is to be abolished altogether, but military colonies are to be formed in which the men will be trained three days of every week for the wars which will never occur, and work on the other days. He will establish great industries throughout the country.

In fact, Villa has a big programme in his mind, and while he declares that he recognizes Don Venustiano as his leader, until another leader is legally chosen by the people, it is clear that he expects Don Venustiano to take orders from Villa and proceed to the establishment of an industrial Utopia according to Villa's plans. Carranza, on the other hand, being a man of education, with some small knowledge of governmental practice, is doubtless wondering how he will be able, if he ever gains the upper hand in Mexico, to pay the huge debt that has been incurred by nearly four years of continual rebellion.

Meanwhile, Villa, though he promises to do wonders presently, lingers at Juarez, waiting for Carranza to make a move, and Carranza, though he is reported to be "advancing," is not yet discernible to the naked eye. The rumors of disagreement between these two are doubtless greatly exaggerated. That is to say, they keep too many miles of almost impassible territory between them to disagree very much. Nobody who knows Villa, or has watched his recent career closely, believes that submissiveness is one of his qualities. Poor Madero had a number of aiders and abettors in his revolution, not one of whom ever intended to surrender any power whatever to the ostensible leader. The relations between Villa and Carranza are similar, except that Villa has done something besides talk. He has not yet shaken Huerta, however, and although the rumors from the neighborhood of the capital are frequently alarming, there is still a chance that the soldiers of Huerta will overcome the rebels at Torreon. The contrast between the two important leaders in Mexico at present is impressive. The Dictator a stern, reticent, well-trained soldier, crafty, self-possessed and resolute; the leader of the rebels in the field a very child in ignorance, with no comprehension of statesmanship, wholly self-satisfied, yet, it must be admitted, courageous and purposeful.—New York "Times."

**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## WHEN DIPLOMATISTS BECOME BUSY.

Proper confounding of those Democrats at Washington who have been deploring the uselessness of diplomatists is furnished by important happenings at Mexico City. Who will dare say that our diplomatic corps is a needless appendage upon the body politic now that Mr. O'Shaughnessy has so valorously bombarded the provisional government with "sharp notes" of protest against wicked Mexican newspapers that have permitted uncomplimentary references to President Wilson to appear in their columns?

The possibility that this episode may spur President Huerta to retaliation in kind is, however, one that may well send cold shivers down the backs of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. What if Senor Don A. Algara R. de Terreros, Mexican Charge d'Affaires at Washington, were instructed to rush post-haste to the State Department with formal protest every time an American newspaper said anything uncomplimentary of Provisional President Huerta? How long could the asphalt in the region of McPherson and Lafayette squares stand the strain?—New York "Herald."

## SOME FEATURES OF THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

There are some features in the Mexican situation entirely unsatisfactory.

The only reason alleged by President Wilson for his rejection of Huerta is the participation of the latter in the killing of Madero, the former President of Mexico.

President Wilson declares that the time has come to refuse recognition to a ruler who has reached his high place through assassination.

Whatever we may think of the principle, we have never yet heard any proof that Huerta was an accomplice in the murder of Madero. Ambassador Wilson—and he was on the spot and well situated for information—has publicly declared that it is his opinion that Huerta had nothing to do with the killing of Madero and was in ignorance of it.

Possibly President Wilson has authentic information that Huerta shared in the murder; but if he has, he has never communicated it to the American people.

Another distressing feature is the constant and public repetition of the charge that the series of Mexican revolutions has been promoted by great business interests in the United States.

If such is the case—and most people believe it to be so—the crime of these trusts is unspeakable.

Congress is every ready to investigate. Why is there such reticence about Mexico? Why do men who constantly announce they abhor bloodshed allow these ignorant victims of commercial rascality to butcher one another? Why not show them whose hand has set their bloody fratricidal strife in motion. War for commercial advantage is not a strange experience in the annals of England. We had hoped that our country had reached a higher standard. But perhaps war is war only when we are engaged in it. Mexican blood is of less value than Mexican oil.

An opinion that is nursed by some Americans is that Carranza represents American ideals. This is far from the truth.

Carranza, like Madero, belongs to the rich landlord class in Mexico. He possesses thousands of acres and lords it like a feudal despot over the peons who live on his lands. He is an aristocrat and of Spanish blood.

Huerta is half-Indian like the bulk of the Mexicans. He is a peon by birth and sympathizes with the peons. He is poor personally and has nothing in common with the wealthy landowners.

We must remember also that Huerta was strongly pro-American in his sympathies. He favored a close union with the United States.

Madero and Carranza looked toward Japan and favored intimate relations with the Japanese.

Villa is a bandit drunk with blood and eager for power. Fate has opened up a way before his ambition. Carranza would be a puppet in his strong, rough hands.

It may be ultimate destiny that the United States shall set up a man to rule Mexico and uphold him for a time by American bayonets.

But it does not require the gift of prophecy to predict that as soon as the American bayonets disappear, that man, whoever he may be, will be slaughtered like a sheep in the shambles.

Then revolution upon revolution and confusion worse confounded.—"Catholic Mirror."

## PRACTICAL IF NOT CONSISTENT.

President Wilson is to be congratulated, not commiserated, upon his recognition of the provisional government set up in Peru by an army officer, Colonel Benavides, who displaced President Billinghurst and put him in prison. It has been well said that "a foolish consistency is a hobgoblin of litttle minds."

Consider how awkward and unavailing a refusal to recognize the unconstitutionality of Provisional President Benavides would be. No warships can be spared for concentration at Callao, and there is rather a dearth than a surplus of marines in the Caribbean for emergency duty at Vera Cruz and Tampico. The financial condition of Peru might be better, but her trade relations with England are so profitable to that country that even the averting of President Wilson's face at this juncture would not cause a restriction of credit at Lima. Benavides would not crumble. What in the world is to be gained or accomplished by reading the riot act to the Peruvians? Do we want all of Spanish America below the Rio Grande against us?

Mr. Wilson's critics quote to confound him that lofty passage in which he said that "we can have no sympathy with those who seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests and ambitions," but at this distance from Peru who can judge whether the cap fits Benavides? He, like Orestes Zamor, the new ruler of Hayti, may be a true patriot and a thoroughly practical man. Very sensibly Mr. Wilson has decided that a sentiment, however well expressed, shall not tie his foreign policy into a gordian knot that only the sword can sever.

Furthermore, Mr. Wilson is not to be deceived by the myth of constitutional government in Peru. Fidelity to an ideal may have misled him in the case of Mexico, where constitutional government is a fetish to a few if it is not a fact; but everybody knows that nobody takes the Constitution seriously in Peru. The ousted President himself, Guillermo Billinghurst, was not elected by the people as that document requires, but by the national Congress, which acted opportunely when the popular choice could not be determined. There is no doubt that President Billinghurst did his best, and he was probably in advance of his time. Peru was not ripe for an economist and financier who was also a reformer, and he fell.

**Mr. Wilson's decision not to apply the Mexican policy to Peru shows that he understands the situation perfectly. Perhaps it will turn out that the Mexican policsy is not so inflexible that it cannot be bent to suit conditions.**—New York "Sun."

## OUR WEAK MEXICAN POLICY.

The recent action of the Washington Administration in removing the embargo on arms has further embittered the elements supporting Huerta, through the encouragement it has given to the rebels, who by their control of the northern border are able to import arms and ammunition without trouble. Although the Federal Government has defaulted on the interest on the Mexican public debt, it would be a mistake to suppose that Huerta and his advisors have reached the end of their financial resources. Emissaries have been sent to New York and Europe, whose avowed purpose is to negotiate fresh loans, which they are likely enough to secure on the pledge of valuable concessions. While the revolutionists may refuse to recognize the validity of these concessions, should they eventually come to power, the fact that all the European governments have recognized the Huerta Administration makes it certain that any future government that may be set up in Mexico will be compelled to recognize and respect any grants that Huerta may make.

Thinking men will view with alarm the mere possibility that either Villa, the ex-bandit, or Carranza, the rebel leader, may eventually secure the presidency. Neither of these men would be regarded abroad with confidence, as aside from any plundering that they might individually authorize, they will be compelled to provide out of the public treasury for the hungry hordes that make up their armies. As the scene of fighting recedes from the border and goes inland our chance of successfully intervening grows daily less.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## STRANGE BEDFELLOWS.

Uncle Sam has had some strange associates. But never before has he been in partnership with such a degraded and disgusting scoundrel as Villa of Mexico. When President Taft laid an embargo upon the exportation of arms and ammunition into Mexico, he first consulted Congress and obtained due authority. This was his Constitutional duty. Forgetting this duty in his bitter, personal prejudice against President Huerta, misled by the Ring in the State Department, and blind to facts and consequences, Mr. Wilson has raised the embargo with the avowed intention of assisting the villain Villa. Henceforth the brigandage against the legitimate government of Mexico is to be conducted by the firm of Villa and Wilson. Although Mr. Wilson may not take the field in person and indulge in rape and rapine, he certainly will he morally responsible for whatever Villa does, and will be held legally responsible for the damages when our accounts with Mexico are settled by a tribunal of arbitrators. The lengths to which prejudice, obstinacy and selfwill may lead an official have been illustrated before, but never more luridly and astoundingly. Mr. Wilson might just as well order that all assassins be provided with sharpened knives and all burglars with automatic revolvers. Men of affairs know that his scheme will work out exactly the opposite of his intention. Villa, with the connivance of our Administration, has been supplied secretly with all the arms and ammunition he could use, and raising the embargo will do him no good. But it proves to Mexico, to South America and to Europe the utter recklessness of the Bryan Administration and the extent to which our President is befooled by playing upon his personal whims.—"Town Topics."

## ASSISTING REBELS.

**The Alabama Case is Cited as a Warning in Mexico.**

Since President Wilson has announced that the embargo against selling arms, etc., to the Mexicans will be raised my mind has gone back to the period of the Civil War, and it seems to me that we are creating conditions against which we vehemently and successfully protested at that time.

During that war we contended that the South was in rebellion, and we protested to England against assisting the rebels, and subsequently claimed that she should respond for the damages our commerce had sustained by reason of her assistance. We all know that she was obliged to answer for her assistance in a large sum of money.

To-day there is a rebellion in Mexico. Huerta is de facto President of the Republic of Mexico, if not de jure President. At least he has a Congress with him and his government has been recognized by certain foreign governments. Does he not stand in the same position that Mr. Lincoln's government stood? If so, it would seem that the neutrality declared by Mr. Taft should be maintained if we are to escape from the charge of inconsistency. But Mr. Wilson's reasons for raising the embargo, if he is correctly reported, are that it will assist the rebels in overthrowing Huerta's government. In other words, Mr. Wilson is proceeding openly to do exactly what we claimed England was guilty of.

Have we not established a precedent in the matter of the Alabama's depredations that can most successfully be urged against us later? In other words, will not the raising of the embargo prove a very costly "boomerang"?—E. J. VAN ALSTYNE in New York "Tribune."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## PRESIDENT WILSON AND MEXICO.

American diplomacy in its dealings with Mexico has adopted in the past ten months many strange expedients. It has declined to admit General Huerta officially to the international circle. It has sought to extract from him a pledge that he will not put himself forward as a Presidential candidate if and when the long-promised elections are held. It disputes alike his authority and his power to restore order. At the same time it announces its intention of holding him severely to account in the event of injury to American lives or property. It draws a picture of a country unable to fulfill its international obligations and plunging deeper and deeper into the morass of civil war, and it proposes a general election as a suitable remedy. It has demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities, but it has offered no inducements, financial or political, by way of loan or of diplomatic support to this desirable end. It has warned all American residents to leave the country as speedily as may be, and it has officially assisted such few of them as listened to its injunctions. But it has done nothing more: and its determination neither to intervene itself nor to allow any other Power to do so is apparently as set as ever.

Now, however, President Wilson is trying a new tack. He has decided to raise the embargo on the export of arms to Mexico. This means, of course, that the "rebels" will be still further strengthened for the work of burning, slaying, blackmailing and thrusting their country into a yet darker abyss of anarchy. Whether the device will succeed in ousting General Huerta remains to be seen. Even if it does, will Mexico thereby be brought any nearer to tranquility, or is any President likely to be evolved to whom the objections urged against General Huerta will not apply with tenfold force?—London "Daily Mail."

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It would be fortunate if the United States were never called upon to recognize Central and South American governments resting solely upon force. But conditions in many Central and South American republics must be taken into account. Legitimacy and constitutional succession are ideals very imperfectly lived up to there. All the moral influence of this country should be exerted to encourage peaceful and orderly successions. But an administration at Washington would be hopelessly handicapped and would defeat its own purposes by insisting upon breaking off relations with each country in which there had been an unconstitutional transfer of power. Practically we have no choice but to conduct diplomatic relations with our unrulier Southern neighbors on the old fashioned de facto basis.—New York "Tribune."

## LETTER FROM AN EYE WITNESS OF REBEL ATROCITIES.

Corpus Christi, Tex., Dec. 9, 1913.

On Tuesday, the 3rd, fearing another attack of the Carrancistas on Monterrey, I with most of my family, of about thirty-five persons, left that city for this country.

As you perhaps remember, I wrote you on Nov. 14th that until we saw how the city remained in the part occupied by the Carrancistas, we did not fully realize the danger in which we had been.

The first thing they would have done in taking Monterrey would have been to ask us for money, and if we could not give it to them, shoot us. This you must not think is exaggerated. They have done the same everywhere, and that is the reason that since about twelve days ago four hundred persons daily, not only the wealthiest families, but all who can afford the trip, are leaving Monterrey.

I have been surprised reading newspapers here, how they are inclined to the rebels, giving only the news favorable to them. People here do not realize that the war in Mexico is the most barbarous and worthless there has been. It is not really war, but high brigandage against order. Don't the American people ever stop to think that if two thousand of the wealthiest families of Chihuahua, in which there must be many children, are taking a trip for several days through a desert, in which there is no water, nothing to eat, and which is being done with carriages and mules, and they prefer that to remaining in a city which is in power of the rebels, does not anybody here realize that there must be a reason for that?

I don't think there is a bigger injustice done than that which is being done with Mexico. How can the trouble finish in Mexico in this way? I have received from many other sources many details showing that the Government people are always getting in difficulties with the authorities in the State of Texas, while the rebels do everything they please, and have at least the indifference of the authorities. Right here in town a friend of mine, related to the Maderos, has been trying to collect money from some wealthy families of Monterrey who who are in this town. Of course he has not got a cent, because no one that has honor wants to become an accomplice of such brigandage.

The Banco Mercantil has closed its doors and has placed all its securities in Laredo. But of course this will not interfere with our business with this bank, since it is only temporarily closed down, and it is only made so as to save all the interests of this bank in case the Carrancistas should happen to take Monterrey.

This will show you how everybody, more or less, is suffering from this revolution, and the worst of all is that we don't see any end to it, because even if Carranza should win, and take Mexico City, though I hope it will not happen, I fear very much or rather I am sure a new revolution will come. There is already some newspaper rumor that Villa is not satisfied with Carranza, and that he was about to repudiate him as the leader. On the other side, Lucio Blanco is also dissatisfied, because they have taken him away from Matamoros, where he has been doing fine business, stealing the cattle from the State of Tamaulipas and selling them on this side of the river. I have a cousin who is just now in Brownsville and who is being obliged to buy his own cattle that have been taken from Lucio Blanco by some sort of Insurance Company, so with these people as our new Government what will become of us?

On the other hand, as I have very often written you, all the white people in Mexico, all the city people, all the people with whom you have to deal every day and speak to, including the foreigners, Americans among them, absolutely hate Carranza. The army, of course hates Carranza also, and if when Madero was president, no matter that the army did not quite like him, they supported him because it was their duty. I hardly think they will do it now. And having all these people of this opinion against them, how are they going to govern?

Mr. Wilson seems to be entirely decided not to recognize Huerta. So the future is every day darker, and we don't see any hope of it getting any better.

Of course, if things remain the way they are, there will be no business at all, or very little business. If Carranza triumphs, there will be still less hope of doing any business.

(Continued on next page.)

The only hope I have is that the American Government shall recognize Huerta, and absolutely not allow any arms and ammunition to pass into Mexico, and then the Revolution would be finished in two or three months. At the same time, Huerta would get money and the worth of the Mexican peso instead of 35 cents, would be as usual 50 cents.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir:—In a most untoreseen way Mexico has risen in less than a decade to the position of second of the world's oil producing countries, and according to most careful and conservative estimates will, in another equal lapse of time, pass the United States, its only rival in oil production at the present day.

This calculation is based on the extent of the oil producing zone on the Gulf of Mexico, which zone has an approximate area of 25,000 square kilometres. This gives a slightly greater area than the oil producing zone of the United States, and there is a vast superiority in point of production in favor of the Mexican fields, for thousands of wells have been opened in the United States and as yet no more than a few hundred south of the Rio Grande, where the work of exploitation is not thoroughly developed. The Mexican wells have shown a remarkable flow, quite superior to that of wells in other parts of the world.

That this new source of wealth is destined to produce profound economic changes in Mexico was clearly foreseen by the notable parliamentary orator and present head of the Cabinet, Mr. Querido Moheno, who is known as the Mexican Gambetta, and it was he who formulated and defended in the Chamber of Deputies and in the press the project for the nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico. Political and financial considerations of moment have held this plan in abeyance, but there are powerful reasons to believe that the oil problem will solve both the political and economic questions now at issue in Mexico.

Until a short time ago the industrial wealth of a country was based on its deposits of coal, and this is still true, but only in respect to production of iron and steel, for in other branches coal is being displaced by mineral oil, for the following reasons: Greater heating efficiency, less space required for storage, greater facility in transportation and handling, lower cost, especially in Mexico, where coal costs $10 a ton Mex. at Tampico, and from $22 to $25 Mex. in the interior, as against $5.36 to $6.70 Mex. per ton for oil.

As a practical result the National Railways have abandoned coal as a fuel, adopting oil in its place, thereby effecting a saving of 40 per cent. or about two million pesos annually. The Electric Light and Power Company of Nonoalco, Mexico, has effected a daily saving of the wages of 100 laborers since adopting oil as a fuel, and so on down the list, but it is at sea that the greatest saving is evident, and calculations show that through the saving of bunker space, lower cost and fewer hands in the stoke-room there is a total economy of something like sixty per cent. over a coal burning vessel, thus affording the opportunity to lower freight rates very materially.

The enormous industrial opportunities of mineral oil show the motive for the ferocious intrigue instituted against the Mexican Government by certain well known American industrial interests, who seek a monopolistic control of the newly discovered sources of wealth and power.

The conduct of the United States toward Colombia was a signal that no nation jealous of its territorial integrity could fail to heed. The fundamental facts, then, of the Mexican situation are not to be expressed in terms of Villa and his bandits or in the hyprocritical mouthings and absurd demands of the Wilson administration. Neither the continual scolding of the Mexican Government by the constitutionalist-loving President Wilson, nor his unparalleled open support of blood-stained bandits will effect a solution of the question, nor will the childish refusal to return the salute of a Mexican gunboat suffice to close a single oil well. Perhaps the proposed concession to England in the matter of the Panama Canal tolls may have as much to do with the naughty President Huerta as with the "high principle of justice" which suggests the repudiation of a plank of the Democratic platform.

C. U. MESTA.

Baltimore, Md., February 14, 1914.

Editor of MEXICO:

Dear Sir: Have been wondering who the John MacGregor is who has so glibly advocated armed intervention by the United States in the Mexican embroglio. As a rule, Scotchmen don't "shoot off their mouth" without knowing whereof they speak. If Mr. MacGregor would care to hear from a namesake and possible relative who has spent ten years in Mexico, some very cogent reasons why the United States should not intervene, he may command me.

It is a pity that those of us who could speak upon the matter authoritatively are tongue-tied for two reasons.

First, because owing to the immoral partisanship of the American press, our statements would either not be published or would be garbled beyond recognition.

Second, because we feel so deeply the horrible mess that has been made of Mexican affairs by the present Administration in Washington that it would be difficult to keep our indignation within bounds. And strong criticism would be interpreted as reckless abuse.

We do, nowever, in our social relationships try to remedy the false ideas bred in the minds of so many Americans whose beliefs and views are largely moulded by the press. What a travesty upon the "power of the press for good" is the present condition. Men whom we know to be patriots, such as Huerta and Blanquet, being daily vilified by grafting scribblers. And men like Villa and Zapata, whose deeds are a stench in the nostrils, deified.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." Surely the destruction of the Democratic party has been decided upon in the Olympian Halls.

Sincerely,
JOHN D. MACGREGOR.

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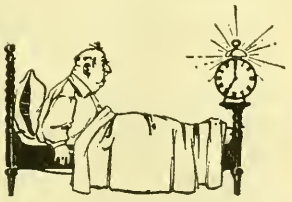

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## THE JEWEL OF INCONSISTENCY.

The recognition of the revolutionary government of Peru by the Washington Administration was a confession of the impracticability and inapplicability of the Administration's previous declarations of policy in regard to revolutions in Latin America.

It was a complete change of front, an absolute reversal based entirely on the expediency of the situation.

Secretary Bryan was silent on the shift and had nothing to say about high moral principles for once in his life.

The President explained that he considered the new government of Peru as constitutional, thus setting himself up as the supreme arbiter and sage of the Western Hemisphere.

The Peruvian Government came into power when its present head, Colonel Benavides, led the garrison troops against the national palace, imprisoned President Billinghurst and killed the Minister of War and others who opposed the attack.

This was strictly according to the Constitution of Peru—as interpreted by the Washington Administration.

Was there ever such blatant inconsistency?

The Mexican situation last February which resulted in the establishment of the present Provisional Government was practically identical with the recent situation in Peru.

President Billinghurst was forcibly taken from the national palace and put in prison; his resignation was forced from him just as Madero and Pino Suarez, Mexico's Vice-President, were imprisoned and forced to resign. Huerta became President under provisions of the Constitution providing for the succession of the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon the disability of the President, and furthermore his accession as provisional President was confirmed by the Congress. In Peru the present Government has no basis in the Constitution, consisting of a junta formed by representatives of several political parties, and its existence has never been authorized or confirmed by the Congress.

President Wilson, in his Mobile speech, said:

"It is our duty to make the Western Hemisphere the home of the free, governed only as the people dictate. We must follow the course of high principle, not expediency, no matter what the pressure; so to do otherwise would be untrue to ourselves."

In his declaration of policy on March 4, President Wilson said:

"Cooperation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just Government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force"; and:

"We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of Government to advance their own personal interests or ambition. We are the friends of peace, but we know that there can be no lasting or stable peace in such circumstances. As friends therefore we shall prefer those who act in the interest of peace and honor, who protect private rights and respect the restraints of constitutional provision."

All these beautiful words have vanished into thin air.

Expediency is enthroned.

But the fatal mistake of denying recognition to the Mexican Government is to be persisted in.

No wonder the nations of the world look on our foreign policy with distrust and the countries of South America through their public men and the press cry out against the hypocrisy of the "Colossus of the North."

## THOSE WHO ARE BUSIEST.

Pancho Villa tells the New York "Herald" that he is fighting for patriotic principles, which indicates that, though he can neither read nor write, he can coin new names.—Houston "Chronicle."

More probably indicates that Pancho also has a busy press agent.—New York "Herald."

Who has no trouble at all in "getting anything over" on the "Herald."

Standard Oil is now financing China's mines and railroads and Washington is said be elated.

* * *

Patriotic, philanthropic Standard Oil.

* * *

Villa is finding all kinds of excuses for remaining in Juarez.

* * *

He is disappointing his Washington friends.

* * *

But a cattle thief would rather steal cattle than please his moral allies.

The revolutionary government of Peru has been recognized. The Washington Administration says it is constitutional.

* * *

But that the Mexican Government, declared constitutional by the Mexican Congress, a Maderist Congress at that, and the Mexican Supreme Court, is not constitutional!

* * *

The fact that the Administration deliberately indulges in this casuistry—and shamelessly—ought in itself to arouse doubts in every frank mind as to the straightforwardness of the whole Mexican policy.

* * *

An Administration policy is no stronger than its weakest manifestation and nothing more pifflingly weak than the Administration's attempted explanation of the recognition of the new Peruvian Government while refusing to recognize the Mexican Government has ever been known in our conduct of foreign relations.

* * *

It may deceive the dear public.

But the Administration would not, of course, think of such a thing as deceiving the public.

* * *

Congress is not deceived, intelligent observers are not deceived, foreign representatives are not deceived, Latin-American countries are not deceived.

* * *

The Administration is simply deceiving itself.

* * *

What a national humiliation it will be when the unmasking comes!

* * *

How much more honorable and American it would be to come right out and say:

"Mexico is rich with oil beyond the dreams of avarice. Our oil companies want control of Mexican oil. The Government is going to help them get it. Whatever the methods necessary, whatever the consequences."

* * *

This at least would not be hypocritical.

* * *

But the Administration knows that the American people do not want a war for the benefit of American oil interests.

* * *

So it fights Mexico according to the approved methods of the oil and other American Trusts when they made up their minds to get something.

* * *

While it condemns these very methods in our own country and proposes laws to curb them.

* * *

If that is not outrageous hypocrisy, what is it?

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. II—No. 28 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1914. FIVE CENTS

# The Only Way

It is plain to the most casual observer or commentator that despite the yelping of a few influential jingoes for intervention in Mexico there is among the people, who would pay the cost of war in lives and money, a distinct and formidable opposition to any action by the United States that would make such a war unavoidable.

There will not be any intervention in Mexico, which means war with Mexico, as long as it is not absolutely inevitable.

As things are now, it is not inevitable, it can be avoided.

The people know this. The Administration must know it.

If in the future it becomes inevitable, unavoidable, the Administration will be responsible before God and men for plunging this country into a future of incalculable suffering.

The recognition and support of the present Government in Mexico is a step to be taken before any one can conscientiously say that war is unavoidable.

For that very reason it is a step that will sooner or later have to be taken.

For reasons of its own, which have been discredited by the opinion of the world and the logic of events, the Administration saw fit not only not to recognize the present Government of Mexico, but openly and actively to seek to destroy it, in passionate futility even joining forces with a horde of barbarian bandits under a murderous Villa.

The true character and motives of those who have been the allies of the Administration have been so clearly revealed that the shame of the alliance and the folly of those responsible for it have done more to destroy the prestige of the United States abroad than a humiliating military defeat.

It has come to a point where the spectacle is presented to the world of a dignified Secretary of State dickering and threatening and bluffing with his bandit ally for the right to dig up a grave.

In this ghoulish proceeding it is not impossible that the Secretary is digging his own grave—politically.

But it is too unpleasant to dwell on the ghastly consequences of a blunder from which so many sought in vain to save the self-will of the Administration.

The blunder has been made, the mistake is so clear that the less said about it the better.

Has the Administration the manhood, the bigness, the common decency to rectify it?

Will it not suffer less by admitting it than by perversely persisting in it, while it gropes for ways out?

The way out is clear, as we have so often pointed out. As all the other nations of the world have pointed out. As all decent Mexicans, who love their country, and all Americans in Mexico or who have come out of Mexico have pointed out.

It is painful to a sense of fairness to realize that when the Bryan-Villa house of cards tumbled to the ground as a result of the Benton tragedy, the cry for a change of policy came from those jingoes who want intervention in Mexico, not, believe us, for the good of the Mexican people, but for their own selfish interests. As if this were the only way out of the debacle.

Little or nothing was said about the other way—the support of the government of Mexico, which has shown the ability and the willingness to protect life and property and re-establish peace.

They would destroy the Government of Mexico, fight the fifteen million or more of peaceable Mexican people, because the very force the Washington Administration was using to hamper the government in its efforts to restore peace was used as it always has been used—in a lawless manner.

Is this American fairness? Is this a square deal? Is it decent? Is it honorable?

The busy little bees who have been buzzing intervention since the Benton tragedy brought home the impossibility of the present Administration attitude have, according to their lights and predilections, put forth three brands:

Intervention by the United States alone.

Intervention jointly with European nations.

Intervention jointly with leading South American countries.

Intervention by the United States means war with Mexico, with possible foreign complications that may align other countries against this. Any one who thinks that under any pretext United States troops or marines could invade Mexico peaceably is a fit subject for an alienist. Or, more charitably, he knows nothing of the Mexican people, Mexican conditions, Mexican history, Mexican character, Mexican anything. It would be war against a united Mexico, even though a few individual Mexicans of the wealthier class might welcome it as they did the tragic Maximilian occupation, for property and other selfish advantage. A few influential men of this type are responsible for a mistaken impression among some Americans that the Mexicans would welcome intervention. Any illusion as to this would be criminally fatal.

It is not necessary to go into the appalling figures in lives and money it has

(Continued on next page.)

been authoritatively estimated such a war would entail, nor the police, racial and social problems with which it would burden the future of the American government and people.

The most important fact is that the people do not want any such war.

As to proposed joint intervention with European countries: In the first place, this would necessitate an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, which might or might not be a good thing. But European intervention, even jointly with the United States, could not be directed toward the overthrow of the Mexican Government, which they have recognized. It would have to be directed to helping that Government in putting down the rebels and bandits who are destroying life and property. And the United States alone, without any abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, without any outside help, can do this much more simply, without the loss of a single American life, by the recognition and moral support of the Government. Rebellion in Northern Mexico could not exist three months without the connivance and support of the United States authorities.

Those who suggest intervention jointly with South American countries know they are only dealing in shadows. Those countries have little or no interests in Mexico. Their people would not countenance a government which would enter into such an alliance with the United States against any Latin-American country. Rightly or wrongly, there is as much distrust of the United States and its motives in those countries as in Mexico. To the Mexican people any such intervention, if it were possible, would be sensed as a Yankee subterfuge to throw a cloak of disinterestedness about intervention, and the result would be exactly the same as United States intervention alone, which would be war, in which no South American nation would conceivably want to share.

No, all these propositions to end an intolerable situation are evading the real issue, which is this: The United States has in an underhand, oblique manner intervened in Mexico, to the extent of dictating what kind of government and what President Mexico must have. The Administration had absolutely no right in international law to do this. The Administration did have the right not to recognize the Mexican Government. But beyond that point it should not have gone. Having gone as far as it did, and not having been successful in imposing its will upon the Mexican nation, it resorted to a financial boycott and the encouragement of rebels and bandits. The result of which has been to create conditions in Mexico against which Mexico, Americans in Mexico, all foreign nations and a considerable portion of our public have protested.

The Administration's interference with the work of pacification inaugurated by the Mexican Government has been the greatest single factor in creating these conditions.

This factor must be withdrawn, if the Administration is to have any standing in court.

Any other way lies madness.

# AN APPEAL TO REASON

Whatever sympathy the Maderos, Villas, Carranzas and Zapatas of Mexico have received from the mass of the American people has been based on the carefully created impression that they were fighting for social reform, for advanced ideals of government and living.

By this time it has been pretty well established that such generous but mistaken sympathy and the moral support of the Administration have been lavished on a precious crew of cutthroats and murderers, whose scheming representatives in Washington have misled the Administration and people of the United States to strengthen their selfish and conscienceless campaign for loot and power.

But the fact remains, which we have frequently pointed out in this publication, that in our opinion the people of Mexico have real grievances and certain demands of social reform in Mexico are based on actual, crying needs. The Madero Government failed because it did not give nor try to give the people the reforms they demanded.

Those whose sympathies have been worked upon by the agents of destruction in Mexico are fain to believe that rebellion has been justified by the fact that the Mexican people have suffered for many years under the oppression of a plutocracy of landlords and that they are seeking to obtain a political freedom heretofore denied by a despotic government supported by these landowners.

In the abstract such principles of economical and political freedom cannot but appeal strongly to the people of the United States, who for more than a century have stood before the world as the sponsors of free government.

In the concrete and in practice, however, this phase of the Mexican situation must be analyzed to determine whether it can serve as a justification for the Washington Administration's support of those who are laying waste the North of Mexico.

Granted that the Mexican people have certain wrongs that should be righted, granted that in the course of a necessary evolution of the Mexican people certain social and economic reforms must be instituted, is there in these facts cause or justification for the policy of the Administration which, it is obvious to the whole world, has only served to make the ills of Mexico more poignant and widespread?

It may be contended that desperate cases require desperate remedies, but who will say that there can be any remedy for Mexico's ills in the prevalence of anarchy and the saturnalia of crime and pillage in which the so-called "constitutionalists" under such men as Villa have reveled?

If the mere recognized necessity for social reform were an excuse and justification for a destructive revolution, to be consistent Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan should resign from office and become the leaders of a revolution in the United States. For only a few will dispute the fact that social reform is greatly needed in the United States and has been demanded by the people for many years.

A plutocracy, composed not of landowners but of great captains of industry, has held sway over the people of this country for decades. Ownership of immense industrial combinations limited to a few individuals has made possible the existence of a plutocracy by far more powerful than that of Mexico. Its control of legislative bodies, of courts and of political organizations has been discussed and proven too often to require further demonstration.

The grievances of the people of the United States are shown and known by the socialistic unrest which is becoming felt more and more every day. If such grievances can, in the opinion of Washington officials, under any circumstance justify a revolution, then we repeat they should be the first ones to welcome in the United States a revolution such as they are encouraging and supporting in Mexico.

Likewise, if President Wilson and Mr. Bryan believe that the Mexican Indians are justified in rising up in arms to obtain more political freedom, then they should arm the American Indians and encourage them in rebelling against themselves, who have not granted the Indians any political freedom at all. Not even in form and appearance, as it is granted to the Southern negro.

Likewise, if they believe that the Mexican peons are justified in fighting for a political freedom that they do not possess except in form and appearance, they—Wilson and Bryan—should arm and encourage the Southern negroes to rise up in arms against the State and Federal governments for they—the negroes—like the Mexican peons, possess

(Continued on next page.)

**AN APPEAL TO REASON**—Continued

a political freedom that is such only in name.

And in fostering the rebellion of negroes, Indians and of all other Americans who demand just social reform, President Wilson and Mr. Bryan should induce them to conduct such a fight of destruction and rapine as is being conducted in Mexico by the rebels whom they support against the Huerta Government.

If this is deemed just and right in Mexico why should it not be deemed just and right in the United States?

Here some one will answer: "Because in this country we can right our wrongs by the use of the ballot." Which answer would only be a platitude, as many years of unsuccessful struggle by the people of this country have amply demonstrated.

If, on the other hand, some one should say that the righting of social wrongs by the use of the ballot requires a thorough education of the voters and a long time, we would agree and add that the same rule applies to Mexico. There, however, the time necessary would be longer, because the people have not reached the standard of education reached by the people of the United States. All of which would only go to prove that there can be found no justification for the Mexican revolution or for the support it receives from the Wilson Administration. Much less when the character of the revolution is considered. To be convinced of this one has but to listen to refugees from the States where the rebels hold sway and hear the horrible tales of wanton destruction of property and life and the savage deeds committed by the rebels.

We may add here that many reforms demanded by the people of Mexico have been recognized as just by the existing Government as well as by the rebels and that none of these reforms can be brought about until peace is restored in Mexico.

From whichever angle we consider the Mexican struggle we are compelled to conclude that it is a struggle being conducted by a group of men to regain lost power. If the rebels were animated by the sole desire for reforms, then the rebel leaders should give an opportunity to the existing government to establish practicable reforms, which the Government is ready to do as soon as peace is restored. Should the Government fail to carry out the proposed reforms, then there would be some justification for the opposition leaders to try to overthrow the Government.

As matters stand, even if the rebels should succeed in regaining power, the campaign of devastation and destruction they are waging will have rendered impossible the carrying out successfully of any economical and consequently of any social reform. Conditions will be such that many years will have to elapse before Mexico will be able to return to even a condition of relative prosperity. And while misery and poverty shall last there will be no hope of reforms for the Mexican masses.

Besides, that very fact will make it impossible for any new Government to sustain itself in power for a long time, for it will be confronted by many revolutions fostered by hunger.

As to ideals of political freedom:

Dictatorial or extraordinary powers are necessary to a Government which seeks to re-establish peace. Anarchy has ever engendered despotism, for between the destruction of all property and many lives and the rule of a despot the thinking elements of a nation will always select the latter. If the Huerta Government faced no revolution and were not endeavoring to stem the tide of anarchy, it would have no excuse for assuming dictatorial powers and we should be the last to approve its course.

In any case, between the despotism of General Huerta and the odious despotism of Villa any decent person, whatever his political ideals, could but select the former.

# LEST WE FORGET

## NAUGHTY VILLA!

Wasn't he a friend of the Constitution?

* * *

And hadn't General Scott told him all about the civilized methods of warfare, or the methods of civilized warfare?

* * *

And weren't Consul Edwards and Villa's old pal, Carothers, employed by the State Department, doing all they could to help the gentle bandit?

* * *

And weren't the Washington junta and Don Sherby telling him nice things about Villa and the dawn of constitutional liberty in Mexico?

* * *

And hadn't it all been made plain that Castillo was a bandit but Villa was a patriot?

* * *

Then why would friend Villa go and kill a bally Britisher?

* * *

It was absurd, impossible, unbelievable, or else dear Pancho was cruelly irritated by that sharp-tongued Benton.

* * *

Perhaps the Englishman didn't speak softly enough. You know, my friends, "a soft answer turneth away wrath."

"My God," one Senator is quoted as saying, "this man Bryan is actually defending Villa's action!"

* * *

Well, Mr. Senator, he has been defending as bad and worse for the last six months.

* * *

He's only the same old Bill!

* * *

You are just getting a peep at the truth.

* * *

All of which will be revealed in the course of nature.

* * *

Now the talk is of intervention.

* * *

Which means war against the Mexican nation.

* * *

Fight the Mexican Government because of an act of Villa's, or the anarchical conditions he has created?

* * *

When all has been encouraged and fomented by American money, American arms and American moral support?

* * *

Despite all the evidences the Administration has given, there is a deep and abiding sense of justice and fairness in the American people.

* * *

They have been fooled for a long time.

* * *

But those who are advocating intervention to overthrow the Mexican Government because of the conditions in Northern Mexico, for which the United States is largely responsible, are going too far.

* * *

When the inevitable reaction in public opinion became certain following the revelation of Villa's true character, did you not notice how quickly the suggestion was thrown out, from obviously inspired sources, that the Northern States might secede and form another Mexican Republic?

* * *

If the hand that at this juncture put forth that suggestion were known to the people of this country we would know the most powerful source of the troubles of Mexico.

* * *

If it isn't to be all of Mexico, then half the loaf will do—for the present.

* * *

That seems to be the game now.

* * *

But some day those who are playing it will have to come out in the open.

* * *

Dies irae, dies illa.

# Responsible Government

Mexico City, Feb. 26.—The Mexican Government this afternoon sent to all the diplomats here a memorandum deprecating the action of the Washington Government in lifting the embargo on arms and asserting that the Benton incident was a natural result of such action.

The memorandum says that President Huerta's Government is doing everything it can to suppress the rebels by force of arms and to counteract at great sacrifice the work of the rebel chieftains, who, under the cloak of political ideals, commit all manner of excesses.

"But," it adds, "the work of civilization, which in this respect the Government purposes to carry out, meets with serious difficulties, in view of the fact that the rebels receive pecuniary support and arms from outside the republic. The annulment by the Government of the United States of the decree preventing the exportation of arms and other assistance given the rebels in the North place the latter in a favorable position to continue the committing of excesses and prevent the constituted Government from stopping such outrages as speedily and energetically as it desires.

"This Government, without taking in consideration any right the United States may have to follow a policy which it thinks best in dealing with Mexico, believes that the time has arrived to point out the fact that the rebels in question, wherever they have been able to dominate, far from insuring the establishment of even a few institutions which characterize any Government, give plain demonstrations of their anarchistic tendencies and absolute lack of respect for those interests which morality and international justice impose upon civilized nations.

"The constituted Government, on the other hand, not only dictates such efficacious measures as are within its power in the effort to bring about the submission of the rebels and to re-establish social and constitutional institutions in the territories now alienated from its jurisdiction, but also in all the towns where it exercises power, gives complete guarantees to the property and persons of its nationals and foreigners.

"From this point of view it cannot be doubted that the Government of the United States will admit the right which the Government of Mexico has to expect in its collaboration in the task in which the interests of civilization are involved and likewise to expect that it will fix its attention upon the grave consequences which flow from the annulment of the decree that prohibited until recently the exportation of arms and the rendering of assistance to the rebels of the north.

"This Government believes that it fulfills its high humanitarian duty and its functions as the representative of a State which forms a part of international society when it asks, by means of this note, the careful consideration by the Government of a neighboring country, which also forms a part of the society of States, of the sad consequences which this action has brought already and will continue to bring with the facilitating of the giving of arms and other assistance to rebels who do not respect life, honor or property."

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**The present Government of Mexico has been recognized as existent de facto and de jure by all the nations of the world except the United States and three Latin-American countries currying favor with the Washington Administration.**

**All these powers have diplomatic representatives accredited to the Mexican Government, which in turn is diplomatically represented in those countries.**

**All the functions of government for fifteen millions of people are performed in a regular and orderly manner by this Government.**

**It protects life and property and administers courts of justice.**

**It has been declared constitutional by the Congress and Supreme Court of the Republic, and it upholds the traditions and dignity of the nation.**

**But Washington says Mexico has no government.**

**Because that Government would not bow to the Administration's sweet, unreasonable will.**

**If it had, then truly Mexico would have no government.**

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## BARBARITY IN MEXICO.

These recent acts of barbarism, for they are nothing else, are sure to arouse the indignation of Europe, and the British Government, once satisfied that one of its subjects has been illegally done to death, will demand that the United States take prompt action or it will itself take such steps as may be necessary to compel the punishment of those responsible for the murder, even if the main culprit be Villa himself.
prisals and insisting upon full reparation and atonement. Having refused to recognize Huerta, and having given aid and comfort to the revolutionists we are in no position to hold Huerta responsible for the acts of Villa and other men of the same kidney within the lines controlled by the revolutionists. There should be a demand for the immediate surrender of Villa for punishment and his removal as a rebel commander.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## EL PASO'S CHARGES AGAINST MR. BRYAN.

An El Paso "mass meeting" under the leadership of a professional Rough Rider, who was once a Democrat and is now a Republican, charges specifically that William J. Bryan, Secretary of State in President Wilson's cabinet, is guilty of the following named offenses:

1.—That he has "persistently suppressed facts concerning the true conditions in Mexico."

2.—That he has "endeavored through inspired newspaper articles and by other means to mislead the American people."

3.—That he is trying to "form public opinion for political purposes in support of a policy that is ruinous to all foreign interests in Mexico and the Mexican people themselves."

4.—That he has made statements which "we know to be absolutely false."

5.—That "we believe there are reports on file in the State Department from our own consuls" which disprove Mr. Bryan's statements to the American people.

No more serious charges have ever been made against an American Secretary of State. If they were true it would be the duty of the House of Representatives to impeach Mr. Bryan at once and of the Senate to try him for the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against him. Anybody who believes these charges must also believe that Mr. Bryan should be removed from office forthwith.

The man who presided at this El Paso mass meeting is an old political crony of Senator Fall of New Mexico, the distinguished gentleman who is interested "in mining in Mexico." He and his friends will be satisfied to have their charges against the Secretary of State "read into the Congressional Record," which is a favorite device of tricky politicians. That may be all they want, but it is not all that Congress should want. These men should be brought to Washington and made to substantiate their allegations under oath.

The Mexican situation is the most delicate question that the United States Government has had to deal with in many years. It is impossible to exaggerate its potentiality of evil, and the ability of the Administration to deal with it depends upon its success in commanding the confidence of the American people. There could be no public confidence in an Administration whose Secretary of State had done what the El Paso resolutions accuse Mr. Bryan of doing. Congress should take immediate steps to ascertain if the El Paso accusers are as well informed and patriotic under oath as they are in a mass meeting.—New York "World."

By all means let Congress take such steps! Despite the "World's" labored effort to discount the El Paso charges, there are hundreds who could conscientiously swear to their truth.

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Members of Congress declared that the Administration policy of "watchful waiting" had become tiresome to many in Congress and that it was likely there would be lively debates on the subject this week in both branches of Congress. Members who are most familiar with the Mexican situation expressed the belief that the time had arrived when the Government must take its choice between intervention or recognizing Huerta. These men have given up hope that Villa and his army can work any improvement in the Mexican situation. —New York "Sun" Washington despatch.

## HOPEFUL SIGNS IN PARIS.

### Mexican Shares Are Stronger on The Bourse.

(Special Cable Despatch to N. Y. "Sun")

Paris, Feb. 25.—While the Paris press continues to use the Benton incident to base attacks on the United States policy in Mexico, news from the republic south of the Rio Grande yesterday was regarded in financial circles as giving ground for optimism.

Mexican shares were stronger on the Bourse, where it is felt that any aggravation of the situation in the troubled republic is likely to hasten a permanent solution of the problem.

The "Journal des Debats" said yesterday that the death of Benton illustrates the incoherence of President Wilson's policy.

"This question," it says, "affects the whole of Europe. If Great Britain demands intervention on the part of the United States against Villa it is a recognition that the United States exercises a form of protection over Mexico. If a similar incident occurred again should Europe confer the same mandate on the United States?"

The financial newspaper "L'Information," said:

"President Wilson's haughty, tortuous and clumsy diplomacy is doomed to lead him into a blind alley."

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## LEGISLATORS GROWING IMPATIENT.

The number of members of congress who are convinced that President Wilson made an error in declining to recognize Huerta, and who believe that the lifting of the embargo on arms was merely a case of following one bad blunder with another, is increasing daily, although a majority of those who take issue with the White Huose have not yet arrived at a point where they believe good can be accomplished by expressing their views in public. — New York "Times."

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The frequent executions by the revolutionists stamp the leaders of the movement as practically outlaws entirely unworthy to control the affairs of Mexico in the event that they succeed in their efforts to overthrow the Huerta government. The latter is orderly and dignified in comparison with the forces in opposition, and it would have been much more dignified for our government to have recognized Huerta as de facto president than to have lent aid and encouragement to his opponents, who appear to be conducting warfare more like Apache Indians than like civilized men.

It is utterly useless to hope for any improvement in the affairs of Mexico to result from the success of the revolutionists when such men as Villa and the outlaw who recently ran a whole train crowded with people into a tunnel and set fire to it, causing the cremation of fully fifty persons, are the guiding spirits. The interests and lives of foreigners would be in imminent peril at all times at the hands of such men should they succeed in securing a firm hold on power even for a brief period.

# THE GRAVE-DIGGERS

### Administration Resents Criticism of the Murdering Villa.

The President asserted emphatically to-day that there was no change in his Mexican policy and that none was contemplated. He gave evidence of irritation when it was suggested that General Villa was an outlaw whose control could not be regarded as "constituted authority," and he intimated that possibly the first construction put on Villa's apparent refusal to surrender the body of William S. Benton had been too hasty, as it was couched in polite language and intimated that the body would be surrendered "in due time."

Nothing further has been heard from Villa, which the administration explains as due to the fact that he is constantly traveling around, although there is suspicion in some quarters that Villa has adroitly avoided receiving the communications of this government. It is admitted that nothing is known of the location of Benton's body, which Villa has said that he took to Chihuahua, an assertion the accuracy of which is questioned by Thomas D. Edwards, American Consul at Juarez.

The suggestion that Villa is sparring for time, with the knowledge that sufficient delay will result in rendering the body of the Englishman unfit to afford evidence of the manner of his death, is dismissed with marked impatience at the White House, where every suggestion reflecting on Villa seems to cause annoyance.—New York "Tribune."

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## VILLA AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE.

Leaving behind him toll of death that has stirred to deep resentment the people of two great nations, "Pancho" Villa has taken hasty departure from the vicinity of the American border. Discretion is sometimes the better part of valor. In the present state of feeling along the Rio Grande growing out of the murder of Benton and of apparently reliable reports that other foreigners have been killed by him or by his orders, Villa may be wise in concluding that the climate of the extreme North is not particularly good for his health.

The zeal of those persons who have rushed to his defense may have Villa's approval, but their efforts are not at all convincing. In the explanation issued at Washington and the "report" of the alleged court martial at Juarez the hand of the lawyer is plainly visible. Neither the one nor the other is able to conceal the fact that a British subject was shot down in cold blood. And for this murder Villa is responsible.

British restiveness under conditions prevailing in Northern Mexico is natural. In so far as it is aimed at the feature of the policy of the United States that has made it possible for bandits of the Villa stripe to obtain arms with which to pursue their murderous way, British criticism finds a vulnerable spot. Such sympathy, official and non-official, as has been felt in this country for the persons styling themselves "constitutionalists" has, manifestly, been misplaced.

* * * Carranza's approval of the Benton murder either stamps the "benevolent old gentleman" as no better than Villa or proves that as "constitutionalist" leader Carranza is nothing more than a name to conjure with.

Expressions from leading newspapers in all parts of the country show that an increasing proportion of the American press is tired of "watchful waiting." But what would they have? Certainly our contemporaries cannot differ with President Wilson as to the undesirability of plunging this country into a war. That is what intervention would mean. No man understands better than the President the difficulties of the situation. He wants to avoid war if he can, and the people of the United States want him to avoid it if he can.—New York "Herald."

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The lies and evasions manufactured by and for Villa are the most amazing feature so far in what has been a revolution of lies.

* * *

Has anything in history been so undignified and humiliating as the Administration's receptivity to the most palpable and contradictory falsehoods from a fellow of Villa's stamp.

* * *

Even a child could detect the intentional deception of them all and any real man would never stand for them.

And Carranza?

* * *

He approves of the "execution" as perfectly justifiable and legal.

* * *

At least his agents do.

* * *

The doubt is growing daily whether there is or is not a Carranza at all, at all.

* * *

Many believe he's dead.

* * *

He is, at any rate, as far as having any influence over Villa is concerned.

* * *

Villa is the revolution and the revolution is Villa.

* * *

And Bryan is his prophet?

* * *

What? Not any longer?

# Plain Words from the Border

By C. F. Z. Caracristi, Ph.D., C.E.

The Administration, after having used the theoretically free press of the country in a campaign of misrepresentation of the true facts relative to conditions in Mexico in order to educate the public mind and conscience to accept its foreign policy, has stepped from behind the screen and exposed its plans to assist the noted bandits in overthrowing law and order in Mexico.

What is to be our gain or our glory, and what will the nations of the world and history say of us in the future? Outside of the justice or injustice of Mexican polemics; outside of every consideration that human ingenuity may conceive or intelligence moot on the question we can find no possible present or future excuse for becoming the champions and supporters of men like Villa and Zapata, that the whole civilized world accepts as the arch-criminals of modern times.

I cannot see how the responsible heads of our Government, who must know what they are doing by instituting this damnable policy in behalf of our nation, can commune with their God, knowing that they have made a whole country but a vast shield of blood, and that this blood is shed to satisfy the vainglorious ambitions and the spirit of a petty revenge of a few misguided theorists and politicians whose amateurish efforts at diplomacy would be ridiculous if they were not revolting and grotesque.

President Wilson is defying every tradition of modern times by his action in supporting the semi-civilized and wholly barbarous savagery of the Mexican Indian peon and pelado in their war against the wealth, intelligence, culture and responsibility of the Caucasian blood of the country.

The President and his advisors go further and tacitly make us allies of vulgar bandits, brigands and uncivilized ghouls, to whom crime is a pleasurable pastime. There is no pretension on the part of these wholesale ravishers, murderers and robbers to carry on a civilized warfare. A state of inhuman atavism has grasped these organized anarchists and they have reverted to the primitive savagery that the Spaniards had but slightly varnished over during four hundred years of efforts.

Regardless of all the bombastic theorizing and the preachings of our beloved President and his worthy Secretary of State, you can no more educate men like Villa, Zapata and their followers to stay educated in the modern precints of peace, happiness and Christianity than you can teach a rattlesnake to repeat the Ten Commandments.

I am sometimes led to believe that the word "villainous" is derived from Villa, because the man has committed and is committing every crime in the category of infamy and a few unlisted. I know whereof I speak.

On September 11, 1909, the man rode into the heart of the city of Chihuahua and shot and killed one of his former bandit companions who had reformed and became a Government secret service agent. I was at the time completing a survey of the subterranean water tables of Chihuahua as part of my general geological survey for the Government. My camp was located on the Fresno Ranch, thirteen miles west of Chihuahua. The night after the murder Villa and his gang stole six mules from my outfit which my son and a posse retook after a running fight and many shots.

During the Madero revolution Villa looted 185,000 pesos and he got Colonel Paul Mason to go with him to a bank in El Paso to have the money converted into American currency. When I asked him why he wanted American money he stated that he might have to take a trip to Europe or South America. He told me afterward that he had planned to murder an Italian carpenter named Garibaldi who gave up his job on the U. S. Reclamation project at Elephant Butte, N. M., and joined the Madero army and was made a putty "general" for expertness in the art of adulation.

Madero was honest but purchasable through the inexpensive price of idle flattery, and by the use of this commodity foreign adventurers and Mexican crooks held him in their power and led the nation to ruin. What remains of these hypocritical idolators and the riffraff and outlaws of every order of Mexican and foreign society now make up the self-styled "Constitutionalist" party.

They do not want Huerta, de la Barra, Lascurain nor Carranza; all they want is just plain loot and the right to desecrate the sanctity of any home that has a woman in it that appeals to their craven lust and the fancies of infamy!

Such are our high-born and beloved allies, forced upon our great Christian nation by a satirical, misfit Government.

What is the "White Man's Burden"? Is it not to bring enlightenment and progress to the world at large, using the supreme instrumentality of the white man's dominion? Why, in the name of logic and self-protection, are we turning Mexico over to an Indian mutiny more horrible than the one that England suppressed in Asia?

Have President Wilson and the Secretary of State any valid reason to offer why they should use every available force at the command of our powerful Government in order to oppress and enslave the respectable people of Mexico and turn them over to the savagery of the bandits?

Why did we prevent the Cuban negroes and peons from gaining control of that Government and go so far as to uphold this very principle by forcible intervention? Now, just because we have taken umbrage at a grape juice hallucination and become obsessed of the idea, which evidence and competent courts in Mexico have disproved, that Huerta caused the assassination of Madero, we attempt to place all white men and women in Mexico on the altar of a spiteful sacrifice. To satisfy whom? To gain what? To place in power a band of cutthroats and satisfy our exalted Government's greed for revenge.

Do our people know what this terrible act means to the people of Mexico?

We are helping to sell the better, nobler, cleaner and only truly representative humans in Mexico into a damnable and revolting bondage. We are destroying in Mexico the principle of vested rights; we are legalizing and rendering moral support to anarchy, which we would not tolerate at home; we are denying the white man, the Caucasian, and the better class of Indians in Mexico the divine right of supremacy over an inferior mob of nondescripts who have not yet forgotten the Omego of the cave man nor learned the Alpha of civilization.

Let it not be understood from what I have said that I am disparaging the Indian race in Mexico, for I am only referring to that proportion that for centuries will be incapable for performing the functions of intelligent and Christian citizenship.

Spain may have murdered the ancient rulers of Mexico, whose learning and chastity have been the world's wonderment, but they did not destroy the seed of the dynasty, for every now and then we see it spring forth, as was the case with Juarez, Diaz and other notables of that country. General Porfirio Diaz is unquestionably to-day the greatest of all living statesmen, although he is in exile from his country. These great men do not belong to the human vampire mobs that are now devastating Mexico.

The Government of the United States is aiding to suppress all that is good in Mexico, for property, consanguinity, morality and learning are all but about two per cent. in favor of the present Government.

When Gladstone, out of a mistaken sense of duty and vaccillation, abandoned Lord Gordon in Africa, when he with his troops were massacred at Khartoum, he committed a crime against his race and placed a blot on his otherwise noble career. If President Wilson succeeds in putting into power (even temporarily, for no such Government in

## PLAIN WORDS FROM THE BORDER—Continued.

Mexico or elsewhere can last) the self-styled Constitutionalists, he will deserve and receive the scornful condemnation of every white man who knows the facts as they really are, and not as the Administration is having them painted by a nursing and servile press.

If Mr. Wilson were right in his universal suffrage policy for Mexico, majority rule, and all the rest of his theories, frapped buncombe and tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, what on earth would become of England's and Europe's colonies in Asia and Africa? Does he really believe that he has the support of Europe in this wild, though theoretically sanctified scheme of his?

Posterity will demand of him a reckoning—the American voter when he becomes educated up to the facts, the cause and the results will demand a reckoning. God and humanity and the Caucasian people throughout the world will demand a reckoning for this political crime that is being committed under the guise or disguise of a **new national morality.**

My experience is that the President nor any other man can keep the American people fooled very long at a time.

Though President Wilson has hypnotized himself into the belief that Secretary Bryan is the personification of human infallibility and endows him with ultra-mundane attributes, it is nevertheless a fact that Mr. Bryan's record proves him to have been politically the most colossal failure in American history.

Of course Mr. Bryan is an excellent gentleman, even though he has been unfortunate in his mental attitude on public issues. The lyric and hysteric stage missed a great actor when Mr. Bryan entered politics. If all his past public acts have been monumental failures, censured by the American voters, what reason have we to believe that his Mexican policy is any saner than the rest of his somnambulistic vagaries?

The Administration's Mexican policy is born either of ignorance or perversity. I happen to know that the true facts on Mexico were laid before the Government by men of standing and supposed influence with the Democratic Party—and I also know that the Administration refused to accept any advice that was not favorable to our dearly beloved and highly honored friends and allies, Zapata, Villa, Carranza and the rest of the devil's imps.

I have been told that if I don't refrain from writing these articles the Villa-Bryan press would retaliate by entering a campaign of personal villification against me. Such is the freedom of thought and press in America. Let them get busy if they care to hear some truths that I am keeping in reserve. No clean man needs fear publicity.

# POOR JOHN!

From article by James Creelman in N. Y. Evening "Mail" of February 26.

## AMERICA IN EXTRAORDINARY ROLE.

The extraordinary part which the American government is playing as a supporter of the rebel cause and a secret negotiator with the ignorant bandit rebel leader is shown by Secretary Bryan's "I have assurances from Villa, etc.," communicated to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the American charge d'affaires in Mexico City, who is an intimate personal friend of Huerta, and calls him familiarly by his first name, and by the secret acts and utterances of Mr. Wilson's cloistered, paramount agent in Mexico.

**It is time that the careful curtain of silence that has surrounded Mr. Wilson's mysterious envoy should be raised.**

In a small, darkened room, with a red-tiled floor, opening on a shabby Mexican courtyard in the rear of the American consul's office in Vera Cruz sits John Lind, the personal representative of the President of the United States, as he has sat for seven months, smilingly watching and waiting, **while Mexico and her 15,000,000 men, women and children have moved to wreck and ruin.**

### He Advises Mr. Bryan.

Altogether a hale, dignified, old-farmer type of lawyer-politician, who loves to talk of the smell of burning brush, the cheeping of squirrels, the spring call of birds and the plowing of the soft brown furrows in distant Minnesota and who adores Mr. Bryan, with whom he served in Congress.

**This is President Wilson's personal representative in war-smitten, pillaged, despairing Mexico, the amiable, calm, comfortable, good-natured, philanthropic sentimentalist, who dreams away his days** in his shadowy room in hot Vera Cruz, an easy rocking-chair hermit with brawny, white-clad American blue-jackets yawning on guard at his door.

It is Mr. Lind's opinion that the north must conquer the south before there can be peace in Mexico.

### Admires Carranza.

President Wilson's representative and confidential adviser never allows himself to be quoted in the newspapers, but he talks freely to the Americans who call on him, and makes no secret of his admiration for Villa and Carranza and his hopes for their success.

He has a poetic vision, embracing all human history, in which the north always conquers the south, and sometime, somehow, when the rebels conquer Huerta, the victorious bandits, murderers and violators of women will suddenly turn patriots, statesmen and moralists and there will arise in riven Mexico a noble government—converted to the rule of the majority.

At the heart of this sun-scorched cozy city, its venerable walls, church domes and roofs crowded with black vultures and its people largely indifferent to the fate of the nation, Mr. Lind, of Minnesota, dreams his dreams and writes them to President Wilson.

### Undisturbed by Massacres.

There is something almost inexpressible in Mr. Lind's genial, imaginative calm. Nothing frets his sheltered, comfortable life.

**The widespread scenes of massacre, outrage of women and children, sacking and general misery and ruin mean little to him but that the north will conquer the south,** and that the twentieth century, represented by Villa and Carranza, will take the place of the sixteenth century, represented by Huerta.

Everything is going on all right. Of course, Villa is a murderous bandit and his followers are savage plunderers, who spare neither women nor young girls, but men grow better with responsibilities and, after all, there is such a thing as what might be called intellectual morality.

And when Villa's hordes at last get control of Mexico—a highly improbable event, the mention of which makes all who know the rebels shudder—the friendly countenance of the Wilson administration might result in a great loan of money.

### Has Idealized Rebels.

With the cruel evidence of their character and acts daily before his eyes Mr. Lind, in his gloomy little room in Vera Cruz, has idealized the bloody plunderers of the north to an almost unbelievable extent.

But there is a graver side to Mr. Lind than his dreaming of an impossible Mexico.

**Take the single case of an American citizen appealing for protection to $2,500,000 of legitimate American property. Mr. Lind's answer should be known to the American people.**

This story throws a strong light on what is happening to our citizens in Mexico with the consent of the United States, and the moral, if not direct, relations of the Wilson administration with outright bandits and blackmailers.

The Tezuitlan Copper Company is an American mining enterprise in the eastern part of the state of Puebla, far from the scene of the northern rebellion.

**Last August there came into this region of peaceful development, a former officer of rurales under Madero named Marquez, who, with a band of Indian raiders calling themselves "constitutionalists," began to overcome the tiny, scattered federal garrisons.**

The copper company carefully refrained from taking sides in the situation and preserved an attitude of neutrality in politics.

But when the company's manager, Mr. G. H. Carnahan, returned from a business trip, he was invited by Marquez to use his influence to assist in restoring peace.

### Medina Starts Trouble.

In December, a young desperado of twenty-four years, named Medina, came from the north, representing Carranza and his forces.

He is tall and thin and given to loud boasting and the robbery of plantations.

One of his feats was the capture of the paymaster's car on the Inter-Oceanic Railroad, and the stealing of $14,000.

**About a month ago this plundering band went to the Tezuitlan Copper Company's camp and announced that they**

(Continued on next page.)

## POOR JOHN---Continued

intended to hang Manager Carnahan because he had taken part in the peace negotiations.

Uttering savage threats, they searched the buildings, but failed to find their American victim.

Then they compelled the cashier to open his safe and robbed it of all the money it contained, fortunately only 3,000 pesos.

The spokesman of the raiders was a renegade employee of the company, an Italian from New York, who shouted bloody threats and finally demanded $50,000, saying that the whole plant would be destroyed unless the money were paid.

"These buildings will burn fine," he said.

### Medina Sends Letter.

Three days afterward Medina repeated the blackmailing demand of his bandits in a letter, of which this is a translation:

"Constitutionalist Army of the State of Puebla,"
"San Miguel Tenextatiloyan, Puebla,
Feb. 7th, 1914.

"To the Manager
The Tezuitlan Copper Company,
La Aurora, Puebla.

"Respected Sir:

"At a meeting held yesterday the following was determined:

"In view of the reasons expressed by the citizens who have charge of the treasury of the Serdan Constitutionalist Brigade, and in view of the growing expenses which result from the daily increase in our ranks, it is to be determined, and we hereby do determine, that the principal industrial concerns of this vicinity must be asked for assistance of a pecuniary nature to sustain the heavy cost occasioned by the revolution, which has assumed the patriotic task of overthrowing the nefarious and traitorous party of Huerta, which has brought many evils to our country.

"It must be taken into consideration that the important mining concern known as the Tezuitlan Copper Company can assist in obtaining our triumph over the usurpers with the sum of $50,000, fifty thousand pesos, and therefore a communication should be directed to the representative of the said company making it known to them that within the term of eight days they must deliver the above mentioned sum to this general headquarters, advising them of the energetic procedure of our forces if our demand is not satisfied.

(Signed) Col. A. Medina, Col. Treasurer Adolfo Garcia, Lt. Col. Chief of Staff A. Palacio, Lt. Col. Dr. Gabino Beudetamata, J. L. Gomez, secretary (elaborate pen flourishes).

"All of which I have the honor to communicate to you, not doubting that you will make answer, fixing the day on which your company will deliver the quota which has been assessed.

"You will reflect on the serious consequences which will result from your disobedience to this order, and on the other hand you will consider the good and the guarantees that our army will afford your company, who with such dignity will have lent assistance to a cause so just and so sacred as that followed by the Constitutionalists.

"Protesting to you my respect and awaiting your prompt and decisive reply, I remain
The Colonel in Chief of the Movement,
A. MEDINA."

### Lind Gives No Hope.

Manager Carnahan hurried to Vera Cruz and saw Mr. Lind in his shadowy little room, explaining that he, an American citizen, was threatened with death, and that $2,500,000 of American property was to be destroyed unless he paid $50,000 blackmail.

**President Wilson's direct representative calmly advised Mr. Carnahan that the easiest and most sensible thing to do was to pay duplicate taxes to Medina's band.**

Mr. Carnahan said that his company could not afford to be put in the position of submitting to blackmail levied by the men who had robbed their safe.

Then Mr. Lind talked of the noble political ideals of the revolution and actually offered to write a letter to Medina asking him not to carry out his threat.

The manager patriotically protested that it would be beneath the dignity of the personal representative of the President of the United States to address such a communication to robbers and blackmailers.

Mr. Lind finally wrote a letter to Mr. Carnahan, authorizing him to show it to Medina.

### Envoy Sends Mild Request.

It is interesting to consider the language of the supreme agent and adviser of President Wilson in Mexico intended for the eyes of robbers of trains, farmhouses and safes:

Feb. 9, 1914.

G. H. Carnahan,
Manager Tezuitlan Copper Company,
(Aire Libre) Tezuitlan, Puebla.

I am grieved to learn that Col. Medina has given expression to threats against you and your company. * * *

Say further to the colonel in my behalf that I sincerely hope that he may see his way clear to afford you and your property protection instead of menace through these troublous times. This is the attitude of the revolutionists of the north (meaning Villa and Carranza) and should be the attitude of the revolutionists of the south. Col. Medina need not be told that an injustice inflicted upon an American citizen is an injury that the American people and government will not ignore.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN LIND,
Personal Representative of the President of the United States.

**This, and his advice to pay duplicate taxes to the raiders, was Mr. Lind's only answer to a demand for protection to American life and property.**

But it is only fair to Mr. Lind to say that he talked eloquently of the twentieth century spirit animating Villa's rebel cutthroats and looters and predicted peace and a constitutional democracy when the north should conquer the south.

## HUERTA'S PEACE PLANS.

### As Reported by Philip H. Patchin, Special Correspondent of the New York "Tribune" at Mexico City.

First—He firmly intends to retain the office of President until he is removed by death, intervention or the rebels. He has health; he does not fear assassination; he does not think any foreign nation will step in, and he laughs when one speaks of the rebels ousting him.

Second—He counts on eventually pacifying the country. His confidence in this is extreme, and he is directing all his energies entirely in this direction.

Third—He hopes to hold elections in July and show the United States that Mexico is well able to run itself.

Fourth—He hopes to establish by a far-seeing policy, on which he is working, a true democracy. He is certain of his ability to accomplish this, even though every ruler since 1857 has failed, largely through the fact that the Indians, who constitute such a large part of the population, are totally incapable of grasping even the elementals of politics. When President Madero attempted this by testing the views of the Indians on the subject they wanted to know if "democracy was Mrs. Madero." Huerta thinks he can so enlighten the Indians that they will be fitted to participate in pacifying Mexico.

Fifth—He intends when—or if—he has accomplished these things to effect a distribution of government lands. About 10,000,000 acres would be disposed of to about that number of persons. The states that would be affected are in the north, and the principal ones are Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, Coahuila and Durango. Land in these five states brings now about $4 an acre. Huerta would have to condemn the land and fix the government purchase price by a commission and then place the land at auction. It is on this feature that he counts much. The present struggle began because of the land squabble, and Huerta thinks that if he promises to distribute the lands he can win the majority of Mexicans to his side.

Sixth—Should every one of his plans work out successfully Huerta is confident that President Wilson will recede from his present position and grant to Huerta the recognition for which he is fighting.

### Must Have U. S. Confidence.

Huerta does not take the stand that Mexico can get along without recognition from Washington. He is exceedingly eager to obtain it. He wants the support of the United States, but he contends that he has not received just treatment from President Wilson. That Washington holds aloof from a government that has not succeeded in stifling disorder would not, he thinks, be open to such severe criticism from the country involved were the circumstances otherwise. President Wilson's theory is all right in the United States, he holds, but in the circumstances cannot be worked out in Mexico.

Huerta's whole attitude is interesting. He is endeavoring to the utmost to maintain the friendliest relations with the United States, and I have met no one who will admit that he heard Huerta indulge in any violent criticism of President Wilson. He seems particularly eager to protect Americans. On more than one occasion he has ordered the release of imprisoned Americans merely on the unofficial request of Nelson O'Shaughnessy, the United States charge d'affaires here.

Personally Huerta gives one the impression of great courage. Knowing as well as any other person that the city is full of Maderistas and others who hate him whole heartedly and would cheerfully assassinate him were the opportunity to escape afforded, he goes about freely, visiting all the principal cafes and restaurants without the slightest apparent fear. His daring seems to be enough to awe his enemies.

**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT
BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## VILLA AND BRYAN.

Texas has held a mass meeting to denounce Bryan for "misleading the American people," "persistently suppressing facts about the Mexican situation" and "trying for political purposes to influence public opinion in support of a policy that is ruinous to all foreign interests in Mexico." This is only a beginning. Similar mass meetings will be held in other States until Congress can no longer refuse to arraign Bryan for incompetency and malfeasance in office. I have repeatedly given him good advice —he should resign from the Cabinet at once.

Under the auspices of the Administration, a plan is proposed to create a new Republic of Mexico out of five of the northern Mexican States. This is exactly parallel to the attempt to induce Great Britain to recognize the Confederate States as a separate Republic. We know what the people thought of the project in the 60's; they have not changed their opinion since.

Castillo, the brutal bandit, who has murdered more than fifty Americans and blackmailed all who would pay him, is in the custody of United States troops, and is said to be a puzzle to the Bryan Administration. Villa wants him, and promises to shoot him first and give him a fair trial afterwards, or vice versa, but this would be simply handing over one bandit to another. Instead of a puzzle, Castillo ought to be a joy to the Administration. Let President Wilson order him to be surrendered to Provisional President Huerta, the only legal authority in Mexico, and the Mexican muddle would settle itself at once without any formal renunciation by President Wilson of his former prejudices. He cannot try Castillo here for crimes committed in Mexico; he cannot turn him over to Villa, who is a rival bandit, and the legal, diplomatic, common-sense course is to deport him to Huerta. Incidentally, a few words might be said to the United States officers who put the Administration in a hole by bringing Castillo into camp alive; but such words should be said privately and confidentially.

Villa & Bryan, the firm that has undertaken to manage Mexico and kill President Huerta, made a fatal blunder in murdering an Englishman. So long as only American women were outraged and American residents blackmailed and assassinated the policy of watching and waiting and supplying the villains with arms worked beautifully. But plucking feathers from the patient American eagle is very different from pulling hairs from the mane of the British lion. The English have a traditional habit of protecting or avenging their countrymen. Great Britain is marking time until the official reports of the murder of Benton are received, and will then proceed to act. Villa will be hunted down like the mad dog he is, and partner Bryan will be fortunate if he escapes by a prompt resignation from the Cabinet, to which he should never have been admitted. If British marines are landed upon Mexican soil to avenge Benton, the Monroe Doctrine will go up in the smoke of the first rifle fired. Should the United States marines and sailors be ordered to act in concert with the British troops, the combined forces will be under the command of British officers by right of seniority and through the disgraceful delay of Congress in revising our Army and Navy ranks. This is a state of affairs upon which no American citizen can look without shame and indignation. We have been at war with Mexico—a mean, cowardly, underhand war—for over a year, on account of the personal prejudice of one single individual against President Huerta. The talk of "dreading intervention" and "avoiding intervention" is nonsense. We have intervened already. We intervened when we sent our army to the Texas border to encourage Villa and other bandits. We intervened when we insultingly refused to join all the other Powers in recognizing Huerta as Provisional President. We intervened when we imposed an embargo to prevent Huerta from obtaining arms and ammunition. We intervened when we raised the embargo at Villa's demand to supply him with weapons to kill Americans. We have been fighting the constitutional government of Mexico for over twelve months, and have been watching and waiting for Mexico to retaliate, so that open war might be declared. Now Villa & Bryan have gone too far, and Great Britain will take a hand in the fighting. If, before the firm is dissolved, Villa will kindly murder a German and a Japanese, we shall have the whole world to confront, and the horrible loss of blood and treasure will fall upon the American people, not upon the arrogant incompetents who subject international affairs to their personal whims or ignorant blunders.—"The Saunterer" in "Town Topics."

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## POLICY MAY BE BEGINNING OF PERIOD OF GRAVE DIFFICULTIES.

I have no authority and no intention to judge the present Mexican policy of the United States. To do so would be indiscreet for many reasons, among others chiefly this—that I am ignorant of the motives which may have led the Washington Government to adopt it.

Now one cannot judge a policy without knowing motives. History teaches us that States and parties are often compelled by events and circumstances to decide on policies whose perils and ruinous consequences can be easily foreseen.

It should be remembered that a statesman cannot always do what he believes best and most useful for his country, and that he is often forced to do the best he can. But if in the present circumstances it would be impossible to pass judgment on the policy of the United States, it is possible, and even easy, that this policy **may be the beginning of a period of grave difficulties with Mexico.**

When a revolution breaks out in a neighboring country there are three policies between which a State can choose. Either resolute armed intervention, to re-establish order quickly; or strict neutrality, which leaves the hostile forces to fight out their fight alone; or masked intervention, by giving indirect support to one of the two parties at war—and usually to the weaker one.

All these three policies have their drawbacks and their advantages. But it is certain that the greatest drawbacks and the least advantages are to be found in the third policy, that of indirect intervention, to which the United States are now committed.

A policy of this kind leads to the prolongation instead of the shortening of the conflict; heaping up ruins; exasperating men's minds more even than direct intervention, and, almost always, earning for the State which adopts it the dislike of the winning side, whichever it may be.

If the side which has been helped gains the victory it almost always turns against the State which has helped it, to make the nation forget that it has won its power thanks to the aid of foreigners.

So, if things go on as they have begun, one may foresee that **the relations between the United States and Mexico will for a time be very uncertain and unpleasant. This revolution will leave behind it a long trail of hatreds, distrusts and fears.**—Guglielmo Ferrero, famous Italian historian, in New York "American."

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U. S. Aids Standard Oil in Berlin Fight.—Headline.

Well, what's the United States Government for if not to demand a reckoning for every drop of oil belonging to an American citizen?

When speaking of the British Government amend by changing "oil" to "blood" and "American citizen" to "British subject."—Don Marquis in New York "Evening Sun."

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## CAN IT BE A "RED HERRING"?

If it is true that "federals" hanged Clemente Vergara near Hidalgo the episode only proves that the many bands of bandits now holding Mexico prostrate are "all tarred with the same stick."

Vergara resented being robbed just as William S. Benton did. Such difference as there is between the two cases rests upon the fact that one was an American citizen and the other a British subject, and that Benton had the questionable distinction of falling victim to the biggest bandit of the lot—of being sacrificed upon the altar of "constitutionalism."

It is just possible, however, that the Vergara episode represents the efforts of Villa's busy agents to drag a "red herring" across the trail that leads to Benton's much sought grave. For it is not forgotten that these gentlemen have for some time been telling us that "constitutionalist" control over Northern Mexico was complete and that no federals were left in the vicinity of Hidalgo. —New York "Herald."

## VILLA'S TACTICAL BLUNDER.

The unspeakable Villa prides himself on being the friend and ally of President Wilson and the instrument with which the latter hopes to overthrow Huerta. But Villa is a blundering ruffian whose regard for human life is so small that he loses sight of his own interests. He is continually bringing embarrassment to President Wilson through his ignorance and native brutality. This most recent outrage laid at Villa's door is serious. Had William S. Benton been an American citizen his death would have been a mere incident —regrettable, of course, but without diplomatic significance. But Benton happened to be a subject of Great Britain and the customary "aggressive attitude" of Great Britain in "pressing for reparation where her subjects have been wronged" calls for something more than renewed assurance of "watchful waiting."

* * * Villa kills with little or no provocation, and impudently tells Americans that when he orders somebody to be shot it is "nobody's business" but his own. Yet Villa is the man upon whom President Wilson has pinned his hope. It appears that in all this terrible Mexican lawlessness and slaughter the Washington administration has but a single definite purpose—to oust Huerta. **It is a stubborn and unreasonable obsession based on the fact that Huerta refused to abdicate when called upon to do so.** From the day that the usurper in the Mexican capital defied President Wilson there has been but one aspect of the case, so far as the general public in America could see, and that was the firm determination of President Wilson to force Huerta out.

If the murder of William S. Benton results in an awakening of our own government to a change of policy toward Mexico, it will have accomplished more than the sacrifice of scores of lives of Americans heretofore, in that republic. We have assumed a kind of unofficial protectorate over Mexico. We have, in effect, assured other nations that we will afford adequate protection for their citizens. As long as only Americans suffered in Mexico foreign governments made no protests. But now that an Englishman has been killed, in the simple defense of his property against destruction by Villa's soldiers, the United States government is inclined to think that the incident warrants attention.—Kansas City "Journal."

## AMERICAN AID FOR ASSASSINS.

President Wilson has decided to fiddle no longer while the whole of Northern Mexico is aflame; his ambition to rank as a Twentieth Century Nero carries him further. Carnage has not been rampart enough of late; so to stimulate it he has taken off the embargo on the transit of arms across the American frontier to the rebels. The excuse is that this will hasten the "elimination" of Huerta. As all the more civilized portions of the Republic have quietly accepted General Huerta's sway, the new Washington policy means that the peaceful and industrious among the population are to be exposed to the tender mercies of irregular forces, mainly brigands by profession, licensed by the United States to kill, burn and destroy. Of course, it is not merely lust for blood or indifference to human life that inspires President Wilson. We must never overlook the commercial side of the American policy.

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

The Japanese have been supplying the Provisional Government with arms; the United States is not on particularly good terms with Japan just now, and especially resents that the Orientals should be making a profit in a trade forbidden to American citizens. Accordingly Messrs. Wilson and Bryan, professed missionaries of the peace movement, hasten to open a market for American munitions, which will be paid for by the proceeds of forced levies on the wretched inhabitants of the Northern provinces of Mexico.

Surely there must be an energetic protest from the European Powers against this support of rebellion aimed at the Government recognized by these Powers.

No graver offense against the comity of Nations can be committed than the virtual subsidizing of banditti to overrun regions in which subjects of friendly Powers are settled. It is not only the right, but the duty, of the Powers to represent at Washington the danger to their nationals involved in this American encouragement of the rebels. While the United States Government is compassing the destruction of British lives and property in Mexico, we read with disgust and depression, that Mr. Bryan's precious proposals for deferring recourse to arms, even after arbitration has failed between two countries, are being considered by the British cabinet. Such propositions might be listened to if they came from unsullied source. Mr. Bryan does not come forward with clean hands. While unofficial effort in Europe has been addressed to bringing the warring factions in Mexico into communication, in the hope that an accommodation might be reached, Mr. Bryan and his chief add fuel to the conflagration. If this country is not prepared to take strong action to protect our own subjects and the peaceful population in Mexico, at least the Government should adopt an attitude of polite frigidity towards Washington. And we trust that until President Wilson mends his ways all respectable Britons will abstain from countenancing public Anglo-American fraternisation in connection with the "hundred years of peace." We want no dealings with the open adherents of "messieurs les assassins" in Mexico or elsewhere.—London "Financial News."

## OUR SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

### We Seem to Be Losing Customers in the Southern Continent.

The Department of Commerce reports a falling off of our exports to South American countries for the month of December, as compared with those of the corresponding month of 1912. At the same time our imports from those countries increased.

There is not in itself any great significance in the trade movement of a single month, and it would hardly have been worth while for Washington correspondents to single out the operations of those particular countries for that month for the dispatches had there not been in their environment a feeling that in that particular case there is a special meaning in the figures.

There is no doubt that there is a growing feeling of dislike of us in all Latin-American countries, which is becoming more and more extensive and fixed, and which is affecting trade.

Some American observers say that this feeling is not serious among the educated, governing classes of the southern countries, who, they say, fully understand that the people of the United States have no desire to extend their territory or absorb into their body politic populations which bring new racial problems.

But it is not the educated, governing classes who buy most goods. The valuable trade with any country is in the substantial staple products which are consumed by the masses, whose aggregate purchasing power is the main support of trade.

It is they who have prejudices and who let their prejudices influence trade. Moreover, while such prejudices may be of rather slow growth, when once fixed, it is almost impossible to remove them.

When the Monroe doctrine was promulgated, Europe was making effort to occupy and colonize South America and control its political institutions, while we could not even be suspected of intent to do either. Consequently, Europe was hated and the United States exalted, and had we in those days manufactures to sell to those countries we should have got their trade.

To-day Europe does not meddle with the domestic institutions of any country on this double continent, while we are continually interfering with many of them. Consequently, Europe is liked and we are hated by the mass of South American people, and the cause is the attitude of the Washington Government, together with many overt acts, not necessary to mention, which seem to South Americans to justify fear of us.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

## AN AMERICAN WOMAN IN TAMPICO.

Mrs. Harold H. Webber, of Tampico, Mexico, formerly of Denver, passed through the city last evening on her way to Portland, Ore. She is one of a party of thirteen that left Tampico last week at the urgent request of the American consul there, on the report that an attack by the rebel forces was imminent. Though Tampico has been on the edge of the disturbances for many months—more than a year—Mrs. Webber says there has been few alarms there. "The American consul has been insistent in urging all women to depart," said Mrs. Webber, "and he has been obeyed until I suppose there are not more than five American women in Tampico. Last December, when the rebel army advanced on the city, the consul hurried all American residents into the warships and we were kept at sea for five days. At the end of that time we returned.

"I have found that the regular Mexican troops have not annoyed Americans at all. The only times of panic have been when raids were threatened, and then it has been pretty lively for a time.

"In general everything moves along as usual. One instance of this is that the street railway is now being built and is about completed. Another is that oil shipments go out almost as regularly as at any other time. There were 18,000 barrels of oil on the ship that brought our party away.

"A couple of times small parties of rebels raided the towns for provisions. They did not molest the population in general, going to a couple of stores and taking everything they could carry away. This put the storekeepers out of business, of course, though it had no other effect upon the city, except that it gave us some mighty scares." —Denver "Times," February 21.

## CLEMENCEAU BLAMES U. S.

(Special Cable to New York "American.")

Paris, Feb. 25.—Georges Clemenceau, ex-Prime Minister of France, declared to-day that the United States has full responsibility for the peace of Europeans in Mexico. The former premier, who is the greatest authority in France on international affairs, after reviewing the situation in "L'Homme Libre," says:

"The application of the Monroe Doctrine in Central and South America has often troubled

Europe, but in Mexico the difficulty is greatly aggravated by the fact that all the force of the rebellion is derived from the United States herself.

"I do not see what good can come from the inquiry into Benton's murder, what results are to be expected or could be demanded.

"The United States' right of intervention in this affair is weakened by the fact that she herself is responsible for the anarchy in Mexico. She does not wish England or any other European power to intervene.

**Wilson in Bad Position.**

"The English press is perfectly just when it points out that the United States' claim to guarantee the American continent against foreign interference cannot be reconciled with President Wilson's course in permitting aid and arms to be sent rebels. He first opposed Huerta by dictating terms, which the dictator ignored. Then he endeavored to strengthen the rebels. This was intervention without responsibility. It results in attacks on the lives and property of foreigners.

"President Wilson is in a bad position. I do not think a mere inquiry as to Benton's death will satisfy British opinion. The question is of interest to all European powers, and while they wish to avoid the necessity of armed intervention, they do not want their citizens to be delivered into the hands of bandits by the very people who profess to protect them."

## WOULD RECOGNIZE HUERTA.

The murder of William S. Benton, coming on the heels of the Cumbre disaster, is a logical conclusion of America's Mexican policy.

Right or wrong, if this Government had made the best of a bad job and recognized Huerta at once, the bottom would have dropped out of the revolution.

Any Mexican who has the price of a gun can steal a horse, declare himself a leader and sally forth to rob and pillage. Why not? With an unrecognized Government he is responsible to no one but himself.

It may be too late to save the lives of the endangered foreigners, but it is not too late for the United State to reverse its policy of "watchful waiting" and recognize the one strong man in Mexico, Gen. Huerta.—WILLIAM WILLIAMS in New York "World."

From month to month during the entire year Mr. Wilson has said that Huerta was tottering on the brink and that he must soon fall. Yet Huerta has demonstrated a remarkable tenacity, and he is not only still in charge of the Mexican government, but is in no apparent acute distress.

If by a stretch of the imagination anything humorous could be evolved out of the Mexican situation it would be in connection with the feud between Wilson and Huerta. The two came into their respective presidencies about the same time. Wilson was elected by the fair and honestly counted votes of his countrymen and Huerta simply seized the power that was in his reach and made himself president by force of arms. From his own elevation Wilson looked over into Mexico and decided that Huerta was not properly chosen. Wilson said: "I will not recognize you because you were not elected as I was." Huerta responded that it made no particular difference what Wilson thought about it—that in Mexico they did things differently. It has been the usual custom for Mexican presidents to secure their positions by force and maintain them by force. If that was not the American way, all well and good.

In the year that has passed, it must be confessed, President Wilson has not made much progress in his efforts to overthrow Huerta. Even the lifting of the embargo against exporting arms into Mexico seems not to have altered the situation materially. While it has practically amounted to backing the Villa-Carranza revolution, it is not accomplishing the intended purpose—the ousting of Huerta. The dictator is still doing business in defiance of Washington. But if Villa or Carranza finally reaches the capital and Huerta is forced to flee, will either Villa or Carranza be more legitimately entitled to the Mexican presidency than Huerta? And is he likely to make a better president or pacify the country? The American residents of Mexico are agreed that Huerta should be recognized and upheld. But, being on the ground, their vision may not be as clear and accurate as that of men looking through spy-glasses from the banks of the Potomac.—Kansas City "Journal."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Dear Sir:—Day by day events in Mexico are proving that the "constitutionalists" are not inspired by any patriotic motives, and that they are conducting their campaign solely for the purposes of loot. They are not fighting for any principle of government, because such ideas are beyond their mental capacity.

The much-vaunted Carranza is in no sense of the word a leader and still manages to keep in mysterious seclusion far from the actual zone of operations. This foolish old man who has been set up as the figurehead of revolutionary movement has contented himself by playing at government, appointing "cabinets"—and keeping out of Villa's road. He has proven a serious disappointment to his American sponsors in Washington (ask the ex-Rev. Hale), and has done nothing more wonderful than to issue a few absurd "manifestos."

On the other hand, President Huerta is steadfastly at his post, and despite the difficulties which the Wilson administration has unrightfully and unlawfully put in his path, is gaining ground daily against the odds of subsidized bandits, big business and Watchful Waiting. His government is affording protection to Mexicans, Americans and other foreigners alike. Federal troops are detailed to afford protection impartially to all, and large bodies of soldiers are guarding foreign mining and industrial interests in spite of the fact that such withholding of thousands of men from the revolutionary area makes it more difficult to prosecute an active campaign against the subsidized bandits along the northern frontier.

Months have passed and the press agencies still continue to announce a pending move of the "constitutionalists" against Mexico City, but loot is still plentiful in the north and the cause of the neo-Maderists has not advanced despite the alliance between the gentle Villa and the patient Watchful Waiting.

For a year now President Huerta has put up a plucky fight against enemies within and pressure from without and in spite of all he is making good. For the sake of distressed Mexico he ought to be given a fairer show and not needlessly harassed because the Mexican people chose to execute a vicious lunatic who had deceitfully secured the highest power only to allow his family and followers to loot the treasury and betray their country. A firm hand is needed to terminate the turmoil of the past four years, and General Huerta is the only man in Mexico to-day who is capable of the task. Give him a show and let up on the hypocritical talk of "constitutionalism" and cut out the vicious alliances with Villa and his cutthroats.

Baltimore, Md., Feb. 25, 1914. C. U. MESTA.

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## KICKING THE PATIENT.

Nations have their periods of illness, sometimes severe, just as do individuals.

Mexico as a nation is ill, critically ill.

The pessimistic James Creelman after a hasty diagnosis shakes his head dolefully and croaks that she is on her deathbed.

The sincere well-wishers of the stricken country, within and without, are longing and searching earnestly for quick and efficacious relief.

The fakers and the quacks, native and foreign, are advertising their patent remedies and nostrums, seeing mean advantage in the nation's ills.

The resilient and optimistic Mexican President sees the natural cure in the inherent virility and stoical resistance of the Mexican nation and people.

The Washington Administration talks about theories of government—and kicks the patient out of bed.

And a considerable portion of the press and the people, taking their cue from the heartlessness and cold-blooded inhumanity of the Administration, talk of going into Mexico and adding to its welter of woe.

Where is our boasted civilization? Where is our human sympathy for suffering?

There are fifteen million people in Mexico who are taking no part in the disorders that have been fomented from this side of the border and encouraged by a disgraceful and dishonorable Administration-Villa alliance.

What of them?

They are the ones who are suffering from the conditions created by the Administration's "financial boycott," and the Washington encouragement of lawlessness and anarchy.

They are suffering in the struggle of life, in body and in mind.

Because a cold-blooded theorist in Washington must work out his theories, that have no more application to the actual facts than the mouthings of a religious maniac.

Because the cut of one man is not agreeable to certain pure-minded individuals whose own unpleasant cut is slowly but surely being shown to an amazed world.

---

## A REVOLUTION OF LIES.

There is one fundamental reason why the Administration's Mexican policy has been a failure. There is one fundamental reason why if that policy is persisted in it will result in a national and international calamity.

It has been founded on lies, plain, unadulterated, unvarnished, downright lies. "Error runs swiftly down the hill, while Truth climbs slowly."

Here are some of the most glaring lies on which the relations between the United States and Mexico for the last year have been based.

The lie that Victoriano Huerta became President of Mexico through the assassination of Madero and Suarez.

The lie that President Huerta was responsible for the murder of those men.

The lie that the Mexican people either wanted or were fitted for a government like that of the United States.

The lie that its opponents were fighting for such a government.

The lie that the Administration sought only to restore peace in Mexico.

The lie that the Administration was neutral as to all factions.

The lie that the Mexican Government had authority only in the capital.

The lie that all other nations were in sympathy with the attitude of the United States.

The lie that the lifting of the embargo on arms was in the interest of neutrality.

The lie that Villa was subordinate to Carranza.

The lie that there was any difference in the character of Villa and Castillo, or any of the other bandit leaders.

The lie that foreign oil interests were seeking a Mexican monopoly.

The lie that there is no government in Mexico.

Is it any wonder that a policy built on such a foundation—a tissue of lies—should have crumbled till it has aroused the pity and contempt of the world?

---

The whole thing is really too tragic for merriment, but Villa's statement that Benton was given a real funeral, with music, flowers and a "fine" coffin, and that it would be a sacrilege to open the grave blessed by the Church, is simply diabolical humor.

Again the Administration has expressed personal satisfaction on learning (from private sources of information) that the Mexican Government is embarassed for money.

* * *

Was there every anything so ghoulish?

* * *

And it was personally peeved when somebody asked if Villa were not an out and out outlaw.

* * *

Somebody has put over on the Administration one of the greatest flim-flam games in modern history.

* * *

And like the hick who has been trimmed by a plausible confidence man, it goes back for more of the game.

* * *

The people of the United States want to know exactly what the Administration is trying to do to Mexico.

* * *

They are entitled to know.

* * *

They will know.

* * *

The Administration is reported as professing to be in the confidence of the "constitutionalists."

* * *

If that is the case, the Administration is simply one of the plotters against the Mexican Government.

* * *

Fooled by a clique, the tool of a faction.

* * *

Ye gods! These amateur statesmen who have adroitly been led into a political plot may yet get their country into war.

* * *

Unless a halt on their actions is called soon, by the people.

* * *

Actually the Administration has made itself into an apologist and press-agent for the so-called "constitutionalists."

* * *

And has tried to whitewash the unspeakable Villa.

* * *

Quibbling over grave-digging.

* * *

Ugh! It's disgusting.

* * *

The Bryan-Villa alliance was doomed from the beginning.

* * *

But how touching was the loyalty shown to the last by the Apostle of Peace, the Great Commonizer.

* * *

He simply wouldn't believe that dear little Pancho, his sweet little bandit, would do such things.

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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# Are They Free?

The Administration's Mexican policy has been defined by the President himself as Watchful Waiting. Several Senators and Congressmen have been as alliterative in qualifying it as Deadly Drifting. We prefer to call it Deliberate Destruction.

Those who have been led to believe by the constant reiteration of the words Watchful Waiting that the Administration was through caution or timidity keeping hands off a dangerous and complex situation in the belief that matters would somehow right themselves have been badly deceived. There has been much of watching, but little or no inaction or waiting save for results of deliberately planned offensive efforts to destroy the Mexican Government. There has been no drifting save to the deadly consequences of a bitter and relentless warfare to overthrow the only government that stands between Mexico and anarchy.

Those who have been led to believe that the Administration has been hesitant or supine or indifferent have not read the history of the last year in the true light. Never has an Administration been so determined, active and relentless. It has been carrying on a persistent adroit war with all the power at its command and only the fact that it has been unsuccessful has created the impression of weakness in the Administration's policy.

It is a policy of Deliberate Destruction. Whether it was entered on as the expression of a personal obsession or whether it was initiated through the efforts of those who would destroy Mexico as a nation because Mexico as a nation would not be subservient to them, or whether it was a combination of both, time will tell.

The Administration knows that it has taken every possible step to dominate Mexico short of sending troops across the border and it knows that if it does not abandon its policy of Destruction that such an eventuality is an inevitable detail.

But the Administration takes pains to proclaim that it will not abandon its efforts to overthrow the Mexican Government.

Has the Administration been a free agent in its relations with Mexico?

This question is pertinent because of the remarkable discrepancy between the oft-expressed and well-known ideals of the leaders of the Administration and their acts in regard to Mexico.

Secretary Bryan has been one of the world's most ardent apostles of peace and yet he now stands before the world as the apologist for armed rebellion and cold-blooded murder. Surely the Secretary would not have put himself in that position if he were a free agent.

President Wilson came into the White House with a reputation for possessing the finest qualities of a scholarly gentleman and yet the world was amazed to see him come out openly with insults to the Mexican Government and people, even calling names with obvious personal animus. Would he have freely chosen to give a wrong impression to the world?

Secretary Bryan has always been a pronounced critic and opponent of imperialistic tendencies in our Government and has made political capital of his convictions in this regard, and yet he is party to one of the most high-handed imperialistic acts of interference in the domestic affairs of a neighboring people.

President Wilson's books have revealed him as a clear-headed master of logic and yet he attempted to draw a quibbling distinction to explain why the Administration recognized the new revolutionary government of Peru and yet would not recognize the government of Mexico which came into power under precisely the same conditions.

Secretary Bryan has been universally believed to be a friend of the common people and the foe of predatory wealth, yet he enforces a policy toward Mexico which is bringing suffering to fifteen millions of poor, peaceable Mexicans and the success of which he is desired by the worst brand of Big Business in this country.

President Wilson is the last man in the United States who would be expected to have anything to do with a brigand and cutthroat of Pancho Villa's stamp, yet the President has been quoted without denial as having faith in him.

Secretary Bryan, with all his faults, has enjoyed the distinction of being a man who would always come out in the open and explain his position on anything without evasion, yet in the handling of the Mexican situation he has developed a secretiveness and a resentment of publicity that have never before been characteristic of the man.

President Wilson as a deep student of history is, it was taken for granted, familiar with the regular course of diplomacy and the dangers of foreign complications and misunderstandings when the regular procedure among nations is abandoned, yet he deliberately ignored the advice of the State Department's authority on international law as to the recognition of the Mexican Government and the sending of irresponsible representatives like John Lind to negotiate in matters of extreme delicacy, involving the fate of the nation.

(Continued on next page.)

Secretary Bryan has time and time again in feeling words shown that he appreciates fully the desirability, even the necessity of the friendship of Latin-American countries, and yet he has lent himself to a Mexican policy that any diplomat in Washington will tell him has done more to injure this country's prestige in Latin America and arouse the suspicion and antagonism of Latin-American peoples than would armed aggression.

President Wilson knew and was fully alive to the strong moral repugnance aroused here and abroad by the Roosevelt method of fostering a revolution in Panama in order to get possession of the canal zone for the United States, and yet he has entered into even a more flagrant alliance with bandits in Mexico, to get what?

Secretary Bryan could not heretofore have been regarded as a man who would have dealings with revolutionary factions who make Washington their headquarters and conspire against established governments on one pretext or another, and yet a Mexican faction of disgruntled politicians are as thick as thieves with Bryan and he seems to want to believe everything they tell him.

President Wilson announced a program of pitiless publicity in the Administration's conduct of affairs, and yet there has been every effort made to muzzle Congress and the press regarding Mexico.

In view of all these startling "reversals of form," is it not reasonable and pertinent to ask:

Is the Administration a free agent?

---

**Never since the dawn of the American Republic has this country been so cheapened and humiliated in the eyes of the world.**

**Never has our prestige been so lowered in the eyes of the civilized nations.**

**We are almost without a friend among them.**

**In desperation we are trying to bribe England to our side.**

**This is what the combination of a demagogue and a pedagogue has brought us to.**

**Because they must "get Huerta!"**

**Oh, the shame of it.**

---

We are arresting I. W. W. agitators and obstreperous unemployed in New York City.

* * *

**If that happened in Mexico City what a howl would go up about the harsh dictatorship of President Huerta!**

* * *

**We have enough problems of our own in this country without going far afield to find others.**

* * *

**Get Huerta!**

# The Parting of the Ways

Months ago we were stating in this publication that the Administration was morally responsible for the lives and property lost in Mexico because it was encouraging the lawless conditions in the North and that by its opposition to the Mexican Government it was really backing the Villas, Zapatas, and Carranzas.

The lifting of the embargo on arms and the course of events following on the brutal murder of a British subject, made this as clear as daylight. It is openly admitted now that the Administration is actively backing the activities of the rebels and there are some who even go so far as to assert that United States agents along the border are directing the movements and statements of Carranza and his followers in their desperate effort to becloud the actual situation and throw a cloak of respectability about the "revolution."

Anything to "get Huerta."

It is the most humiliating revelation of American responsibility for Mexican conditions and yet the Administration brazenly announces that it will continue its present policy.

We say in all earnestness that this moment is the turning point in the fortunes of the Administration. There are only two courses open to it. One is to declare in a big manly way that it was deceived as to the character and purposes of the Northern rebels and that with the best intentions it has placed itself in a position from which there can be no escape with honor unless the mistake is admitted.

The other is to continue bullying the Mexican Government, assisting the rebels and bandits, adding to the destruction of Mexico as a nation and moving inevitably to armed intervention.

When the Administration says it shrinks from the idea of avoidable armed intervention it is not to be believed until it has adopted the only course that will make it avoidable—the recognition and moral support of the Mexican Government.

The discussion of our humiliating position in the world as a result of a stubborn and perverse Mexican policy is daily becoming more pointed and informed. Both houses of Congress are restive and many members are utterly disgusted. No doubt as a result of this feeling, which reflects the feeling of the people of the entire country, the truth about Mexico will gradually be revealed. The more we learn of the actual situation in Mexico the harder it will be for the Administration to maintain its policy of destruction and ruinaton.

The only argument advanced in the public mind now against the recognition of the present Government of Mexico is based on the reported personal habits of the Mexican President.

James Creelman, of the New York "Evening Mail," recently spent ten days in Mexico City, mostly in the American Embassy, and has written a series of articles in which he draws a hopeless picture of Mexico. Mr. Creelman makes it plain that he believes the Mexican Government should have been recognized in the beginning, but he tells the most amazing stories about the Mexican Executive.

We do not know anything about General Huerta's personal habits and we more than suspect that for graphic effect Mr. Creelman seized on all the hearsay yarns that were related for his entertainment by not wholly disinterested Mexicans and Americans who came to the Embassy to tell him all about Mexico. And with a graphic writer's love of striking effects, Mr. Creelman did not hesitate to exaggerate all that he had heard, not for any other reason than to make a "good story."

But Mexico City is a hotbed of irresponsible rumors and we are surprised that Mr. Creelman with all his wealth of knowledge about things Mexican did not instinctively know how to discount what was poured into his ready ears.

However, if even a portion of what Mr. Creelman writes about the personal habits of General Huerta is true, it is very remarkable indeed that the rugged soldier should have maintained his poise and dignity so wonderfully in the strenuous year of locked horns with disciples of various fruit juices. He certainly has not so muddled up the foreign relations of his country that he must purchase the friendship of one of them so as not to risk being an "outlaw among the nations."

Another thing. Be President Huerta's habits what they may, since when have such things entered into consideration in determining what is right or wrong in the dealings of one nation with another?

---

**A metropolitan newspaper has been running a series called "Little Causes of Great Wars."**

* * *

**In these days it would seem almost impossible that a war could be caused by personal prejudice.**

* * *

**Yet it is not at all unlikely.**

* * *

**President Huerta could be all that his worst enemies have made him out to be, but this would not justify a national attitude toward him that may involve thousands of American lives and tremendous burdens.**

## "A CATASTROPHE LIKE THIS."

The situation is in such a condition that it would be improper for me to comment on it except to say this, that those who lightly look forward to intervention are either utterly regardless of the loss of life and the expenditure of immense treasure or else they don't know what armed intervention on the part of this government in Mexico will mean.

"Those of us who have had experience in the tranquillizing of a tropical country, with a people not very different from the Mexicans, who take naturally to guerilla warfare and who would rather fight than work—that is, would rather fight and run than work—know the difficulties that an army would have to meet to accomplish the only purpose that we would have in going in—to wit, the bringing about of law and order. It would involve the garrisoning with a sufficient force of every town.

"It would involve the organization of columns to chase the guerillas into their mountain fastnesses and across trackless desert plains and the subjugation of fifteen millions of people.

"I don't know when we would get through; I don't know how many lives it would involve; I don't know how much it would cost, but I do know it would be a drag on us, and then when we had gotten the thing done the future would still be doubtful and still be a charge and a burden upon our government and upon our treasury. I do not speak thus postively without some knowledge of the subject. No effort ought to be omitted to prevent a catastrophe like this."—William H. Taft.

## REAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERVENTION.

The humiliating and perilous position to which the United States has been brought in the Mexican question is in no way due to opponents of the Wilson-Bryan administration.

If the United States must resort to armed intervention to meet the world-responsibilities we have assumed under the Monroe doctrine, the credit or the blame will belong alone to President Wilson and his advisers.

In spite of the fact that every other great nation recognized the Huerta government at a time when it offered the only promise of peace in Mexico, Mr. Wilson deliberately chose to risk everything on his personal idea that "Huerta must go."

Again and again the President had his attention called to the fact that he must choose between recognizing the then strong Huerta government or inevitable armed intervention.

Every patriotic citizen must sympathize with Mr. Wilson in the grave embarrassment which has come upon him, but if we are forced into war by the stern necessity of events he cannot escape full responsibility.

No doubt when the President decided that he would not recognize the Huerta government he did not realize, as more informed men did, that he was really committing his administration to ultimate forcible interference.—New York "Evening Mail."

# LEST WE FORGET

This inscription should be marked on the tombstone over the grave of a Democratic Administration: HUERTA MUST GO!

* * *

It has become a sort of morbid obsession.

* * *

Defying reason, logic and truth.

* * *

Why?

* * *

When we get the answer to that question we shall wonder and ponder and finally come to the conclusion that Lincoln was right: "You can fool all of the people some of the time."

* * *

John Bassett Moore stood it as long as he could, against his judgment and convictions.

* * *

So have the people stood it.

* * *

But they are waking up to the facts which are so writ that he who runs may read.

* * *

The fact that the State Department, or rather the Great Commonizer, has been simply the tool of an intriguing Mexican faction.

* * *

That the Great Commonizer has swallowed all the guff handed to him by that faction, coached by a clever attorney of the Maderos and the Waters-Pierce oil interests.

* * *

That he, the Administration and the American people have been made a fool of.

* * *

That President Wilson has been perniciously advised.

* * *

Or that he took only the kind of advice that pleased him.

* * *

What's the answer?

* * *

Watch and wait.

* * *

Will the Administration be big enough to admit its mistake?

* * *

On the answer to that depends the future of the Administration, the Democratic Party and the country.

* * *

If the United States is going to surrender to every pressure from European nations so that the Administration may be free to destroy Mexico, then the people of the United States have been badly misjudged.

From now on the Administration's Mexican policy will have to stand the severest tests.

* * *

For the truth is out.

* * *

The people can not be fooled any longer.

* * *

It was easy to cover tracks when the manufactured sentiment prevailed that the trouble in Mexico was a fight for constitutional principles.

* * *

It was too easy.

* * *

But Villa had to go and show what he was made of.

* * *

And Carranza and his faction were revealed in their true light.

* * *

Watchful waiting!

* * *

There was not so much waiting about that policy as the public was led to believe.

* * *

There was action.

* * *

The "financial blockade," "mental suggestion," connivance and scheming with the representatives of Carranza, et al, lifting of the embargo on arms to assist them, direction of a virulent press campaign against the Mexican Government.

* * *

Was that waiting?

* * *

No, it was desperate, underhanded action.

* * *

Why?

* * *

Watch and wait.

* * *

This has been, so far, only the first act of the drama.

* * *

Which is a tragedy.

* * *

In which there is a Hamlet.

* * *

Also a Macbeth and an Iago.

* * *

Has anything so unjust and preposterously inconsistent ever been suggested in affairs of state as intervention directed against Mexico and the Mexican people because of conditions which have been made possible by the attitude of the Administration?

* * *

If the Administration is looking for matters of national honor to straighten out, why not start with this?

# THE BIG GAME

By Dr. Ledyard Smith

The attitude of our Administration is but one act of a real tragedy, the dramatic motive of which is to force a fight on an unfortified nation: nagging, nagging and harassing that nation with the hope that some accident of the Maine character will force Congress to declare war, when, to indemnify the expense of that undertaking, the present territorial border will be shifted as far south as the new map-makers can arrange.

The Administration of Porfirio Diaz saved Mexico's main-line-to-border railroads for Mexico, against the open railroad-grabbing and oil monopoly scheme of her Northern neighbors.

That slap in the face to a few men who had never been so humiliated roused an indignation in these individuals that called for retaliation. The chance came to these Wall Street interests with the entrance of Madero and his monumental crime in inciting the Mexican peons to armed rebellion. The value of these lawless elements in wrecking tracks, bridges—many hundreds—tunnels and rolling stock was quickly appreciated. Here was retaliation; here was a slap back at the man who dared to save Mexican railroads for Mexico. That they were nothing but bandits who did this devil's work so much the better. The demoralization of Mexico's railway interests was the point. The point was being gained.

Looting, robbing, outraging, murder—these were minor details—all necessary to create a disorder that would undermine Mexico's strength in her own railways. If these disorders, this seeming general public opinion put in a different President, a pliable concession-giving President, why then the point was the better gained.

But the bone of the railway interests was not the only one that needed picking with the Oaxaca Indian, the man who for thirty years had saved Mexico for Mexicans. It is notorious that certain oil interests paid the Madero insurrectos when in the field, and that after Madero assumed power the Mexican treasury reimbursed these oil interests at a fabulous advance. It is also a recorded fact that Madero found 63 millions in the Treasury; and the entire available fund in paper and otherwise swelled this to over two hundred millions. And still another but sadder fact is that Huerta found less than two hundred thousand of that sum. Here was more retaliation for that oil slap of fifteen years ago. A come-back at the man who could be deposed, primarily because of his age, but who could not be bought by an Oil King.

Then came the Huerta Administration.

A recognition of Huerta by the United States would curtail the gross sum of bandit disorder. Such recognition would lend strength to this new Mexican power that is holding Mexico and Mexican interests for Mexico. A recognition of Huerta would induce and practically guarantee foreign loans, and a large loan would supply a cash account that would cripple not only the bandits, but their United States allies who are bent on map-making and concession grabbing. These allied interests form an octopus that has grown to far-reaching proportions. It is more than political; more than party. It entangles the press, which is no longer divided in party, for it stands almost solidly for this octopus.

This commercial monster demands that anything that strengthens Mexico for Mexico must be put down. Anything that will disrupt Mexico and leave it open to pillage, grab and new map-making, must be encouraged and maintained.

That "Huerta must go" is only a part of the game. That American citizens owning and occupying property on Mexican soil are robbed and murdered and their wives and daughters are outraged—as consular reports show and prove—this also is part of the game. It creates further disorder, further prejudice and helps to shorten the time before new map-making. The cry for redress when heard is only converted into press matter that helps to bring closer this coming occupancy.

Huerta will not be recognized. He cannot be. Simply cannot. It is against the whole game. It is the mandate of the Monster. The recognition of Peru recently, with governmental conditions similar to those of Mexico, proves that the antennae of this United States Big Game do not extend that far—that's all.

The bandit part of Mexico's woes is an asset and a strong one. Without their murders, their lootings, their daylight bank breaking and their outrages on anything female over ten years of age, why, their part in the game would then fall short that much. They must, simply must, live up to their part.

The bandit part in the play is an accident, or at most, a coincidence. It was not only pounced upon as an important factor to use, but it has been nourished.

Their chief, a cattle thief, who can't count his murders, nor yet his millions that he is stealing there and banking here in the United States, who has always been an outlaw, is snatched up by the octopus and elevated by the press to the title of "General."

The Administration of ninety millions of people openly bases its hopes on this cattle thief. It frankly, without shame, expresses its belief that Villa, the outrager of women and girls, has become a patriot of high principles and noble ideals! The Secretary of State emphatically deprecates anything which might lead to a clash with Villa, the assassin. Here is open business partnership with the vilest wretch in Mexico; but who, because of his acts and lawlessness becomes at once an important asset in this Wall Street game.

The status of Mexico to-day in the eyes of her neighbor to the North is everything that embraces theft, murder, blood. It is the result of a deliberate press propaganda to foster this idea in the public mind. The public must be educated to the belief that Mexico is but a small patch of unclaimed land, ungoverned and populated by a wild set of bloodthirsty savages.

This press purpose is to cover up the fact that her territory is larger than the combined area of France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy. Larger by exactly 2,495 square miles. And it is this territory rich beyond conception, that is the secret attraction. Anything that will divert publicity from that fact must be done. Anything that will lessen Mexico's honor and integrity as a nation, anything that will compel her to repudiate her obligations on her bonds or debts, all this must be done and is being done by the invisible hand. It's the game.

This publicity campaign magnifies the strength of the bandits and tries to make their outrages national, as if the acts of a few hundred or even a few thousand misled degenerates with a leader who is openly referred to as the partner of Washington, marks what they do as having national intent and purpose.

The hand of Big Money is showing finger marks on the Washington throat, strangling it into submission to its desires. But this is not the national desire of ninety millions of honest people here.

Nor does a bandit in Mexico even with considerable following—when well paid—represent the feelings, the wishes, purposes, honor and national spirit of sixteen millions of people there, who, for the most part are Indians; peaceful, contented and even happy, and who as a whole know nothing of Standard Oil or Big Railroads and would care less if they did know.

But, as a whole people they come under the slander of a well-organized press campaign that besmirches the whole Mexican nation one day and follows it with cheap talk of peace, morality, neighborly love and other hypocritical rubbish the next. In reality, our part is that of the real robbers; the real murderers and disturbers, for this Mexican situation was born, bred and is still nourished in the United States. It never was and is not now an internal Mexican issue.

(Continued on next page.)

### THE BIG GAME—Continued

The Mexicans are the victims. Their nation is being stolen. The blood of a hundred thousand humans will write in red VICTORY TO A FEW, who are already fat with greed and power and whose address is Wall Street. This victory, this gain, no matter in what degree, no matter how great, will be but a short victory for a few. Its shame, its disgrace, its deplorable lack of all honor will last out generations. Never will our victory over a weaker nation, with the consequent gain for a few and a national war expense to all, never will it offset our national loss of honor in this red-handed steal of a nation.

Never will it compensate in this blood-stain for the loss of the Latin faith in the Northern Anglo-Saxon.

### DESIGNS ON MEXICO.

To the Editor of the "Evening Post":

Sir:—People who have known Mexico for years have been declaring for the last two years that behind the revolutionary movements there was a well-conceived plan to bring about the separation of the Northern States of Mexico from those of the South, and, ultimately, to secure their annexation to the United States. They have occasionally ventured an expression of this thought, and some have gone so far as to say that the United States were headed for a war and only the providence of God could prevent it. Of course, these people have been denounced as cynics and pessimists. Events are proving that they were merely able to see the obvious.

The Washington "Post" of yesterday had an editorial under this heading: "The Plan to Split Mexico." To-day the same paper printed a communication of James Creelman from the City of Mexico, in which these words occur: "and it may be that in the end the north will separate from the south and there will be two Mexicos."

These are referred to here to indicate what is in the minds of men. It is what the schemers intended from the beginning should be in the minds of men in general. That is the particular field which they have been cultivating and now they think it almost ripe for the harvest.

It is inconceivable that Carranza, who keeps bad company but who is said to be a man of education, should be in a conspiracy to dismember the Mexican Republic. But he is co-operating with these schemers just as effectively as if he were a willing party to all their projects.

There are commercial interests along the northern border of Mexico which will gain enormously by the transfer of sovereignty from the Northern States of Mexico to the United States. One cannot help believing that the President and the Secretary of State have been misled in many particulars in the handling of the Mexican question and in none more than in the skilful manner in which they have been made to play into the hands of certain selfish commercial interests.

The project to annex the Northern States of Mexico is ripening. The profits to a few will be great. The cost to the many cannot yet be told either in blood or money.—X. Y. Z. in New York "Evening Post."

# CONGRESS BALKS

Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Montana, spoke in the House of Representatives in criticism of the Wilson Administration. Mr. Mondell's speech was the third in as many days from the Republican side in opposition to the Administration's course. Representative Ainey of Pennsylvania and Representative Kahn of California attacked the Administration's course, each describing the "watchful waiting" policy as one of "deadly drifting" that was leading toward armed intervention.

In his speech Mr. Mondell referred to Mr. Bryan's Chautauqua lectures:

"What we have needed was close attention and prompt and practical action by those charged with authority on foreign affairs. On the contrary, our Secretary of State, while engaged in Chautauqua lectures and in speeches extolling the 'new freedom,' is employing his spare moments in unwarranted intermeddling with the local politics of people of the West Indies and in promoting treaties calculated to embroil and entangle us in the domestic affairs of Central American countries. I am very glad to credit the best intentions in the world to the President and to the Secretary of State in connection with our foreign affairs, but good intentions cannot save us from disasters which amateurs, theorists, dreamers, acting on impulse when not on prejudice, are likely to bring upon us. When we compare the policy of retreat in China, of aimless vacillating in Mexico, of meddling in the West Indies, and of entanglements in Central America, with the Administration's plan of scoot and scuttle in the Philippines, where we have real interests and great responsibilities, we have a picture of external affairs calculated to make fools laugh and wise men grieve."

#### Thinks Silence Useless.

Mr. Mondell thought the time had come when no good could be accomplished by further support, "active or passive," of the attitude of the Wilson Administration toward Mexico. He said he felt now that patriotism impelled the expression of his views in the hope that "wiser counsels" would prevail. He thought the policy of "watchful waiting" had prolonged a lamentable condition of disorder and distress in Mexico and said:

"The only features of our attitude toward Mexico that seem to have any elements of fixity are the continued evidences of personal antipathy toward the individual at the head of the only Government in Mexico which has any standing among the nations; makes any pretense of protecting life and property or of conducting warfare in a civilized manner; a fatuous and fantastic theory that we should withhold recognition from Governments, however well established, which in their genesis and personnel do not measure up to the highest ideals of our executive authorities; an extraordinary obsession that any outlaw or barbarian chieftain is a patriot entitled to our support and encouragement, regardless of his aims and methods, providing he dubs himself a 'Constitutionalist.'

"While the attitude of our Administration is that of indirect intervention, we still maintain a tenuous and uncertain anchor to windward by sustaining, through various intermediaries, a peculiar and precarious, not to say humiliating, semi-personal, semi-official relationship, with the head of that Government in Mexico the overthrow of which seems to be the principal aim and end of our endeavors. I can recall nothing in international relationship so unusual, and, it seems to me, so lacking in the dignity and rectitude which should characterize international relations as, on the one hand, the Administration's announced anxiety for the fall of the Government now established in the City of Mexico, and, on the other, the apparent determination to hold that Government responsible for the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners in Mexico.

"Perhaps the most striking feature of this situation and condition of paradoxes is to be found in the generally perfectly correct attitude of that Government which our Administration is seeking to overthrow toward our Government and people.

#### Situation Growing Worse.

"The situation is bad enough as it is, but it might easily be worse, and will, in my opinion, be infinitely worse if the aims and objects apparently desired by our Administration shall be accomplished with the aid of the arms, ammunition and encouragement obtained and received from us.

"I have profound faith in the good intentions of our President. I approve most heartily his avowed and unquestioned desire to save our people from the

(Continued on next page.)

CONGRESS BALKS—Continued

loss and sacrifice which active intervention in the affairs of Mexico would entail. I regret most profoundly the lack of sound and sane advice which the President should have had and to which he was entitled. I still hope that a change of attitude and policy may place us in a position where we can be of real service to the people of Mexico without improperly intruding ourselves into their affairs."

Senator Works of California, had this to say to his colleagues, and his speech made a deep impression.

Mr. Works said that he believed the intentions of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan were good; but the course they have adopted, he declared, would be spoken of with "sorrow and shame" unless the American people had lost their courage and patriotism.

Mr. Works said that the President's demand that Gen. Huerta bind himself not to be a candidate for re-election was "preposterous," and left the United States in the humiliating position of swallowing Gen. Huerta's sarcastic disobedience. The mission of John Lind was doomed to failure from the first, said Mr. Works, because negotiations with Carranza on one side and Huerta on the other would have no binding force on the great mass of the combatants, who were bandits pure and simple, recognizing no superior authority.

The Senator's sharpest criticism was for the Administration's handling of the Benton incident. He made it plain that he thought the American course in that matter cowardly. The demand for the delivery of Benton's body should have been pressed vigorously, he said, and Villa's refusal should have been answered by sending an armed force to seize the body and bring it over the Rio Grande.

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Apart from the right or wrong of England's contention as to the Panama Canal tolls, the fact remains that the surrender of the Administration to the contention was dictated by expediency.

* * *

Blind expediency.

* * *

In other words, rather than admit that it has made a mistake in not recognizing the Mexican Government, the Administration prefers to charge the country and Congress with a mistake in dealing with England.

* * *

England is a powerful nation. Mexico is smaller than the United States.

* * *

Who said might makes right?

* * *

Who said the Administration would bully Mexico but show yellow to a Great Power?

# PRETTY PANCHO!

Mexico City, Feb. 18.—While of some small benefit to American manufacturers, President Wilson's removal of the embargo on arms has proved harmless as a measure aimed at Huerta.

Huerta is stronger, both politically and in a military sense, than at any time since his accession to the Presidency; his army is larger and better organized, and he has just completed the payment to Japanese manufacturers for 50,000 rifles and 25,000 carbines of the most improved pattern, along with an ample supply of ammunition.

While the rebels are rapidly exhausting the sparsely populated region under their control and from which they must draw their resources, Huerta has ample means to prosecute the war.

The appropriation for war purposes of the customs receipts, made available by suspending the payment of interest on the national debt, gives the Government $3,000,000 monthly, while the increased taxation on spirits, tobacco, mortgages, &c., and the heavy export duties on many articles help mightily to fill the war chest.

Yet Huerta has scarcely scratched the surface of his resources. The gold and silver mines could easily support an additional 10 per cent. tax on their production and the great haciendas can be levied upon for the defence they must have from the Government against the rebels.

### Concentration of Wealth.

It is apt to escape the consideration of the average American who sees on the map the vast area overrun by the hordes of Villa and Carranza that the bulk of Mexico's population and its most important wealth producing area are contained within the region dominated by the Government.

It is true that business is suffering, that hundreds of millions of wealth have been lost and that a continuance of the civil war will ultimately bring about exhaustion. Mexico is so wonderfully productive and the people are so inured to spoliation that the process will be a cruelly long one.

### "Kind Hearted Man and the Tiger."

"There was a kind hearted man whose heart bled for the herbivores in his neighborhood, for a wicked tiger was preying upon them. He decided the tiger must go. He did not shoot the tiger. He set fire to the woods in which the tiger operated. The fire spread and burned the grass and the bushes and killed all the poor herbivores. The tiger had taken refuge in a cave and emerged uninjured, but the kind hearted man, nothing daunted, said: 'I am much encouraged; now the tiger will starve to death.'"

In the foregoing parable, however, the tiger is supposed to be Huerta, who is very gentle compared with Villa, whose claws the "kind hearted man" is sharpening, as may be gathered from the following sketch of the rebel leader's career to date:

"Many persons living in Durango, the rebel chieftain's birthplace, declare that his name is Doroteo Arango, not Francisco Villa, he having assumed the latter name to hide himself from justice. At the age of 14 he was imprisoned in his native State for cattle stealing.

"Later he went to the mines of Guanacevi, where he remained only four months before he was again put in prison for cattle stealing and murder. Escaping, he went to Chihuahua, where he was hired to assassinate a man.

"Having accomplished his crime, and received his pay, he fled to the mountains, where he organized a band of brigands, devoting himself to wholesale cattle stealing. From that time on he made himself infamous by the boldness of his crimes.

"In September, 1910, during the celebration of the republic's centenary, he rode into Chihuahua in broad daylight and on the main avenue in the heart of the city murdered Claro Reza, a former member of his band, who had offered to deliver him over to the authorities.

### Ambush of Rurales.

"He ambushed the rurales who set out in his pursuit, killing the sergeant commanding them. In November of the same year (1910) he raised the Maderista standard, attacked the military train from San Andres, killing among others the commanding officer, Lieut.-Col. Yepez. Entering the town of San Andres, he committed every kind of outrage and was driven out by the revolutionists themselves.

"Later, entering Santa Rosalia, he killed with his own hand one Ramos, secretary to the court, because of Ramos' connection with an indictment against Villa. In 1911 upon the capture of Juarez he killed with his own hand a Senor Felix Mestas for the purpose of taking from him a pocketbook containing a large sum of money in bank bills.

"On entering Chihuahua with the triumph of the Madero revolution he established on his own account a number of butcher shops which he supplied with meat by stealing cattle.

"When the Orozco movement started he sent emissaries to Orozco offering his services, which Orozco rejected, whereupon in pique he arrayed himself against Orozco on behalf of the Government, it is said, and entering Parral looted the branch of the Banco Minero of $200,000 and imposed large forced loans, committing, moreover, every kind of atrocity. Later, joining the column of Gen. Huerta at Jimenez, he attempted to continue his robberies, for which he was arrested and sent to the capital, where he was placed in the military prison of Santiago.

"Again making his escape, he reached El Paso, where he remained until March of last year, when he recrossed the border, organized a band and attacked a passenger train near Madero, from which he took ninety-six bars of silver and two of gold, of an aggregate value of 300,000 pesos.

"He took from the train a man and shot him because he had been an authority in the city of Guerrero. Later he entered La Ascension, where he outraged women. Thence he went to Cam-

(Continued on next page.)

argo, where he imprisoned distinguished women to extort from them money and murdered the bookkeeper of Sordo & Blanco, Senor Montilla, a Spaniard, because the latter refused to deliver the sum of money he demanded.

**Shoots and Burns Prisoners.**

"At the battle of San Andres he captured 200 prisoners, whom he took to Bustillos, where he lined them up in ranks of five and had a volley fired upon them. While many still retained life he had them piled upon a pyre and burned, along with the bodies of their more fortunate comrades.

"His heartless atrocities at Torreon, Chihuahua and Juarez are still fresh in the minds of all. Such is the man who is striving to overturn the de facto Government in the names of patriotism and the constitution."—New York "Sun."

## FAILURE

The greatest failure of the administration has been in dealing with foreign affairs. In this field its policy has been fitful and inconsistent. In the estimation of the rest of the world the United States has seldom appeared to less advantage than it has in handling the Mexican situation. The President's programme has been one of drifting. He has set less store on the practical need of protecting life and property in Mexico and winning back order out of chaos than he has on holding the government and the people of Mexico up to ideals of constitutional action which are hardly realizable in periods of unrest and violence

Mr. Wilson's absorption in domestic questions may account for his inaptitude in dealing with foreign relations. But it is hard to find any excuse for his acquiescence in the looting of the diplomatic service which has put the United States at a still further disadvantage in applying its foreign policy. It is equally hard to find an excuse for the complacency with which the President has approved the various raids made by Congress on the merit system and the classified service.

Good predominates in the administration's record so far. It could be made to predominate still more if in the remaining three years the President should draw counsel from his first year's indiscretions and failures.—New York "Tribune."

The responsibility for the sickening prostitution of the diplomatic service to the spoils appetite in its vulgarest manifestations; for the abandonment of the American policy in the Far East inaugurated by Secretary John Hay and maintained by his successors down to the advent of Secretary Bryan; and, most grievous of all, for the amazing initial blunder which has brought upon the country the ignominies and grave dangers of the Mexican situation —the responsibility for these things rests not less directly on the President because his subordinate may be in great measure also culpable. Why should a statesman of Mr. Wilson's high ideals and, we may add, remarkable power of adjusting those ideals to circumstances, have lacked the essential quality of common sense in this most important particular?—New York "Sun."

# Plain Words from the Border

By C. F. Z. Caracristi, Ph.D., C.E.

There are always some more or less amusing sidelights even to the most tragic of human events, and the Mexican situation offers no exception to the general rule.

At a convivial little gathering the conversation, as usual drifted off to the trouble across the Rio Grande. A United States Army captain stated that the troops had just captured four "constitutionalists" who had been driven across the river by the Federals at San Ignacio.

"Funny," I remarked, "that the Army should arrest any one at that point when I know for a certainty that the rebel officers nightly cross into Texas territory for fear of being captured in a surprise and sleep in San Ignacio, fraternize with our soldiers and only one arrest has been made in six months and that at the request of the Carrancistas themselves out of spite and another reason that I will not name."

"Yes, you are right," replied the captain, "but you see these fools surrendered to our troopers and we could not avoid this arrest."

This is how unequally the neutrality farce—not law—is being enforced on the border.

The conversation proceeded on these lines, when I offered to discuss the situation before any body of intelligent gentlemen who would keep within parliamentary rules and forget border usage. Some one suggested a certain judge who was present, a gentleman of unusual refinement and affable personality, as the chairman of such a meeting. I protested saying that he was not impartial, to which he retorted: "I certainly am impartial. Don't I know that Huerta murdered Madero and that Washington is right?"

In these two little accounts we have the true sentiment of the border vox populi, both official and profane.

Of course there are exceptions. There are men who while officially affiliated with the government and sympathizers with the **Mexican Murder Syndicate** are prone to insist upon justice.

The Benton case has awakened the border, not to a sense of horror or revulsion, but in the direction of inventive genius in finding some suitable lie that would make Villa's act palatable to the American and English people.

Let it be understood that outside of that grand and progressive town of El Paso and probably that equally advanced city, San Diego, Cal., the local sentiment along the international boundary at the horrible murder of Benton applauds and does not condemn.

These two great cities, may they always prosper, are wholly dominated by white men and women—people of high moral and intellectual standards, who have come out of the refined East, North and South and established a modern and clean civilization where ingorance and bastardy reigned before. **In these cities foregather of the best of Mexico and the United States;** exchange views and, in a business way, work together.

Therefore, outside of the subsidized papers, one in each city, the views that reach the outside world through **individual sources** are usually correct and reliable. I am not now referring to the press stuff that a lot of poor devils have to send out because **"it is the Government's policy,"** and which, at times, **is** sent to them either bodily or in brief form from Washington and New York and distributed to the American press.

The Benton incident has demonstrated that El Paso wants fair play and desires the execution of Villa.

The present Administration is the only human institution on earth that claims omniscience, infallibility and immunity for its sins of omission and commission, unanswerable to God and man. Had it been possible to have created itself, under the single cell or any other unfathomable process of birth, it would be the only perfect thing in the Universe. I say these things because the Mexican situation was prejudged by the Administration and since then they have refused all advices and educational information that would give them the facts.

These people are the moral progenitors of all the infamy and suffering that today cries to Heaven for redress. Not only this, but it is understood here that William Jennings has warned certain consuls in Mexico that if they did not support **his policy** they would be removed.

If I fail in respect to those responsible for the present situation it is because they have placed themselves outside of the pale of respect by actions that I have for a long time accepted as the result of ignorance but which I now know to be the result of a preplanned stubborn insincerity. I did not appeal to the forum of the press until after I **had laid all of the facts that I have reviewed in these various articles before the Honorable President and Secretary Bryan through official channels, as the record of the Departments and my correspondence will prove.** Yes, not only what I am publishing but far more important data that will never come to light through me.

As far back as last October I realized that the Administration had no idea of accepting, except as a matter of personal

courtesy, any advices that were not based upon villification of the Huerta Government and glorification of Villa, Carranza and Zapata.

This proposition is one that cannot be mooted and this is proved because our Government's most zealous energies are devoted to the suppression of the truth and the fomenting in the public press and mind impressions that this Government knows to be false.

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Friction between Mr. Moore and the President and his Secretary of State is understood to date from a time shortly after he became counsellor. Mr. Moore firmly believed that the Huerta government in Mexico should be recognized, and when the President and the Secretary of State asked his advice he promptly told them that the United States would be following the proper course if it recognized Huerta. Furthermore, Mr. Moore, it is understood, quoted numerous precedents to sustain his view, but the President and Mr. Bryan asserted that the precedents he had cited dealt with monarchies only, and as this was the case of a republic it required different treatment.

In these circumstances Mr. Moore's friends say that it is surprising that he stayed in the State Department as long as he did. Holding diverse views from those of President Wilson and Mr. Bryan, the situation in which Mr. Moore found himself was anything but a pleasant one.—New York "Tribune."

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The Wilson administration's foreign policy has been a dismal and sometimes disastrous failure.

In sober truth it has amounted to an abandonment of the policy of protecting and encouraging American business interests abroad which has accompanied our magnificent and hitherto increasing international trade balance.

How far President Wilson himself is responsible for a governmental attitude based on the theory that all American citizens engaged in business in foreign countries, particularly in undeveloped countries, are presumably unscrupulous adventurers who deserve no consideration or encouragement, it is impossible to say.

The policy sounds like Mr. Bryan, but the power behind it feels like Mr. Wilson.

Every one familiar with the subject, and free to express an honest opinion, agrees that the sudden withdrawal of the United States from its support of the Chinese loan plan has proved to be a profound disaster to American influence and American opportunity in the great markets of the Far East.

This hasty reversal of a farseeing policy, to which the nation was solemnly committed by a year of negotiation with six great nations, actually was accomplished through a newspaper paragraph issued from the White House when the secretary of state was absent from Washington.

# STRAIGHT FACTS

**The Kind of Information the Administration Pays No Attention To.**

(Interview with Charles Von Brandis, Mining Engineer, a resident of Durango, Mexico, more than twenty years, in New York "Globe.")

"The whole trouble started with a personal grudge of the Maderos against Porfirio Diaz. Before the elections of 1909 Madero had been making himself objectionable to the Diazistas, and his action led to such an acute state of affairs that he had to be put in jail in Monterey. After Diaz once more was re-elected President Madero got out of jail. He met the revolutionist Orozco at San Lius Potosi, and there they framed the San Luis Potosi platform.

"This was the platform upon which the Maderistas started their revolution. In substance it called for better conditions for the peons."

Mrs. von Brandis interrupted her husband.

"Yes," she said, "and despite the fact that Francisco Madero made all these demands, he had done nothing to improve the conditions on his own haciendas. His peons were as ill-used as any in northern Mexico. And to prove that there was no real demand on the part of these peons for better conditions, it is only necessary to say that at this very time the minimum wage for peons all through the northern Mexico was $3 a day in Mexican money."

"That's only $1.50 in American money," put in Don Carlos (as she calls her husband, Charles), "but it will purchase as much as $3 American money will purchase here, so that it's a pretty good wage for wholly unskilled labor—especially as in central and southern Mexico, on the Guggenheim estates, the wages run all the way down to 2 pesos, 1¼ pesos, and even ¾ of a peso a day. The lowest wages are paid in the southern and central parts of the country, yet all revolutions have their genesis in the north.

"But the main point about Madero was that he did not put his platform demands into practice on his own estates. Francisco Madero was an illusionist. His brother Gustavo was the brains of the Madero revolution, and he was the villain. He, with his glass eye, is thoroughly hated by all Mexicans."

"All that is needed to prove Francisco Madero's insincerity," said Mrs. von Brandis, "is to note the very first thing that he did when he got office. He voted himself and the members of his family $700,000, to reimburse them for their expenses in getting him into office. And practically the next thing he did was to give all the best positions for the collection of graft to the members of his own family. His brother Gustavo was hob-nobbing with the biggest financiers in New York, telling them that if they would lend him money they could have what concessions they pleased."

"It was evident from the first," said Mr. von Brandis, "to every one who knew anything about Mexico, that Madero could not last. When the break-up came all the best people in the country got behind Huerta."

"Well, what sort of a man is Huerta, anyway?" the reporter asked the engineer. But it was his wife who answered, as her eyes sparkled.

"He is a well educated Mexican of the better class, who still has the support of all the better elements of the country. I don't believe a word of all that stuff about his holding cabinet meetings in the Cafe Colon and being behind the scenes with three chorus women when the American consul was looking for him. It is utter nonsense. And I'll tell you why. Undoubtedly he is not all that could be desired in his personal habits but the Mexican people are very conventional, especially in the upper classes. They would assume a virtue if they have it not. Victoriano Huerta is of the upper classes, and he is not the kind who would openly flaunt his vices or indulge them in public for a moment. He couldn't. The only reason he is in office is because the better classes support him, and that support would not continue from the better classes of Mexico if he were the sort of man he has been painted. The man who wrote that story did not know much about actual conditions in Mexico or in Mexican society, and was drawing upon his imagination for details.

"Huerta, from top to toe, is a soldier. His whole aspect is that of a field general and not a council chamber doctrinaire. He is very much on the order of Porfirio Diaz—quick in thought and action, a great disciplinarian."

"I am not criticizing Washington, and do not want you so to misunderstand me. I know that the greatest brains of the United States are concentrated at Washington, and have sources of information that are denied to me. I would not presume to question that they are doing right; but I do not find that any of their actions fit in at all with the impressions that I have gained from a twenty years' intimate knowledge of Mexican conditions. As I see it, it would be the best thing for humanity —the easiest way to restore peace and prosperity to Mexico—for the United States to ally itself with Huerta and the federal forces."

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While the Wilson government has recognized the brutal dictatorship of Yuan Shi Kai in the pretended Chinese republic, it has refused to recognize the Huerta government in Mexico, accepted by all other important nations, and has plainly encouraged the murderous and looting forces of the rebels, led by notorious and savage bandits, in a hopeless and shameful chaos of destruction that means the complete devastation of a rich and neighboring country or American armed intervention.

The dignity and authority of the United States as the protagonist of the American republics has been openly insulted and mocked in Mexico by the grafters of the south and the cutthroats of the north, and our national prestige in Latin America has been seriously damaged.

Meantime the Wilson administration has made the United States responsible for Mexican conditions that must go from bad to worse until, apparently, the horrors and losses must end in bloody intervention.

After the experience of a year it is not at all clear whether Mr. Wilson, who assumed power as a minority President, will yet become a majority President.—New York "Evening Mail."

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## CONSUL EDWARDS

The United States Cousul at Juarez, Thomas D. Edwards, does not seem to be honored in El Paso across the river by the enterprising newspapers of that town, where he is suspected of admiring General "Pancho" Villa and convincing Mr. Bryan that the General is doing his best and ought to be trusted. Certainly the Secretary of State has shown a most remarkable faith in the good intentions of General Villa and given him the benefit of every doubt. Whence do Mr. Bryan's inspiration and information come? In the Los Angeles "Times," which covers the frontier with its correspondents, we find an interview with the Hon. Thomas D. Edwards that may answer the question. It will be remembered that the American Consul at Juarez, at the request of General Villa, made a formal report of the death of William S. Benton without investigating it. In the interview referred to Mr. Edwards is quoted as saying:

"I will not say that I am a Villacista, but I do say that he (General Villa) is doing the only thing possible under the circumstances. In my despatches to the Department all this has been explained, and I have been assured that my actions have received the approbation of the Department chiefs.

"No American newspaper man whose newspaper criticises Villa can enter Mexico without danger of execution, and I cannot do anything to prevent it. I cannot depart from my fixed policy.

"Villa cannot be bothered with petty complaints, and it would be imprudent for any one to pry into his affairs.

"He is doing the best he can under the circumstances and all of these things have been reported to the Department at Washington, and thus far have met with full approval."

We are reluctant to believe that the American Consul at Juarez talked in this amazing fashion about the Constitutionalist General who bestrides Chihuahua like a Colossus, and if Mr. Edwards did nothing of the kind and values his reputation he cannot too soon deny the interview. We are not saying that the picture of "Pancho" Villa as an inflammable and dangerous swashbuckler who will not have his affairs pried into is not true to the life, but we assert that a consular officer who affirms, if Mr. Edwards did affirm it, that the arbiter of Benton's fate "is doing his best" and "cannot be bothered with petty complaints" betrays a sympathy with Villa's leadership that must be distasteful to thoughtful Americans and misleading to the State Department. —New York "Sun."

## AVOID INTERVENTION.

Ex-Gov. Curtis Guild's warning at the Chamber of Commerce luncheon on the unpreparedness of this country to engage in war, coupled with his suggestion that such an event was not the most remote possibility, voices the opinion of nearly all students of the Mexican situation.

In spite of the Administration's apparent disregard of our citizens in Mexico, intervention seems sooner or later inevitable. Admirable as England's self-restraint has been she is not likely to wait indefinitely to secure redress for the murder of William S. Benton. Two weeks have already elapsed.

Just what course the United States will take when the utter futility of "watchful waiting" becomes as apparent to its exponents as it has to the rest of the world, remains to be seen. It is likely to be vi et armis. We may call it intervention. We may consider it a punitive expedition. But it will be war. And its cost in human lives and in money may run into high figures. Once entered upon, national self-respect, to say nothing of our rapidly frazzling Monroe Doctrine, will compel our going ahead single-handed.

One way out of this calamitous course remains—with honor. There is still a chance to avert war. It is to recognize Huerta and further than that, to strengthen his hand. We should renew the embargo on arms to the bandits.

It may be that this step would come too late, that our policy has so weakened Huerta that he can no longer restore order. But he deserves the chance. He has clearly established his claim as the de facto ruler of Mexico. And until we have given him the opportunity, we are not justified in making the sacrifice that armed intervention would entail.

President Wilson would do well to remember that stout old Bismarck did not hesitate to admit that he could to advantage change his mind. In one of his speeches to the Reichstag he said he would scorn to belong to the number of those who in their whole life maintained certain definite opinions from which they never varied. The President would thus have the support of ample precedent in reversing his position on Huerta. And he has reversed his position on other men already—for instance, on Mr. Bryan, and on other issues—for instance, the Panama tolls.—Boston "Herald."

## CZAR TALKS.

While we are engrossed with the snowstorm and the income tax returns, we must not forget that the rest of the world moves right on and there is no pause in the inexorable logic of events. Bandit Carranza has defied poor Piffle Bryan and asserted that he will tolerate no representations from foreign governments unless they are addressed to him directly, not through the medium of the United States. In this shrewd move he has been coached, doubtless, by Japanese or German emissaries, for he has not brains enough to originate it. He aims at one fell swoop to secure official recognition and to kick a fatal hole in the Monroe Doctrine. Carranza is the scoundrel selected by Professor Wilson as the next President of Mexico, and he has been supplied with arms and ammunition by Professor Wilson's connivance. Sir Lionel Carden, the British Minister to Mexico, blocks this game by asking, "Great Britain having recognized President Huerta's government as the only constituted authority in Mexico, why should I request Carranza for a report on the killing of Mr. Benton?" Here, as I have pointed out repeatedly, is the crux of the situation—the recognition of President Huerta. All other nations have recognized him, and why should we refuse simply because of the personal prejudice of Professor Wilson? It is the duty of Congress to inform Professor Wilson that he is not a Czar; that his personal prejudices are of no consequence in the administration of the United States government, and that our recognition of the only constituted authority in Mexico must be announced at once. This information may be conveyed in a polite joint resolution or in a vote of censure. In either form it would be carried by a large majority of Congressmen, because they know that all their constituents are in favor of it and opposed to a Mexican war. In the name of humanity, patriotism and economy the vote should not be delayed, for while Congress abjectly acquiesces in the Wilson-Micawber policy we are morally responsible for the rapine and rapes, murders and misery in Mexico, and held pecuniarily responsible by the Powers of Europe. A vote of censure, offered by Senator O'Gorman and seconded by Senator Root, would clear the situation. There is no political partisanship in dealing with assassination, blackmail, robbery and outrages upon women and children.

Professor Wilson, on Monday, "declared to the reporters, in tones whose finality left nothing to the imagination, that the present policy of the United States towards Mexico would be continued, no matter what pressure from within or without is brought to bear to force a change." No real President of the United States ever talked like that. It is Czar talk. What does Congress think about it?—"Town Topics."

**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

## A TALK WITH CREELMAN

"Could Huerta have pacified Mexico if he had been recognized by the United States?

"I think it is very probable, if not absolutely certain. The ignorant Indian revolutionary bands and their bandit allies and leaders in the north, such as Villa and Carranza, would soon have exhausted their strength. The country in which they were operating is, as a rule, thinly settled, and when the mines have been closed down, the cattle driven off and the towns, villages and plantations thoroughly looted, they would have had no means to carry on serious operations against the Government for any length of time.

"The Huerta government simply needed money. The weak, sentimental and calamitous Madero administration had resulted in the gutting of the overflowing treasury left by the old Diaz administration. Huerta's government had control of the bulk of the country, including its richest and most productive lands, and all the great cities and ports. To put down the northern insurrection and to stamp out brigandage, Huerta needed a great loan of money with which to reorganize and equip an army great enough to restore peace and order.

"Bankers of Europe and America were ready to furnish these funds, but President Wilson's refusal to recognize the Huerta government, his announcement that none of its acts would be recognized as valid, and his systematized efforts to destroy Mexican public credit in Europe and the United States forced the bankers of the world to refuse to come to the assistance of Huerta's empty treasury.

"When Huerta first seized the Presidency, he had nine-tenths of all the property owners and business men of the country behind him. It cannot be truthfully said that they admired or loved him, because they knew little about him but that he was a strong and determined man. They saw in him a force of character and the ability to command that promised peace.

"Since then the open encouragement given to the murderous and plundering hordes in the north by the United States Government has strengthened them, not enough for victories that would bring peace to Mexico, but for a continuation of the work of destruction."

"If the Constitutionalists or rebels step into power, will Mexico be better off than she is under Huerta?

"There is not an intelligent Mexican alive who does not shudder at the thought of what would happen to Mexico if the cut-throats and robbers who surround and follow them should get control of the country."

control of the country."—Interview with James Creelman in New York "American."

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**All the activity of the Washington authorities seems to be directed against the Huerta provisional administration, yet the latter has been guilty of nothing like the atrocities which are of daily occurrence among the rebels. It would be a menace to the lives of all foreigners still residing in Mexico were the followers of General Carranza and General Villa permitted to secure control of Mexico City. To allow any such result as that would be little short of a crime.**—New Orleans "Picayune."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## IT CONTINUES TO MOUNT

It is to be regretted, as has been said, that in the face of all the admirable and the successful record, the spectacle of a Mexican policy of drift and ineptitude of mistaken zeal followed by not less unhappy dallying, has brought to the Wilson Administration the only just criticism it has to face, **criticism which continues to mount, to grow more and more severe as the situation passes from internal disorder to international peril.**

For this single failure the responsibility will rest primarily upon the Secretary of State. To that criticism of the man, his methods, his unutterable cheapness, his greed, his shameless pursuit of Chautauqua dollars at the cost of the dignity and even the success of Mr. Wilson's administration which has filled the press for well nigh a year —there is little that can be added. No critic of his appointment could have wished to have mournful forecasts so wholly realized as in Mr. Bryan's case they have been, and no well wisher of the Wilson Administration can fail to cherish the hope that Bryan and his yodellers may presently be sent packing.

Few Presidents of the United States have gathered more well earned laurels in one year than Woodrow Wilson, and the "Evening Sun" joins its congratulations to those which from all sides, all shades of partisans, mark the passing of the first milestone.—New York "Evening Sun."

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### Not to be Jingoed Into War.

President Wilson very properly asks whether those congressmen and editors who are clamoring for instant war with Mexico realize the dreadful consequences of their agitation—the cost in blood and sorrow to thousands of American homes.

The blare of trumpets, the martial tread of soldiers, the gay unfurling of flags, lose their joyous and inspiring note when merged in the roar of cannon, the shock of thousands of rifles, and the awful toll of death on the battlefield.

No man should countenance a single step toward war who does not first contemplate the lives that will be sacrificed, the homes that will be desolated, and the almost endless misery that will follow. **With such a picture in mind, no voice should be raised for war while there is the faintest hope of avoiding it.**

The serious tone of President Wilson's talk with the newspaper correspondents Monday shows that he is anxious to impress this phase on warlike congressmen and editors. But the President overlooks the fact that these men are now discussing **a situation which he—not they —created,** and which to them is now intolerable for this nation with honor to endure.

When President Wilson declared a year ago that Huerta must go he fixed our attitude toward Mexico and our responsibility for its future as inevitably as Dewey's first shot in Manila Bay fixed our attitude and responsibility in the Philippines.

We are now in the midst of the peaceful though irritating consequences of Mr. Wilson's declaration; we are drawing closer to the more dreadful consequences—those that come with war.—New York "Evening Mail."

There seem to be but two alternatives —immediate intervention or immediate recognition of Huerta, far preferably the latter. The world has always recognized that moral courage is far greater than physical courage. Is President Wilson great enough and strong enough to say to Huerta: "I have opposed you from the beginning, because I thought I was right and that you were wrong. I now realize that I have been wrong and I am going to give you a chance to prove that you are right and can bring peace to Mexico. I am therefore willing to recognize your government with the understanding that you will bring peace to your country within the next three months. If you fail to accomplish this I shall recommend immediate intervention to Congress. The present conditions cannot continue; they are intolerable." If Woodrow Wilson is a big enough man to do this our people and the nations of the world will acclaim him the greatest man in the world. I can see no alternative.—L. C. T. in New York "Tribune."

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## A MESSAGE TO CARRANZA.

Absorbed in admiration for the squeak of catgut under the magic touch of his own trusty bow, Nero fiddled on.

Absorbed in admiration of his own deftness in clanging the diplomatic lyre, Venustiano Carranza "fiddles" on.

Rome burned itself to destruction while Nero listened contentedly and unconcernedly to his own music. Is not Carranza in danger of seeing his structure called "constitutionalism" swept to destruction while he, all unconcerned of its impending fate, indulges himself in the delights of quibbling over diplomatic niceties?

There was a "message to Garcia."

There was a "message to Raisuli."

There is a "message to Carranza" written in the hearts of the American people and the people of Great Britain. If it has not yet been translated into official language it soon will be. For the benefit of Carranza and whomever else it may concern we give it here. It is:

"Benton's body, or Villa—Villa alive—or Villa dead!"—New York "Herald."

---

## HUERTA OR INTERVENTION?

To the Editor of "The World":

In your editorial "Truth as a Peacemaker" you say: "The President's motives are correct. Only on the part of those * * * who are always wickedly clamorous for war is there any disposition to force his hand."

On Oct. 30 last I sent you very briefly my opinion in regard to the President's Mexican policy, and believe that events since then have proved the correctness of my views. I do not question the honesty of the President's motives, but believe he has made a terrible mistake in not having accorded diplomatic recognition to the head of the Government at the capital of Mexico, and that in the interests of humanity he should have put aside any repugnance he felt as to the personal character of the person in power or to the means by which he obtained the power.

The President has quite recently recognized diplomatically a small party of men who by armed force seized the Chief Magistrate of Peru and overthrew the legally constituted Government at the cost of life, and such recognition was given without inquiry as to "the will of the people" in regard to the revolt. Are the President's actions consistent? I really should not blame Mr. Wilson except for having placed our State Department in the hands of such a would-be statesman as Mr. Bryan.

Notwithstanding our strong official opposition to Huerta, that has prevented him from obtaining funds or augmenting his army, and your repeated assertions that he was on his last legs, he seems to have proved that he is the strongest leader in Mexico to-day, and that, had he been granted recognition in April last, his country

would have been peaceful long since, at least would have been free from the armed bands of such assassins and robbers as Villa, Castillo, Zapata and others. I do not mention Carranza, as he is apparently only a figurehead, with sufficient sense to keep him from coming in contact with Villa.

It seems to me plain that those who have advocated recognition for Huerta are not clamorous for war, as you intimate, but firmly believe that such a step would have prevented any cause for intervention by having brought peace to Mexico and saved thousands of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property. Although our official treatment of Huerta has been such as to perfectly warrant him in ignoring completely any demands or requests made to him, he has invariably given courteous attention to all representations from our unofficial Charge d'Affaires and acted promptly on all our complaints.

Kindly note this: If we do not recognize Huerta and assist him in bringing his country out of anarchy (though very late for such a step and now attended with much greater difficulties than at an earlier date), intervention must surely take place, for even should we willingly continue our "watchful waiting" and look on quietly at a terrible state of affairs, other nations will not agree to hold aloof for a much longer period.—Letter in New York "World."

## THE CASE OF VERGARA.

An attempt is being made to create a sensation out of the alleged hanging by the Federals of an American citizen, Clemente Vergara. Note well the typical American name, Clemente Vergara.

It was established in the investigation made by Consul Garrett that Vergara had crossed the river and was on Mexican soil and was not kidnapped from an island in the middle of the river, as first reported. I am pretty thoroughly familiar with the conditions along the border from El Paso to Brownsville, and it is my opinion that if Vergara was hanged, which has not been proved, he got what was due him.

All our border towns are made up of about 90 per cent. Mexicans. The greater portion of these Mexicans are either partisans of Carranza or strong sympathizers. In many ways these Mex-Texans are more potential as adversaries than those in the nondescript armies operating in the field. They render to the Constitutionalists every possible assistance, even to fighting on the side, and when hard pressed they slip back to American soil and take refuge in what is very frequently a fictitious American citizenship.

Any one at all familiar with the conditions along the border knows that a large number of the officers in the rebel army claim American citizenship and are normally residents of American soil; that they visit frequently and freely on this side of the river. It is also well known that the Constitutionalists have headquarters or "juntas" in most of our border towns, and that American citizenship and soil are being used as a convenience.

No one will attempt to deny that Vergara was a rebel in sympathy; that he and others of his kind were doing all that they could for the rebel cause and against the Federals. These are facts capable of easy proof, and being such why should this country interest itself in these traitors, too cowardly to go in the field openly, men that remain on American soil, take refuge in a citizenship which means nothing to them but a haven when in trouble brought about by their own pernicious meddling?

It has been my observation that the Federals have, in the face of a thousand abuses and indignities, been most tolerant and honorable. Long life to them! They are good soldiers and patriots.—G. R. WILSON, in New York "Sun."

San Antonio, Tex., Feb. 28.

### "FIGHTING SUBSIDES."

Detroit "Tribune"—"The fighting, which was fast and furious in the northern States of Mexico before the embargo was raised, seems to have subsided since that action."

### "VILLA'S SCALP."

Boston "Transcript"—"If the President thinks Carranza capable of setting up and maintaining a constitutional government throughout Mexico, then he should address to him as the constitutionalist leader this ultimatum:—'Benton's body or Villa's scalp.'"

### "HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES."

Providence "Journal"—"The responsibility shouldered by the administration when it branded Huerta as an outlaw and encouraged the activity of Villa was a heavy one."

### "ONLY ONE COURSE."

Chicago "Inter-Ocean"—"There is only one possible course with 'Pancho.' He must be brought to obey with scrupulous exactness the demand for the surrender of the body of the unfortunate Benton."

### "STAINING MEXICO."

Syracuse "Post-Standard"—"Villa and Carranza do not appear to be concerned about the staining of Mexico except that they wish to have charge of what staining is done."

## WOULD RECOGNIZE HUERTA.

To the Editor of the "Herald":—

* * * I would like to have you explain why the papers are talking about the intention of the authorities sending United States marines to Mexico City. * * * I am unable to see where there is any disturbance in the Mexican capital; all the trouble appears to be along our Texas border. To me it seems as if our government had made a fatal mistake in not recognizing President Huerta, who was and is the strongest man in Mexico. * * * As it is now, in sending arms and ammunition to Mexico for the use of the rebels we are placed in a position where, when we do undertake to stop the slaughter, our troops will be met by a rain of American bullets.

It is not too late to recognize General Huerta. —JOHN DONALD in New York "Herald."

### CARRANZA, CARAMBA!

There's a horrible suspicion that some miscreant has sneaked up on Senor Venustiano Carranza and jabbed him with a poison needle.

Instead of the mild constitutionalist statesman, with weak eyes and weeping willow whiskers, sorrowing for his country, he has suddenly become full of "pep" and perversity. He is in the saddle with Villa, to hear him tell it, at his stirrup doing homage.

"It is true that Villa, at my order," says Senor Carranza, "recalled the invitation to investigate the body of Benton, and withdrew the permission he had given. He did this because I informed him that he was not to treat with any nation concerning international affairs. Villa and I are in perfect accord. He obeys my orders, as he should obey them, and without question."

There is much more. The Senor calls England "the bully of the world," and his column talk boasts as many cap I's as ever graced a document issuing from Oyster Bay.

This attitude further complicates matters. The language doesn't sound like Carranza. Rather suggests that Villa is twins.

Have to wait until the effects of the needle wear off. Or maybe General Villa will see him first.—New York "Evening Telegram."


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## WHAT IS IT?

Who can believe that the Administration's Mexican policy is founded on the principles of right and justice when the President of the United States and his Secretary of State are daily quoted in the press as offering excuses for Villa and Carranza whatever crimes they may be responsible for, and on the other hand inspiring the worst possible construction on every official action of the Mexican Provisional President?

Do men who resort to such methods of saving their face expect to convince the world that they are sincere and honest in maintaining the attitude they do toward the Mexican Government?

Do men who talk peace in glowing terms see no war in the disgraceful alliance they have made with the outlaw Villa?

How can anybody have faith when the Administration on the one hand is doing all in its power to encourage the elements in Mexico who are making armed intervention a possible necessity and on the other hand is protesting it is unalterably opposed to armed intervention?

There is something far worse than inconsistency in this Mexican policy of destruction.

What is it?

## MISGUIDED MEXICANS

O Mexicanos, who through desire of power are playing into the hands of cleverer men this side of the border, do not deceive yourselves into the belief that you are patriotic.

Do not think for a moment in your conceit that you are using an ingenuous Administration to serve your own ends or, if you will, the ends of your country as you see them.

You are being used!

Where is your patriotism, where is your love of country? If you, responsible men of Mexico, at least in the eyes of your neighbors of the North, place yourselves in so unpatriotic a light, what are those neighbors and the world at large going to think of the right of the Mexican people to independent nationality?

The greatest source of danger to Mexican nationality are those misguided "patriots" and uncompromising partisans who are so blind that they reveal their unworthiness to those wolves who interpret it as the unworthiness of a nation and make capital of it.

If such Mexicans are to come to the fore—soon there will be no Mexico.

## OPTIMISTIC

While all the world is shaking its head dolefully about Mexico, we wish to strike a note of optimism.

We firmly believe that sooner or later the present Government of Mexico will be recognized as such de facto and de jure by the United States.

We firmly believe that the inevitable logic of events will make that the most reasonable and necessary action of the Administration.

We firmly believe that with United States recognition the present government of Mexico will speedily put an end to the intolerable conditions that are disgracing civilization.

We firmly believe that the present Mexican government is alive to the necessity of certain social and economic reforms when peace has been restored, and that Mexico will enter into a hopeful period of reconstruction.

We firmly believe that the mass of the Mexican people are sick and tired of revolutions and that there will not be another with their approval.

We firmly believe that Mexico is in riches of resources one of the most intrinsically sound countries of the world, and that this inherent wealth will insure a long period of material prosperity.

We firmly believe that the relations between the United States and Mexico will grow more friendly and mutually advantageous with each passing year, as they come to understand each other better.

We firmly believe that those particular American interests who have caused the present troubles and misunderstandings through greed will be revealed as dangerous to our national peace and their power for evil in Mexico destroyed.

## IS IT SINCERE?

Notwithstanding the fact that there is an almost universal wish to ascribe the best intentions and the purest motives to the Administration in dealing with Mexico, those well-informed as to Mexican affairs and conditions have at times been constrained to note a definite insincerity in the words and actions of the Administration, if insincerity is a word strong enough to convey the impression.

This note has been most marked on those occasions when, under pressure of the inevitable consequences of its own acts, the Administration has represented itself as virtuously opposed to armed intervention, as if the avoidance of this were the object of its policy and the only alternative to its continuance.

In other words, when the Administration is confronted with facts which show that its antagonism to the Mexican Government and its support of bandits are creating conditions that foreshadow intervention, the Administration, knowing that armed intervention is unpopular, takes the pious stand that it will resist to the last any such action, and talks feelingly of sons and brothers and sweethearts who would lose their lives from bullets and fever.

There is another alternative and the Administration knows it. It is not in a spirit of innocence that the Administration insists that its policy is directed against intervention, when that very policy gives occasion for intervention demands and agitation.

The obvious insincerity of this shifty maneuver is not calculated to inspire faith in the Administration's singleness of purpose even among those who are most inclined to wish it well.

## CAN YOU, NOW?

The President told "callers"—meaning the Washington correspondents — that nobody can doubt for an instant that the Administration, with all the power of the United States behind it, can accomplish what it wishes in Mexico.

What does it want to accomplish in Mexico?

Its accomplishment so far has been merely destructive.

Is this strong, powerful, honorable nation seeking to destroy Mexico?

If the Admininstration is seeking to help Mexico it is certainly going about it in the worst way possible.

And yet the genial, peace-loving Secretary of State says the Administration wants above everything else to avoid war.

Can you beat it?

## CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderful of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.


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# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# Balance Up

So much has been taken for granted as to the disinterested, highly idealistic purposes of the Administration in the conception of its Mexican policy that we here take them for granted in their fullest significance.

Let us for the purposes of discussion admit:

1. That the Administration leaders were profoundly shocked by the forcible overthrow of the Madero regime in Mexico almost simultaneously with their peaceable inauguration in Washington, the contrast in conditions between the two countries being painfully obvious.

2. That the Administration, unacquainted with revolution and irreconcilably opposed to revolutionary methods, to be honest and consistent with itself would naturally frown upon revolutionary actions and tendencies in a near neighbor.

3. That to men of principles and ideals like the leaders of the Administration the killing of the unfortunate Madero and Suarez was a bloody deed that under no circumstances could be condoned.

4. That the representations and the pleas of the Madero family and their agents were effective because they were in harmony with the instinctive personal feeling of the Administration.

5. That, having these feelings, no fact presented to it as to Mexican conditions could excuse the revolting fact that Madero and Suarez were killed.

6. That the Administration was led to believe honestly that the masses of the Mexican people were fighting for freedom and constitutional government against a despotic military oligarchy.

7. That, enamored of this appealing idea, the facts to the contrary presented or brought forward by others than those who catered to this belief were looked upon with intense suspicion as the pressure of the foes of freedom.

8. That the Administration, receptive to the plans advanced by those who cleverly called themselves "constitutionalists," was idealistically impulsive when it interfered in their favor in the domestic affairs of Mexico.

9. That the Administration sincerely believed, as the result of representations made to it ,that there could be no permanent peace in Mexico as long as General Huerta was in power.

10. That the Administration took its antagonistic attitude and put into effect its antagonistic program against the Mexican Provisional President because it was convinced that in the long run the best interests of the Mexiran people and the United States would thus be served.

11. That the Administration closed its eyes and brain to anything and everything that might have disillusioned it, not because it did not want the truth, but because it could not conceive of truth that would run counter to its honestly predetermined ideas.

12. That the Administration, failing in other methods of eliminating the President of Mexico, was left no other alternative but to encourage those who had convinced it that they were patriotically fighting for "constitutionalism."

13. That the Administration has been as deeply chragrined as anybody to learn that it has encouraged groups and men who are sadly lacking in the virtues the Administration had read into them.

14. That the Administration had no intention of creating and prolonging the condition of anarchy existing in certain parts of Mexico. On the contrary, that its course of action was dictated by an earnest belief that such conditions would speedily be put an end to.

15. That at all times armed intervention in Mexico has been the last thought in the mind of the Administration, involving a war which it has, according to its lights, used every means to avoid.

Let us admit all these ideals and intentions of the Administration and hope that they are representative.

But let us look at the other side of the page:

1. Profoundly shocked by the forcible overthrow of the Madero regime, the Administration has encouraged openly a revolution to overthrow the present Government just as forcibly. Also it has since recognized the revolutionary government of Peru.

2. It has frowned upon revolutionary actions and tendencies in those who are persona non grata but not in those who are in favor.

3. It can see no palliation for the killing of two Mexicans who were responsible for the woe of Mexico. but it has shown marked favor to bandits and outlaws who have killed thousands—including foreigners—and ravished women and girls by the wholesale.

4. The effective representations and pleas of the Madero family and their agents were born of a spirit of revenge and falsehood and nicely calculated to influence the impulsively sympathetic, unfamiliar with what the Maderos had done to Mexico.

5. The crimes of the Madero regime, its corruption and its plundering and ruination of Mexico, its murdering and persecution of individuals, were a thousand times more revolting than the death of Madero and Suarez, which was and has been a source of profound indifference to the Mexican people, which was the act of revengeful individuals and not of the present Mexican Government,

(Continued on next page.)

## BALANCE UP--Continued

and abhorrence for which at any rate can not justify the enforced suffering of the whole Mexican nation and people.

6. The masses of the Mexican people are not fighting at all, have no desire to fight, want only peace and order. Some thousands of them, whose profit is in anarchy, and to whom the Constitution is not even a name, are opposing the forces of law, under the leadership of bandit chiefs, instigated and hired by unscrupulous politicians and moneyed interests, whose agents this side of the border have used the shibboleth of constitutionalism and liberty to get the sympathy and moral and material support of the people and the Administration.

7. The facts presented to the Administration to prove this condition, facts which have been ignored completely, have been made known by the former Ambassador to Mexico, the entire foreign diplomatic corps in Mexico, virtually all Americans resident in Mexico, all other foreigners in Mexico, all intelligent Mexicans not allied with the Madero-Carranza faction, and more strongly than all these, by the very character and acts of the so-called revolutionists.

8. The interference in the affairs of Mexico for the benefit of a faction, the first act of which was the sending of John Lind to the Mexican Executive with his preposterous demands, may have been idealistically impulsive but it was unwarranted in international law and the best possible proof of the Administration's ignorance or misinformation as to Mexican affairs, which a few months have revealed.

9. If the Administration, as we have admitted for the purposes of discussion, sincerely believed that there could be no permanent peace in Mexico as long as General Huerta remained in power it has actually helped to keep him in power by making it impossible for him to resign without surrendering Mexican natonality and sovereignty and admitting the right of the President of the United States to dictate who shall or who shall not be the President of Mexico.

10. The interests of the Mexican people have not been served, for their country has been kept in a state of disorder, their business functions have been terribly affected, their credit has been deliberately injured, their good name trailed in the dust. The interests of the United States have not been served, for it has been put in an isolated position among the nations of the world, its prestige lowered, its Latin-American relations prejudiced, its authority humiliated, the lives and property of its citizens lost.

11. If the Administration thought that there was only one conception of the truth as regards Mexico the events of more than a year would have revealed to it the other side if it were honestly determined to do right and justice to all.

12. The outrageous alliance with bandits like Villa may have seemed to the Administration a necessary move in its purpose of overthrowing the Mexican Government, and the Administration may even at a late date have been plausibly fooled as to the character of the Northern rebels, but there is no excuse for such an alliance now that nobody else in the world believes in the alleged "constitutionalism" of these who have brought anarchy to the State of Chihuahua.

13. If the Administration is chagrined to learn that its confidence has been misplaced, its idealism flagrantly outraged, why does it not face the truth in a manly, honorable way and withdraw its support by again placing the embargo on arms and ammunition to cattle thieves and cutthroats instead of trying to whitewash them and obfuscate the issue?

14. The prolongation of disturbed conditions in Mexico has been caused by the Administration's Mexican policy as by no other single factor. It has been a source of inspiration to every bandit chief looking for loot and power, and the lives that have been lost and the property that has been destroyed might with perfect justice be charged up to those of the Administration who say they only want peace in Mexico.

15. The Administration may declare most solemnly that armed intervention, which means war with all its horrors, is the one thing that it wants to avoid, but it can not but see that even if it should overthrow the present Government of Mexico and put one in power after its heart's desire, it would be necessary to send an American army into Mexico to sustain it against the revolution that would break out almost immediately against the "Gringo President."

Facts are hard things.

Here are two:

The Administration has made a fatal blunder by not recognizing the Mexican Government.

If it does not yield to the truth it will go down to destruction and carry the country with it.

---

We still think the conduct of foreign affairs should be in the experienced hands of a permanent staff of tried and true diplomats with no political bias.

* * *

Not at the mercy of personal whims and prejudices.

* * *

Again we ask: "After Huerta, what?"

* * *

And they call it Watchful Waiting.

## Imaginary Letters---No. 1

My dear Little Pancho: I am sure you will bear with me when I tell you that you are making it very hard for me to explain to the cynical and unrighteous the beautiful dreams of liberty and fraternal love we have in common, the tie of human aspiration that binds us as brother to brother. Of course, my dear Pancho, when they tell me that you have killed an Englishman, and confiscated the property of the cientificos, and are holding young Terrazas for ransom, that you do this and you do that, I feel like crying out to the world: "You don't understand my Pancho. You have not advanced to a degree of spirituality at which you can see these sporadic outbreaks of materialism as simply the momentary lapses of a noble soul, freighted with noble purposes, sailing against the waves of buffeting facts into the peaceful harbor of humanitarian achievement. I do not know whether I make myself clear, but you will know that I understand.

Now the point is this, Pancho. Hereafter when in your warm-hearted, impulsive way you find that you must do something that may be misunderstood by the grossly material, please tell my friend who will accompany you whereever you go, take counsel with him, and he will take counsel with me, and between us it may not be so difficult to translate your actions into such meaning and significance as can readily be appreciated by our critic's matter-of-fact minds.

Permit me to approach a delicate subject, my dear Pancho. It may be necessary at times for the good of our righteous cause to make the world think that you have been at fault, but that it was through excess of zeal and that you feel the need of a restraining hand to keep you from forcing the millenium out of chaos all in one day. Then we shall say that you yield to the mature wisdom of friend Venustiano and we shall have him seem for a time something more than a doddering old man. It won't hurt you, Pancho dear, for we all know that you are the real militant leader of the new order of civilization, but it is wise at times to yield to the prejudices of an unbelieving Philistinism.

I shall be most happy if you will agree with me in my humble suggestions and so help bring nearer the day of joy and gladness.

Your good friend and brother

THE SAME OLD BILL.

BILL.

Those who want armed intervention like the Administration's policy because it gives them just the opportunities they need to point out its inevitableness.

* * *

And the Administration piously sets itself up as a foe to armed intervention.

## NAGGING WOMEN.

Washington has persistently tried for many months to nag President Huerta into a display of temper or unbalanced action, like a woman trying to goad a man. The following from the New York "Herald's" Washington correspondence is a reflection of this very thing. Note how the wish of a change of attitude by President Huerta is father of the thought.

Washington accepts the "Herald's" report from Mexico City stating that the Mexican War Office has information of Clemente Vergara's association with the constitutionalists as evidence of General Huerta's intention to refuse reparation to the United States. If this proves true it will mark a decided change in the attitude of General Huerta toward such requests from the United States.

Up to this time General Huerta has been exceedingly eager to make his record in this respect spotless. He has gone to great lengths to afford protection to Americans whenever Mr. O'Shaughnessy requested this of him. He has sought out and put to death those guilty of murder of Americans. Indeed, General Huerta's record for the protection of foreigners and for quick action in making reparation for such crimes as did occur in federal territoy has been in strong contrast to the record of the constitutionalists whom President Wilson is supporting to drive General Huerta from office.

It is considered probable that General Huerta has at last heeded and accepted as final the repeated declaration of President Wilson that he will not recognize him, and, realizing that he has nothing to hope for from Washington, no matter how fine his record in the protection of foreigners is, he has decided to thwart the United States in its efforts to obtain reparation for the death of Mr. Vergara.

But following Carranza's defiance to the United States in the matter of protection to foreign lives and property we read this in the New York "Sun."

Carranza has been persuaded to amend his late defiant attitude toward the United States. In an interview with American Consul Simpich last night the "Supreme Chief" announced that in the future he would consider complaints of personal injury or property damage from all foreigners and that every such case would be rigidly investigated. Carranza said that if it were not possible for the aggrieved persons to appear before him or such against as he might designate to make the investigation that he would take the matter up with the diplomatic agents selected by the aggrieved persons. He made it plain that he would make strong endeavor to remedy any wrong that might be substantiated against the rebels in the future.

On the one hand, not a stone left unturned to place Huerta in a false position. On the other hand not a thing left undone to prop up Carranza. Even to the extent of swallowing his insults and then patting him on the back.

How can any decent man stand for these petty methods of saving the Administration's face.

Mexico is smaller than the United States.

But England—ah! that's another matter.

# LEST WE FORGET

The inscription on the tomb of a Democratic Administration: HUERTA MUST GO.

* * *

The Administration has so decided a reputation for revolution-promoting in Mexico that every Mexican "partiot" who thinks he is the man who ought to be President of Mexico goes to Washington and puts in a bid for assistance.

* * *

If it all were not so tragically bad for the Mexican people and foreign interests in Mexico it would be funny, this revolutionary business that the Administration has taken up as a side line.

* * *

Of course it has the best intentions in the world to discourage revolutions in Latin-American countries. Hasn't that been repeated often enough?

* * *

But the Latin mind is peculiar in that it looks beyond mere words to the real facts.

* * *

And argues that if Carranza and Villa could get Administration support, why should it be denied to anybody with a plausible plan?

* * *

The next thing you know they will be going to Washington with a proposition to divide the spoils with the Administration.

* * *

Watchful Waiting!

* * *

Why is it that those words suggest the vulture?

* * *

There is certainly no heart of man in them.

* * *

But we know that it isn't Watchful Waiting!

* * *

That phrase deceives only the superficial observer.

* * *

Is the support of the Northern rebels and bandits watchful waiting?

* * *

The "financial blockade"?

* * *

The activities of the border consuls

* * *

like Edwards of Juares and Carothers, attached to the person of Villa?

* * *

When Villa murders they try to whitewash him.

When anything goes wrong in the remotest section of Mexico under Federal control a "demand" is made upon the Mexican Government.

* * *

Which, according to the Administration, does not exist.

* * *

When will the farce end? To what limits will the Administration go to "save its face."

* * *

Oscar Straus suggested that the Administration appoint a commission of such experienced and unbiased men as Elihu Root, Choate and Henry White to study the Mexican situation at first hand and inform the President whether or not the present Government should in their judgment be recognized.

* * *

Of course it wou'dn't be necessary for men of that stamp to go out of the country to enable them to form an opinion. If the Administration would simply call them to Washington for a conference there is little doubt that they would unanimously recommend recognition of the present Government, perhaps making it conditional on certain definite understandings.

* * *

But some "high officials" of the Administration are quoted as saying that such a commission would be impossible because it would be an acknowledgment that Watchful Waiting has failed.

* * *

Well, what are they going to do?

* * *

Go on forever insisting that they are Watchfully Waiting while they get deeper into the mire of intrigue with an unprincipled Mexican faction, which is only seeking loot and power?

* * *

While it is every day courting war.

* * *

It may imagine it is resisting clamor, but in reality it is creating clamor.

* * *

Making the people of the country restless for a solution.

* * *

That was the method used by the propagators of the Spanish - American War.

* * *

Every day come reports of Villa's "confiscations" and holding for ransom, showing him to be a plain bandit if there ever was one.

* * *

And the Admistration is "rooting" for Villa to take Torreon.

* * *

All his bandit activities are referred to euphemistically.

# THE BIG GAME

By Dr. Ledyard Smith

The "Watchful Waiting" of President Wilson has been a minor part of his attitude toward Mexico. His activity of purpose has been intended to be as deadly to the Mexican government and as ruinous to Mexico as though Huerta had been killed and Mexico invaded by United State troops. This intent, this purpose has been covered with the cloak of soft, euphemistic wards calculated to mislead, while destructive measures of the most pronounced type have been used to bring about a condition that, in the nature of things, would throw the blame on other shoulders.

Every act of the Administration toward Mexico suggests a plan to destroy that nation, or part of it. The first act was to discredit President Huerta. That, in itself, was destructive. The slandering of Huerta was the slandering of Mexico and it cheated her out of a just support at a most critical moment.

The oily words of the Administration, words that bespoke friendship for Mexico, were made doubly hollow and insincere by slandering its head as an excuse for this one act of refusing recognition of the government.

With a daily false picture of the real condition, the press has tried hard to create the impression that President Wilson was watching and waiting only, while holding hands off an issue that was purely Mexican. Nothing is farther from the truth. The issue is not internally Mexican. It has its local phases there, but the thing itself was born, bred and fostered in the United States, but agitated in a manner that represented it as an internal bandit affair.

The press, in addition, has supported the entirely false idea that the Administration is only an onlooker. Instead, it has been and is a prime destructive agent in a game that spells war—and occupation.

But with well-covered finesse it has managed to throw the blame elsewhere and make it appear that a few border senators and governors want to force war—actual, live war. Whereas its own every act has made that coming war almost a real thing. President Wilson followed his non-recognition by a boycott on foreign loans—a starvation process, not only coldly, deliberately planned, but executed vigorously. The Administration has several times protected its game by unfurling the Monroe Doctrine banner whenever just foreign protection to investments and nationals seemed in sight.

Taft's embargo on border arms became an open scandal under Wilson, who left the border as free as an open lot, until finally, to protect his name and aid his purpose more fully, the embargo was lifted.

With the fall of Madero, Huerta was forced into the Big Game. Here was an unlooked-for factor to the American Big Interests. The first play was: "Huerta must go." Then followed the series of acts that show so plainly the lie that the Administration is just "watching and waiting." It is not, nor has it been. It is acting and has been, with constant destructive vigor. And its every act is according to plan. Its insults have been—were Mexico on a war basis such as Germany or England—intolerable. They have been most damnable pieces of effrontery from a nation that calls itself Big.

These blots on the nation's honor have been followed by the cleared decks of a war fleet in Mexico's two Gulf ports, an act of over-powering bullyism, as senseless as unrallied for, since all subsequent failures to act and protect Americans in Mexico have proven the mission of warships there to be for some other purpose than a protection to our citizens.

The act of withdrawing our Ambassador was done with no other reason than that our Ambassador was sane, honest and truthful. Another act, inhuman in purpose, warlike in its application, was to openly afford the border bandits the opportunity to procure arms that they might loot, rob and ransom, that they might get cash with which to return to the border and expend fortunes in United States arms and ammunition. The purposely forgotten murders and outrages on many Americans in Mexico, with Bryan suppressing all such news, followed by the great importance given to the murder of Benton, with the Wilson-Bryan partnership of dealing with Benton's murderers, asking Villa to investigate himself, the same as when Becker was sent out to investigate himself, all these acts and many more show that the Administration is active, terribly so. And all for what purpose? That Mexico shall be disrupted—seemingly by herself—but, in truth, by the United States. But disrupted, broken, ungoverned and in a position for Wilson to do the Napoleon-Maximilian act.

It's a Wall Street game to break a market and then buy it in.

This is a national Wall Street game—to break Mexico, and then take it.

A few hotheads want to rush a war and take a country that can't be readily taken.

The cool Wilson prefers to insult, starve, cut off loans, provide arms for internal disruption, and in other ways bring about a condition that will seemingly, just seemingly, appear clean. But it will be war and war he will get and when it comes he will try to place the blame on others, overlooking the shameful fact that all his acts have very largely brought about this condition.

Any enumeration of the Administration's Mexican efforts will serve to show at a glance the extreme contrast between its smooth words, assumed idealism and its acts. It has failed to show by act one sample of idealism. It has failed by any act to show a moral spirit or lesson. By its non-recognition of Huerta it showed antagonism, hatred and revengeful force.

By recalling Ambassador Wilson, it showed enmity and a stand against fairness and truth.

The overwhelming and threatening warships in Mexican waters represent the cowardly act of a bully over a nation without means of protection.

The Administration's rush order to Americans to leave Mexico was an outrage in itself to those who lost by doing so; and an outrage in its spirit of fomenting hatred for Americans in the less intelligent Mexicans.

By treating through the Secretary of State with the vilest wretch in Mexico, Wilson has lent his aid, his spirit of acquiescence and support to Villa in his murders, lootings, outrages and other crimes.

Months after records of Villa's crimes have been exposed to the Administration, it expresses confidence in Villa and hopes he will become a patriot of noble ideals.

And when the Administration is voicing these silly expressions, it is affording Villa open, free means to acquire arms and ammunition with which to spread murder, not always singly, but by wholesale: not to hold up a man in the dark, but to rob a bank by daylight and hold sons and families for fabulous ransoms.

Knowing this, does the Administration care? Rather is it not a partner to it? The Administration recognizes Villa as a "General." It falsely, without evidence or truth, brands Huerta an assassin.

Where is the Moralist? Where is the Idealist? Not in the Administration. Its every act toward Mexico has been immoral. Each act has created disorder. Each act has bred and spread the growth and feeling of hatred, vengeance and retribution for bullying injustice.

Each act has been the incentive and support of new crimes—and crime breeds crime.

It was a wrong of extreme international importance, involving a billion dollars and the lives of many thousands of humans not to recognize Huerta.

Its persistance is breeding the great wrong of a big nation stealing an unprotected one; one that has had no aggressive part, nor yet, sadly, the means of protection. And whether the end comes about by actual force of arms or by the other route of questionable diplomacy, the route, which means war, will be strewn with blood, a bloody road that leads to the Administration's door.

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**There is now not the slightest effort to hide the fact that the Administration is backing Carranza and Villa.**

* * *

**To get Huerta!**

## AND THERE YOU ARE!

It has never been said of the United States before that it would hire gunmen to do its fighting.

* * *

Whenever the protest against Mexican conditions becomes too loud for the Administration's ear it sends another regiment to the border or a battleship to Vera Cruz.

* * *

Which accomplishes nothing and only adds to the general dissatisfaction, is menacing to the only power in Mexico that can restore order, and deceives no one.

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The world is waiting watchfully to learn what the Administration has to propose after Huerta.

* * *

Presumably Carranza.

* * *

But what guarantee has it that Villa would in the flush of victory be subservent?

* * *

Or that another revolution would not be started to oust the Yankee - made President?

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It is Huerta or anarchy.

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Huerta or intervention.

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Everybody in Mexico knows that.

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But the Administration deals with dynamic situations and dynamic personalities as if they were problems of the class-room or unruly pupils.

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The European nations know that the Administration is advocating the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption for American coastwise ships as a matter of expediency.

* * *

Not of spontaneous friendship.

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The Administration will win not their hearts but their indulgence.

* * *

For the Mexican folly.

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If they would only get a real man, a red-blooded man, a man of affairs and of mature judgment as Secretary of State, the atmosphere would clear at once.

* * *

Nobody denies that this country stands in a humiliating position before other nations.

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The Mexican "policy" has done most of the damage.

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But it seems that is to be persisted in through a long succession of other humiliations.

# LIFE AND THRILLS

By Philip H. Patchin, in New York "Tribune."

In a setting strikingly beautiful General Victoriano Huerta, President of Mexico, looking strong and forbidding in his regimentals, reviewed some three thousand or more Mexican soldiers of various kinds and decorated the regimental flag of the 29th Infantry with a bandelero of ribbon, which he kissed as he fastened it to the standard, and presented medals to several officers who have proved their loyalty and efficiency.

It was picturesque to a degree and exceedingly impressive. There were soldiers of many kinds, some in the most brilliant of uniforms. There were lancers and hussars, infantrymen and artillerymen, ordinary cavalry, and, best and most picturesque of all, a regiment of the far-famed rurales, garbed, some of them, in jackets of flaming yellow, with bright colored sombreros, riding prancing ponies with tremendous grace. They rode well and in perfect organization, presenting a splendid picture, which the populace applauded enthusiastically.

The ceremony was held at what is known as the Conseda Hippodrome, which is the racecourse of the Jockey Club of Mexico, a fashionable and exclusive organization. The course is on the outskirts of the town, not far from the new bull ring, which, on this day of fiesta, was topped with many fluttering flags, as was the grandstand at the racecourse. The hippodrome is wonderfully beautiful, surrounded by a fringe of beautiful green trees, whose delicate color was accentuated as they stood out against the background of the dark and distant mountains. Off to one side were the beautiful mountains of Popocatepecl and Extaccilinatl, known as the "Sleeping Lady," both covered with perpetual snow.

It was a wonderful morning as well—a cool May morning in the middle of February, and in this high altitude even the sunshine took on a new character unknown to more northerly climes. Even without the brilliant uniforms of officers and men the Conseda Hippodrome would be attractive, but adding to its ordinary features a perfect riot of blended colors of the military uniforms, the gleam of bayonets, sabres and lances and the boom of heavy guns firing salutes, the playing of the national anthem by splendidly trained military bands, and the scene became most impressively beautiful.

In the grandstand there was another impressive sight, for there, seated in orderly rows, to which they had marched two by two, were several hundred women clad entirely in white, save for a red or lavender cross on the arm. They belonged to the Red Cross and the Lavender Cross. Once there was only the Red Cross, but there appears to have been some difficulty in the organization, and now there is a Lavender Cross, as well as a White Cross.

From the outside it must be said that Huerta's troops looked mighty good. They were clean of uniform, their clothes fitted well, their equipment was shining and uniform, their organization and marching were good. A remarkable thing about Huerta's troops as one looks at one organization after another is the traces one can discern of the influence of armies of other nations. One sees an officer of the cavalry with a uniform that is distinctly German, even unto color. In the infantry the cap is typically French and the carrying of the rifles is also from France.

But most remarkable of all is the appearance of the infantry, particularly the honored 29th. Were one to take off their uniforms of blue, throw away the high French cap and substitute one of lower crown, clad them in the khaki of Nippon, and they could be mistaken for Japanese soldiers. They are small of stature and have the Indian brown complexion which is much like the color of the Japanese. And many of them have even the same cast of features which is so typically Japanese, high cheek bones and slanting eyes. There is a tradition here, which some people believe and others laugh at, that the Indians are really from Asia.

The troops arrived at the hippodrome at an early hour and arranged themselves in an extensive formation, awaiting the arrival of their chief. Every precaution was taken for the protection of Huerta. Probably this excess of zeal was on the part of officers, for Huerta himself seems to entertain no fear. The city is full of Maderistas, whose chief died a sudden death after he was deposed just a year ago today, but Huerta shows no worry about them. This ceremony was a celebration of the accession of Huerta.

Huerta's coming was impressive and the militariness of the occasion might have characterized, on a small scale, the arrival of some war lord of Europe at a great camp. A dashing courier came in advance. An order was given and a bugle sounded. That bugle call was a thrilling thing, wierd and plantive, starting off on a low note and ascending in a curved tone, starting a supercilious chuckle over the bugler having struck a discord. But not so, as the remainder of the mysterious call showed, and as the calls of other bugles speedily demonstrated. Of all things the day produced, one thing was clearly brought out, that the Mexicans are musicians.

Then came a string of carriages, magnificent in themselves and magnificently drawn by splendid horses, richly har-

(Continued on next page.)

## LIFE AND THRILLS---Continued

nessed. There were perhaps a dozen of them, filled with officials of the government, cabinet officers in conventional frock coats, generals and colonels and majors in uniforms of blue and gold and red, admirals with cocked hats. Finally came Huerta, accompanied by the famous Blanquet.

Here was Huerta. A figure of international importance, a personality whose fame will long endure. The man who has defied the President of the United States, who is accused of a foul political murder, whom the government of the United States considers a pariah among heads of nations. His carriage was closely surrounded, fore and aft and on each side, by members of the Chapultepec Guard, magnificent looking fellows in their brilliant greenish uniforms, steel helmets surmounted by a waving white plume, riding well groomed and powerful horses splendidly.

The troops presented arms and the bands played the national anthem. The military men stood at attention; the civilians, every one, doffed their hats. Other bands took up the anthem and could be faintly heard from their stations in the broad field on the other side of the stand. The national air is as weird as the bugle calls, but beautiful, and made all the more effective by the punctuation of a steady stream of drum-beats. And from 'way off in the midde of the racecourse, the sound dulled by the intervening grandstand, came the boom and thump of a battery of field artillery firing the Presidential salute. Huerta had removed his hat and stood at attention until the air was finished.

A glimpse of Huerta brought new ideas concerning the man. One's impression from pictures was that he was a man of large stature. He is not. He is rather small—five feet eight at a guess—and his shoulders are broad, but a bit stooped. He has not a great physique, but there is in him an attitude of wiry strength such as Indians, of whom he is one, have. Even were his stature far less than it is, a glance at his face would dispel any thought that here was a weak man. It is a strong face, almost too strong, if that could be, and a rather hard face.

It has a long, powerful jaw, which would indicate plenty of obstinacy and tenacity of purpose, even if there were no other evidences of those qualities before the world. Huerta is bronzed, not the deep bronze of the ordinary Indian, but more like the color of a darkly complexioned man well tanned by the sun. His is an inscrutable countenance, and one might call it sinister, but the glasses, which he always wears, somehow take away some of the hardness that may be there and add a reassuring aspect.

Blanquet's, too, is a strong face, not so Mexican as many others there, and handsome after another than the Mexican style of manly perfection. The 29th infantry, which was honored, was Blanquet's own regiment, and it was when Blanquet went over to the opposition that Madero's fall was made certain. So it was something of a day for Blanquet, too.

Huerta and his following passed through to a stand which had been erected and which was decorated with the national colors and flowers. The bands continued to play, the guns boomed, the soldiers presented arms and saluted their chief. Once in the stand Huerta bared his head and after a moment started to speak. His hair proved closely cropped and was gray in color. Were Huerta to permit his hair to grow long it would be seen that a considerable portion of his head is bald. Huerta addressed the vast number of troops before him:

"Soldiers of the 29th Regiment: In the name of the republic and in recognition of the heroic conduct which you have observed the government is about to decorate the symbol of our love of country, of our dignity and all that we hold dear—your flag, which waves above you. In the name of the republic I grant you this reward, which you will surely uphold worthily and respect as it deserves."

Huerta paused for a moment and his eyes swept the ranks before him. Then he suddenly cried:

"Soldados, attencion!"

The ranks stiffened, the color guard, which stood before him with the flag of the 29th, was rigid. Huerta commanded his soldiers to carry arms and then present arms. While they were in that position he took the red streamer, which he touched to his lips, and attached it to the flag of the regiment. There was the call of a bugle. The national anthem again broke forth in all its glory, save that it was robbed of its beauty by the fact that so many bands were playing it at once.

Once the business of decorating the flag was out of the way General Huerta descended from the stand and took his place on the ground beside a table laden with small plush boxes containing medals and decorations for officers of the service who had in one way or another distinguished themselves in the service of Huerta. One after another, headed by Blanquet, to whom was given the decoration of the first class of constancy, officers with drawn sword presented and with hat removed stepped forward, and Huerta with his own hands pinned on the decorations. He had a word for each and an embrace for some.

Generals, admirals, colonels, captains and lieutenants got their rewards. Some were evidently popular favorites. One young fellow on crutches was enthusiastically applauded as he swung away. Another who was cheered was a small, old man, evidently of little rank, but who was known and popular. He was once with President Diaz and a trusted subordinate of Mexico's former President. From the point where he did the decorating Huerta went into the grandstand, there to review the troops. He and his Cabinet sat in the section reserved for dignitaries and diplomats.

The parade was not long in starting, and when all is said and done it must be admitted that the ceremony was accomplished with a great deal of military skill. The ranks were orderly, the equipment clean and the organization smooth and even. One or twice the line was compelled to halt momentarily. Even this disconcerting thing failed to break the formation, and the "march past" was creditable. It showed a lot of training.

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### CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT!

(By Telegraph to the New York "Tribune.")

Chihuahua, Mexico, March 8.—Having failed to restore industrial activity in Chihuahua and finding his effort to operate the big Chihuahua brewery, which he had seized, without satisfactory results, General Pancho Villa, on the eve of his departure for the Torreon campaign, says that he will make all of Northern Mexico sober.

General Villa let it be known today that, following the capture of Torreon, which would give the rebels control of all of Mexico north of and including the State of Coahuila, he would issue an order prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquors. Villa says drunkenness is the curse of Mexicans. He is accused of arriving at this conclusion after he had found that Mexicans would not buy the beer his brewery made, preferring instead the tequila, mescal and sotol, which they could more easily get.

Efforts made by Villa more than a month ago to induce foreign and native mine owners to reopen their properties have proved failures. A few of the smaller properties were reopened, but most of these have since closed down, there being no regular railway service and practically no labor that can be depended upon.

No banks are operating in Chihuahua except the one Villa seized while money was still in the vaults—the Falomir Bank, in Chihuahua City.

Federal cannor secured by rebels as trophies of war in the Ojinaga battle will not be used in the battle at Torreon. General Villa has been unable to secure any shells for the big guns, and his efforts to make projectiles have proved failures.

Large quantities of 70 millimetre shells have been made here by Villa's order, and quantities have been sent forward to Torreon, but when a test of the home-made shells was made today it was found that they would not explode, and the output of the local ammunition plant, the fruit of more than a month's hard labor, has been ordered thrown away.

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### SO THERE ARE!

The State Department has advised Governor Colquitt how to proceed with Mexico under the treaty. From our viewpoint the affair is most embarrassing to the Administration, because it gives Huerta an opportunity to declare that there are lawless bands in the United States as well as in Mexico.—Statement of State Department official in New York "American."

# LOOT! LOOT! LOOT!

By James Creelman, in New York "Evening Mail.

* * * Even as long ago as December 2, Mr. Wilson publicly confessed, when matters were better than now, that the Mexican situation "made it doubtful whether even the most elementary and fundamental rights either of her (Mexico's) own people or of the citizens of other countries resident within her territory can long be successfully safeguarded.

The lawless and scattered Indian forces led by Villa—for Carranza is a mere figurehead—control a great country, measured in square miles, but it is largely desert or undeveloped land and is sparsely populated.

These regions have been thoroughly looted by the rebels. Not only have the mines been plundered of their bullion, and residences, stores and banks sacked, but rich men who hid their money have been forced to pay blackmail under threats of immediate death.

**The rebel territory has been swept clear of its wealth.**

**There are limits to an income produced by murder and robbery.**

With the mines largely closed, the millions of cattle driven off, orchards wantonly destroyed, manufacturing brought to a standstill and crops seized, but not replanted, the rebels have few productive sources of wealth to draw from.

### Printing Fiat Money.

The rebels are printing fiat money and are minting some coin with stolen bullion, but it is obvious that a paper currency which has no security other than the words "provisional government of General Francisco Villa"—notice the significant omission of the weak Carranza's name—and a coinage that depends on the looting of mines, cannot furnish support for a costly and prolonged military campaign.

On the other hand, Huerta's territory contains about 12,000,000 inhabitants, four-fifths of the whole population of Mexico.

The Federal Government has in its jurisdiction rich cities like Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, Vera Cruz and San Luis Potosi, to say nothing of scores of important cities and towns and the great sea trade of the Atlantic coast.

Its income in the month of January, for instance, amounted to an aggregate of 9,000,000 pesos.

While the rebel regions are wrecked and ruined, industry, agriculture and trade goes on, much reduced, in the populous country governed by Huerta; for the dictator, * * * has protected life, property and business, and, except in the zone of actual war, has raised his revenues by taxation and loans obtained in legal form.

### Huerta Has Great Resources.

The truth is that while the hostility of the United States has broken down Huerta's efforts to secure funds in Europe, he has not done much more than scratch the surface of the vast domestic wealth in his control.

Nor do the present revenues of the Huerta government represent his normal financial resources.

For instance, although the import duties were doubled, importers were allowed to pay the excess in special government certificates, and these, in the eagerness of the treasury officials to get money quickly, were at first hawked about at fifty cents on the dollar.

The tax on alcohol was increased from fifteen cents to twenty-five cents. Taking advantage of the government's need for cash in advance, the great alcohol interests bought $1,000,000 of tax stamps, with the privilege of dating them back to a time before the alcohol tax was raised, so that 40 per cent. of the new revenue was sacrificed, at the beginning.

It is recognized by all that the 1 per cent. tax on mortgages which has yielded such a vast sum, could easily be raised to 5 per cent., and that the resulting revenue would, in addition to the existing income, support the government for at least six months.

Huerta has also in reserve the power to issue hundreds of millions of fiat currency.

### Have 1,000 Miles to Go.

**To reach Mexico City the comparatively small and bankrupt rebel forces must advance more than 1,000 miles from Chihuahua, their stronghold in the west, and nearly 800 miles from their garrison at Victoria, in the east.**

As the rebels and their bandit leaders and allies move southward they must become weaker because of the longer lines of communication with their base which they must protect.

Meanwhile Huerta must become stronger as he draws his forces toward a common center.

Should Villa take Torreon, which is 294 miles from Chihuahua, he would have to go 267 miles further to reach Zacatecas, and if he captured that place he would still be 439 miles from Mexico City.

The scanty rebel forces in the east must go 422 miles from Victoria to reach San Luis Potosi, and it is 326 miles further to Mexico City.

The revolt of Castillo against Villa and Carranza indicates the almost certain prospect of a counter-revolution in the north should the rebels, in a southward movement, withdraw any considerable force from the country they have robbed and terrorized.

### Counter-Rebellion Certain.

**There are multitudes of men whose homes have been desolated, whose relatives and friends have been murdered, and whose wives, daughters and sisters have been dishonored, ready to rise in arms at the first opportunity.**

With the United States Government in open sympathy with the rebels it is clearly impossible for Huerta to establish his authority in the distant and, to some extent, almost impassable desert and mountain territory in their hands.

Nor have the rebels any prospect of ultimately overcoming the federal forces, whose lines of communication will grow less and whose resources will increase if they retreat toward the capital.

The slightest consideration of the actual facts makes it plain that the rebels will continue to ravage the north and that the federals will continue to hold the south.

It is probable that if President Wilson persists in his policy of "watchful waiting" the Mexican carnage will go on for years.

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## THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

While it is true that Huerta is embarrassed to the extent that he now needs ready cash to take care of his army's needs—especially to buy munitions, which are obtained abroad, where the manufacturers insist on cash payments—his financial collapse is distant. A careful investigation shows that, with proper management, within the scope of the ability of Mexican financiers, *Huerta can obtain all the money he needs without resorting to extraordinary taxation.* If the ordinary legitimate measures of taxation fail, Huerta can resort to the issuance of flat currency and then enforce unreasonable war taxes to obtain great sums sufficient to carry on the campaign indefinitely.

Naturally, if Huerta were to oppress the people too heavily he would speedily become so unpopular that this would lead to his ultimate downfall, and at the same time bring ruin on the country. Nevertheless, under any circumstances dealing with the financial question and not considering the possibility of assassination or a great rebel victory or any other unexpected event, Huerta is certain to hold on for a long time. It is the consensus of opinion among the best observers of the situation —expert financiers, diplomats and merchants—that Huerta has not yet struck the bottom of all his resources.

The Minister of Finance, Senor de La Lama, is working on new plans to take care of the future. The establishment of a Federal bank was recently proposed, with the view of issuing $400,000,000 in paper money, but this is temporarily in abeyance, De La Lama considering the question whether it might not be wiser to turn to other measures to raise money.

(Continued on next page.)

### THE FINANCIAL SITUATION—Continued.

He is thinking of readjusting the provisions of the real estate tax, which is based on income. It is proposed to regulate the tax according to the actual value of the property. With proper readjustment, such a tax would increase the reveenue fully $15,000,000.

Another source of legitimate taxation which would not be oppressive lies in an income tax at reasonable rates, and this would produce another $15,000,000.

Most of the reports touching on the condition of the Huerta finances are true. His treasury is nearly empty and the government is struggling to make both ends meet. *However, this condition improves day by day because of the fact that it is not necesesary to lay out as much money as the situation required in the beginning.*

The government's chief sources of revenue are the customs, which bring in $27,000,000; the internal stamp taxes, which produce $11,000,000, and the federal taxes on the mining of gold and silver, and on tobacco, alcohol, cotton, petroleum, etc., which bring in $28,500,000.

While this schedule seems to make the situation appear rosy, Mexico's financial state is really serious, but not so serious as to point to Huerta's downfall. At least, this is the opinion of persons who thoroughly understand the situation. It is generally believed here that Huerta will surely last the year out, unless some new and strong move is taken against him by forces outside of Mexico.—Special correspondence of Philip H. Patchen in New York "Tribune."

### A SUGGESTION.

Commending the suggestion of Oscar S. Straus that a commission of prominent Americans should be appointed by President Wilson to investigate conditions in Mexico and to report which side should be recognized by this government, Alfonso L. Jimenez, Vice Consul of Mexico in New York, yesterday expressed the opinion that much good could be accomplished by such a commission.

"I am convinced Mexico would welcome such a commission," said Mr. Jimenez. "This would be especially the case were the commission to be headed by a man like Senator Elihu Root, who is much admired in Mexico and whose fame has reached to every section of Latin America. If Mr. Straus and Mr. Moore, who recently resigned from the State Department, could be induced to serve on this commission there would be absolutely no question that its judgment would have great weight in Mexico and do much to settle the troubles there.

"There is a disposition on the part of the jingo element in this country to force intervention, but such a course is not and will not be necessary for some time to come. President Huerta is handling the situation as well as it is possible for any man to do in the circumstances and had he been recognized by the government in Washington the revolution would have been ended long ago and such men as Villa would not have gained the ascendency they have achieved. That Secretary Bryan should have paid any attention to Villa is regrettable, and it is certain that this course can in no manner bring about peace to Mexico."

Mr. Jimenez said that any commission of representative American citizens sent to Mexico by this government would be assured of the best possible treatment and that no effort would be spared to present facts regarding conditions which would be available in no other way. He urged that a non-partisan commission be appointed and that it be afforded every facility to get at all the facts. When these were made known, he said, there was little doubt that the commission would report that the better element of the Mexican people was with the administration and that the revolution was not backed by the people themselves, but by hordes of irresponsible men who were affiliated with the revolutionary cause, not from principle, but because of what they might be able to make out of it.

# WILL HISTORY REPEAT?

Mexico City, Feb. 25.—How fleeting was the hold of Francisco I. Madero on the people of Mexico was demonstrated last week, when the installation in the Presidency of General Huerta was celebrated. There was a brilliant review of troops and fifteen Maderista deputies were released from the prison in which they had been since Huerta's dissolution of Congress. The Spanish have a pitiful saying: "Que solos estan los muertos!" (How lonely are the dead!) There were few to remember Madero, who had been dead for a year. A few women went out to the cemetery and laid flowers on his grave. That was all.

Notwithstanding the allegations of the Carranzas and the Villas that they took up arms to avenge the murder of Madero and vindicate the Constitution, the truth is that Madero is little missed by his country, which considers him much better dead. The puppet of the clever members of his family, he undertook to regenerate the country, only to bring upon it greater ills, not the least of which was the shameless grafting of his relatives, with whom he surrounded himself in places of high power.

Long before he was removed he had shown himself utterly incompetent to inaugurate any of the reforms he had promised, as he was helpless to hold in check those who had made him a ruler that they might gratify their own cupidity. After but a year Francisco Madero is remembered, if he is remembered at all, only as a foolish visionary, who brought upon his country endless woe.

For a year Huerta has maintained himself in the Presidency in defiance of President Wilson's mandate and at the end of that year, during whirh President Wilson has sought to discredit and weaken him, he finds himself stronger than ever, more favorably regarded by the nations of Europe, with a larger, better equipped and better disciplined army, and by comparison with an atrocious Villa and Zapata and the futile Carranza he has gained greatly in the esteem of his own countrymen.

In spite of the financial embargo, which has been the least ineffectual part of President Wilson's policy of non-recognition, Huerta has been able to obtain funds with which to run his Government and increase his army, and although there may be no immediate prospect of his putting down the revolt there is still less prospect of the rebels triumphing. With the measure of Washington's approval, whatever measure that may be, now enjoyed by the revolutionists they can prolong their barbarous warfare indefinitely, which they might not have done had it not been made easier for them to obtain arms and ammunition. It is for these reasons that Americans here, and Mexicans, too, are eager to snatch hope from Villa's stupid murder of Benton, hope that it will force abandonment of the waiting and watching policy.

For twelve months the United States has refused recognition to Huerta. For fourteen months it withheld its recognition from Porfirio Diaz, and many are asking if history is about to repeat itself. Huerta may not be as good a man or as able a man as Porfirio Diaz, but he appears to be quite as good and quite as able as any who have presented themselves in the arena here since the overthrow of the old dictator. He betrays none of the fatuity of Madero, the vacillation of Felix Diaz, the futility of Carranza or the barbarity of Villa.

Nothing in a long time has so strengthened the position of Huerta as Villa's murder of Benton. Foreigners are contrasting the perfect safety enjoyed by them under the orderly Huerta Government with the jeopardy in which their brethren live under the lawless rule of Villa's Constitutionalists.

Naturally, the newspapers controlled by the Government make the most of the matter, dilating upon the care with which Huerta has protected foreigners in his anxiety alike to avoid international complications and to have his Government appear before the world as civilized and law abiding. They rehearse the many instances of Villa's barbarity. Some of the papers go to the extreme of declaring President Wilson responsible for the murder of Benton.

Most striking of all, however, of the consequences of the rebel leader's latest crime is the unanimity with which Americans here welcome the killing of a British subject for the promise it holds out of an enforced abandonment of the waiting policy. Everywhere they are heard to express themselves with grim satisfaction that at last something has occurred to arouse the ire of a nation that protects its subjects wherever they are over all the surface of the globe. All bitterly assert that Washington will be more stirred by the killing of one Englishman than by the massacre of a hundred Americans.

With the intimate knowledge due to long residence in Mexico they say President Wilson is mistaken in his treatment of the situation, and they are unable complacently to see the businesses which they have built up by years of endeavor going to ruin and the fortunes won by their enterprise slipping from them.—New York "Sun" Special Correspondence.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

### To a Man Who Has the Courage to Say "I Was Mistaken."

If our President, who has proved himself in some ways in this first year of his incumbency a very great President, could persuade himself that the whole world is not in the wrong—that he is like the Irishman who informed his drill sergeant who told him that he was out of step, not at all, that he was in step and that all the rest of the company were out of step—if he could be made to believe that he and his friends may possibly be wrong, since the whole world of Europe and America thinks concerning the advisability of Huerta's recognition exactly the reverse of his thinking, if he would come out frankly and answer that upon misinformation furnished him at the outset concerning General Huerta's resources and personality he declined to recognize him, but that now he perceives his mistake and will recognize him, then the President at one bound would become the most popular man in the United States, war would be averted and the whole problem solved.

It is the belief of those who have studied the situation and are on the ground that Huerta, if as well backed by this country as the so-called Constitutionalists have been, would make good in short order and restore peace and prosperity to distracted Mexico.—Junius in New York "Sun" of March 9.

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I shall not assume that the original "Junius" has come back, but this letter is so trenchantly true that I am wondering if we may not look for a new series of "Junius" letters on the vital topics of the day quite as forecful and interesting as the immortal series. I have a slight suspicion that "Junius" must be a reader of "Town Topics" since his letter reflects the views I have urgently pressed these many months. Oh, that President Wilson had the courage to "become the most popular man in the United States!"—"Town Topics."

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### THE JINGOES.

Later news gives this morning's trumpeted exploit of the Texas Rangers a wholly different color, and makes it appear that the pen of those warriors—or of their press agent—is mightier than their sword. The incident, as now explained, has little of the threatening aspect which the first headlines ascribed to it. What Governor Colquitt and his Rangers apparently ought to do is to place themselves under the command of Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania. For he has discovered the way to make war peacefully. In the statement which he issued yesterday, as at once his own bid for re-election and an attack upon President Wilson, he lays down his position. He is opposed to war with Mexico. He has "never advocated politional intervention in Mexico." All that he would do is to notify the Mexican authorities, civil and mili ary, that they will be held responsible for "depredations to Americans or their property," and follow up this notice by "sending American troops to the threatened point to enforce the same." This beats the Texas Rangers hollow; and if President Wilosn had a proper sense of patriotic duty, he would at once appoint Boies Penrose general in command of an invading army that is against intervention, and would scrupulously refrain from acts of war.—New York "Evening Post."

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### QUIEN SABE?

The commission appointed by "First Chief" Carranza to investigate and report upon the manner of William S. Benton's death accomplishes nothing as the days pass and is dropping out of public notice. General Frausto, the head of the commission, being asked to account for a rumor that it had gone to Chihuahua when it was still drowsing at Juarez, shrugged his shoulders and said, "Quien sabe?"

That is the stock question on the border. Why does General Carranza dally at Agua Prieta when General Villa is oppressed with the cares of state at Chihuahua and the world says that the real leader of the Constitutionalists is the ex-outlaw? Quien sabe? How comes it that "Pancho" Villa has ceased to be a rude, unlettered, ragged bandit and has developed into a suave, wise, self-reliant, and well informed administrator in a new General's uniform? Quien sabe?

What has become of the military operations to drive the Federals out of Torreon and carry the war to the gates of the capital? Quien sabe? Why doesn't Huerta crumble? Quien sabe? Why was it said that when the embargo upon arms was raised the Constitutionalists would take city after city and sweep the Federals like chaff before them? Quien sabe? Is there ever going to be a pitched battle between the insurgents and the Government troops? Quien sabe? Is the policy of both sides in Mexico one of "watchful waiting"? Quien sabe?—New York "Sun."

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### INTERVENTION— WHAT IT MEANS.

Senator Fall of New Mexico began yelling during the Taft administration for armed intervention in Mexico. He liked the Taft policy as little as he now likes the Wilson policy. He has been "breaking out" about once a month for three years. Senator Fall, claiming to be greatly interested about the protection of the lives of Americans in Mexico, is even more concerned about the lack of profits from recent Mexican investments.

The New Mexican senator represents the coterie of rich men who are anxious about dividends, * * *

But in one respect Senator Fall ventures on something new. He is explicit as to the kind of intervention he would have. In advance of the movement of our land and naval forces he would make a solemn declaration, such as was made in regard to Cuba before the Spanish war, that this country would not acquire territory; that it would withdraw as soon as the altruistic object of intervention was achieved. He would have the occupation of the Cuban kind rather than of the Philippine or Porto Rican kind. He would go in, but only for the purpose of getting out again.

Counting every American killed in Mexico during the last three years, Senator Fall is able to make up a list of sixty-three. It is the opinion of those best qualified to judge that intervention would mean the immediate killing of several thousand Americans in Mexico. Property belonging to Americans to the value of several millions has been destroyed. Intervention would mean the destruction of several hundred millions of American property. It would mean the sacrifice of the lives of a hundred thousand young American soldiers. It would add easily a billion dollars to the national expenditure. It would mean anarchy all over Mexico as our troops wrestled with guerilla fighters. It took three years to "pacify" the Philippines. It would probably take ten years—and it might take twenty years—to "pacify" Mexico, with its Indian population.

Then, according to the New Mexican senator when what now remains of civilization in Mexico was destroyed, we should get out. As soon as we were out the Mexicans would, of course, begin fighting again.

The "watchful waiting" policy of the President is not one to arouse popular enthusiasm. But it is a beautiful and inspiring thing compared with the altruistic intervention urged by the New Mexican senator.—New York "Globe."

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### WHAT A MESS!

Mr. Wilson placed himself at a disadvantage in his appeal to Congress last Thursday. The Speech from the Throne ceremonial was ridiculous. His assertion that he was "charged by the Constitution itself in a peculiar degree with personal responsibility" was badly worded and erroneous. The Constitution charges the President with no personal responsibility concerning treaties either in a peculiar or any other degree. All his power is strictly limited by the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators. There is no personal responsibility in the Constitution. His reference to "my judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed," was egotistical and ineffective. What is his judgment, after three years of office-holding, when compared with that of Congressmen prominent in public life before he was a political possibility? Had he based his appeal upon the fact that, a month previous to his nomination ,the New York Chamber of Commerce, in a resolution drawn up by Senator Root, had asked the repeal of canal tolls exemption, he would have stood upon firm ground. At that time he was in favor of exempting American shipping; the sacrosanct Baltimore Platform had pledged him to it. He did not explain why, after repeatedly instructing Congress that the Baltimore Platform is the supreme law of the Democratic party, he now repudiates and attempts to reverse this supreme law. He

(Continued on next page.)

offered no arguments for the repeal; his only reason was "My judgment." Then he emphatically condemned his own Mexican policy by contending that the United States ought to be governed by the opinions of Europe. This led up to the sonorous phrase, "The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do—a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned." How perfectly this applies to his personal refusal to recognize President Huerta, when all other nations have given the recognition, and how plainly it points to his duty to withdraw from a position everywhere questioned!

Recognize Huerta! "The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do—a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned." Therefore recognize Huerta!

John Bassett Moore's resignation deprives the country of the experienced services of a very able man and shows how Bryan has demoralized the Administration. It is impossible for anyone, no matter how able, expert, conscientious and trustworthy, to remain in the State Department under the direction of a titular Secretary, who knows nothing, and in his inordinate vanity is jealous of those who do know. Mr. Wilson can never conduct the executive branch of this government successfully while Bryan remains in the Cabinet and makes the Administration the laughing stock of the world.

Oscar S. Straus, ex-Cabinet Minister, ex-Ambassador, scholar, student of world's problems, broad-minded exponent of human rights, has suggested a commission to promptly, intelligently, faithfully, without prejudice, investigate conditions in Mexico. Its work completed, the commission is to advise the President as to the policy to be pursued, to the end that we may be spared the horrors of the war which would follow armed intervention, and that order, peace and prosperity may be brought to that country, now so sorely afflicted by revolution and devastated by gangs led by bandits indulging in rapine and murder and fattening on the spoils. Personally, I believe that the President is already convinced that his policy of non-recognition of Huerta is a mistake. It takes a good deal of moral courage for even a great man, who must needs regard consistency as generally a virtue, to come out and acknowledge his error and face squarely about on his previous position. I have before suggested that Congress, in view of the actual situation, should take the Mexican question into its own keeping, and by joint resolution settle the policy to be pursued by the Executive. Possibly the Commission suggested by Mr. Straus, if composed of the right men, and if it should act promptly enough, might accomplish the same result, in either case saving the President's face.—The Saunterer in "Town Topics."

SUBSCRIBE TO MEXICO

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### IN MEXICO'S CAPITAL.

From what can be learned here from those who have great interes s at stake, it matters little by what means President Huerta has achieved his end. There is no doubt that his popularity is growing day by day, and that the lifting of the embargo on arms has made him new friends. Every business man, both American and foreign, with whom I have come in contact, seems to regard him as the strongest man in the country. His firm stand and dignified bearing in the face of overwhelming odds, has commanded the respect of the better element, and they seem to regard him as the only man through whom peace and order can ever come. All he needs, they say, is money—and he is evidently getting it from some mysterious source.

The success of the revolution in the North does not seem to worry him very much, and he has no fear of plots against him, going about the City of Mexico without a body guard or even Secret Service men. He will walk into a public restaurant, bowing to every one as he passes, hang up his hat and sword on a hook, and sit down in a most democratic manner.

If the United States is waiting for Villa to enter the City of Mexico, hold a constitutional election for a president whom we intend to recognize and give a "try-out," I am afraid we will have to wait a long time.—W. Nephew King, Vera Cruz corespondent New York "World."

### AN ILLUSION DISPELLED.

Senator Fall's return to his favorite subject is not going to influence the President to assume a new and hostile attitude toward Mexico nor is the manner of the recovery of Vergara's body likely to increase the perplexities of our Mexican relations. But those perplexities are formidable. Is there a gleam of hope in General Huerta's instructions to his commanders to assume the offensive hereafter and to begin vigorous action against the northern rebels? Surely, a definite victory of the Federal troops in the neighborhood of Torreon would have a wholesome result. The illusion that the influence of *Carranza and Villa will ever be exerted to secure a stable Government should be, by this time, effectually dispelled.*—New York Times."

It is possible, however, for one who has followed events close at hand to say, at the end of a year of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy, that its results are not now, and are not likely to be in the future, what he intended. President Wilson has always had a most praiseworthy aversion to intervention, and yet many persons felt at the time of the adoption of his policy that the logical outcome of it would be intervention. At the present moment some form of direct action, sooner or later, seems probable as the only solution of a very difficult situation.—Collier's Weekly.

### GENERAL HUERTA.

#### A Soldier of the Regular Army and No "Bandit."

To the editor of the "Sun"—Sir: There seems to be a disposition to view the Mexican question as a sort of Hobson's choice between the recognition of one of two rebel leaders, both of whom are ex-cattle thieves and bandits. On this point the public needs a little knowledge.

General Victoriano Huerta, who has held down the job of dictator for more than a year, is a regular army officer and has never been anything else. He was graduated at Chapultepec, Mexico's military school, and has been a loyal soldier ever since, or until, finally finding himself under the orders of an incompetent dictator, he was obliged to engage in a fratricidal war in the capital city against a portion of the army of which he himself was a part. He never in all his life figured as an irregular soldier, as is generally supposed, and even stated by many who profess to be familiar with the Mexican situation. He did not transfer his service to Madero with the ousting of Porfirio Diaz, as is generally stated. Madero having usurped the power of Diaz and becoming the recognized Executive of the Government, Huerta's only alternative as a soldier was to accept Madero as his commander in chief and obey his orders implicitly, which he did, even after he was called upon to fight that portion of the army which had rebelled against Madero and his nepotic and incompetent sway. The situation during the street fighting in the City of Mexico, from the soldier's viewpoint, was graphically illustrated when a young artillery officer, being complimented for sending a well directed shot into the besieged citadel, which slaughtered a number of men, replied with an oath, "Don't compliment me for killing my brother soldiers!"

When Don Porfirio abdicated he took his farewell of General Huerta in a few words full of pathos. He said:

"My one regret in leaving my country is that my successor is not a military man; but remember, General, that you are a soldier and that the duty of the soldier is to obey."

And that General Huerta did not forget his soldier training is shown by his implicit obedience to the Madero regime until after ten days' battling in the streets of Mexico city with the obstinate dreamer determined to destroy the city itself rather than yield one iota of his despotic sway. Huerta for the first time in his long and honorable career of loyalty to his Government abandoned his soldierly principle of obedience to the powers that be, and in so many words told Madero that he was done with him, that his rule was marked by incompetency from beginning to end, and that he must get out; and he put him out. It seems unfortunate indeed that Madero was killed, but as our own American soldiers declared when they were chasing Indians on our plains, the only "good" Indian is a dead one, so the Mexican soldier's viewpoint is that the only "good" politician is a dead one. Consequently Madero's life was sacrificed; whether by order of Huerta or not never has been determined.

Now comes Mr. Creelman's statement that Huerta is an Indian and that he drinks brandy to excess. Lest we for-

(Continued on next page.)

get, wasn't there a certain General appointed to the command of our armies by President Lincoln who, it was alleged, drank whiskey, and upon it being reported to Lincoln he replied: "I wish you would find out what kind of whiskey he drinks, so that some of my other officers may get the same brand?"

That we as a nation should be held up by a murderer and bandit like Villa seems preposterous. He is a coward, a robber and an outlaw, and he rules mere handfuls of benighted people by inspiring them with fear at the terrible examples of bloodshed and cruelty he sets them. Were we to send a good cavalry force across the Rio Grande they would scatter like sheep, and by offering them a few bushels of corn to feed their hungry families and guarantee them protection against their brigand chief they would go to their homes and behave themselves.—Thomas Robinson Dawley, Jr., in New York "Sun."

## A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION

Intervention means war, and war, especially in its earliest phrases, is so serious as to demand the ownership and disposition of forces which through long seasons of preparedness will have a fighting chance to make its conduct successful. The raids of Texan Rangers over the border, the despatch of a handful of marines to the City of Mexico may be magnificent, but it is not war. This is merely playing with fire and inviting sacrifice, an entrance into a game where the dice are loaded and the cards are stacked against us.

Should, unfortunately, nothing but intervention be left, let us not take up the great burden with any foolishness of ignorance, repeating the old cries of the "Promenade to Berlin!" the "On to Richmond!" or the "March to Peking, aided or alone!" These are sad shibboleths. When we strike, if we are forced to strike, let it be with the assured strength that opens the way to the nerve centres and compels victory. Where our people are counting on hundreds, thousands must be reckoned with, for Heaven is still on the side of the heaviest battalions.—New York "Herald."

### The Gentle Villa.

Richard Harding Davis and "Junius" are right about Mexico.

How our Secretary of State could treat with a bloody villian like Villa is past comprehension. If the "Peerless One" would only go back to Nebraska and give his attention to the Commoner and the President could find another John Hay the American people would be spared the humiliation they have to endure.

The load of Bryan will prove too heavy for the President. Our Mexican policy, if there is one, is a shame in the yes ol the world.

1913 WASHINGTON 1914
SUGAR BUREAU
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Invites correspondence from all who are professionally interested in the sugar legislation.


Our most astute doplimat, Mr. Bryan, a man of peace at any price, should be sent to Mexico with a band of yodlers to try the effect of sweet music on the hearts and minds of the Mexican Indians. Now that the trained diplomat John Bassett Moore has quit in disgust, cannot the office-boy act as the Secretary of State during the absence of the great itinerant lecturer?—APEMANTUS in New York "World."

The Mexican question is from day to day assuming more formidable proportions and those who give it the most serious consideration are under the impression that one of the features of the aftermath will be a general attack upon the Monroe Doctrine. There is no indication of a cessation of hostilities in Mexico; however, no matter which party is triumphant the country will be saddled with countless claims. Foreigners have been great sufferers, their property has been confiscated and many have been killed. The Chinese and Orientals have come under the displeasure of Venustiano Carranza, who declares that the Chinese are "human leeches" and a menace to Mexico, and he has issued an ukase banishing all Mongols. The Constitutionalists assert that they will drive every Oriental out of Mexico. That includes the Japanese. The Chinese ambassador at Washington has entered a protest against the treatment of his countrymen in Mexico, and the Chinese residing in the disturbed districts have been instructed to place themselves under the wings of the American consuls. Under the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine it will be necessary for the United States to permit Japan and China to seek reparation, or it will be our duty to compel Mexico to give satisfaction to Japan and China or else we would be obliged to assist Mexico in resisting pressure. It is said that since we cannot permit foreign powers to interfere in Mexico in their own interest that we are in duty bound to compel Mexico to protect foreigners. The Mexican situation has done much to alter the aspect of the Monroe Doctrine in foreign eyes.

It looks as though President Wilson is called for a show-down in the Mexican game. His has been a waiting game and doubtless he has achieved at Washington what would have been impossible had he been forced to intervene at any time since March 4. The danger to his policy has been the possibility that foreign demands would cause him to take decided measures in order to preserve the Monroe Doctrine. The crisis has come, at any rate it is very acute, brought about by the murder of the English subject Benton. It is worthy of consideration that the newest trouble has been brought about, not by Huerta but by Villa, whom it is said Wilson is inclined to lean towards—"Pan-American Magazine."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: I think the almost universal idea that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have been weak and wobbly in dealing with the Mexican situation is a mistaken conception of their year's persistent work to overthrow the Government of Mexico because they in their infinite wisdom and virtue did not approve of it. I should say they have shown tremendous strength and purpose in setting their individual likes and dislikes against the judgment of all other nations, that of our well-informed former Ambassador to Mexico, that of the State Department's recently resigned authority on international law, against the crying necessity for peace of millions of poor Mexicans, the opinion of ninety-nine out of every hundred Americans in Mexico, as well as all the lessons of experience and history. They have been strong and persistent to the point of perversity. That they have been utterly wrong is another matter. That they have gone to the extreme of forming an alliance in effect with the bandits and I. W. W.'s of Northern Mexico and virtually handed them arms and bullets with which to prolong the conditions in Mexico they profess to abhor shows the strengtb and determination of their policy. Nothing weak and wobbly about it. It seems to me that everybody has been cleverly taken in by those innocent words, "watchful waiting." If intervention, which is war, results it will be due not to the weakness of the Administration, but to its hysterical strength misapplied to make intervention a probability.

Yours very truly,
New York City. C. H. STAGUE.


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## LOOKING FORWARD.

It has been truly said that the only trouble with Mexico is that it borders the United States and is a tremendously rich country.

Here is something else for our statesmen to think about:

Suppose that in the name of "liberty" and "constitutional government" the reign of socialism and anarchy under Villa should spread over all Mexico. Suppose that as in Chihuahua, so in all sections of Mexico the masses with a grievance, real or imagined or worked up by agitators, should "confiscate" and destroy the property of the rich and the responsible. Suppose that the financial success of Villa should inspire even more than it has a career of pillage and "confiscation" in many other unscrupulous bandits and adventurers, until the wealth of Mexico was destroyed or in the bloody hands of these men and their looting followers.

It does not require a very long stretch of the imagination to appreciate the inspiration that this state of affairs would give to ambitious men of the same stripe this side of the Rio Grande.

Remember, we have our I. W. W.

We have our East Side anarchists who are looking longingly at the piled-up wealth of Fifth Avenue.

We have our Tannenbaums, incipient Villas.

There is a subterranean rumble in the waves of unrest among the masses of unemployed, unskilled labor.

We are appointing commissions to study such things in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen.

Maybe we shall have to teach them the speech of machine guns in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-nine.

Quien sabe?

And the Administration is watering the seed of this dangerous plant at this very moment in our neighboring republic.

Which may make the reverse of our first words true to historians of the future: "The trouble with the United States was that it bordered Mexico and was so tremendously rich."

## ALL HONORABLE MEN.

The way the Administration seized upon the case of Vergara, the Texas Mexican, as the basis of a "demand" on President Huerta is only another indication of the fundamental unfairness of the Mexican "policy." It amounted to this: "We do not recognize your government, we do not credit you with the right to govern, we have done all in our power to limit your power and tie your hands of authority, we are openly preventing your control of the situation in your country, we are openly encouraging the very conditions that foster the destruction of foreign lives and property, but we intend to hold you responsible for such destruction wherever and whenever we get the chance."

How can such unfairness be without arousing indignation and concern in the mind of every fair American? Heaven knows where a "policy" conceived in that spirit will lead the country.

They are all honorable men, but has anything been more dishonorable than the Administration's repeated protests of neutrality while it brought every pressure to bear against the Mexican Government?"

They are all honorable men, of course, but has there been anything honorable in the alliance of the State Department with Villa and his bandits?

They are all honorable men, it is true, but has there been anything honorable in the State Department's frantic efforts to set the murdering Villa and the figurehead Carranza right before the world whatever their crimes?

They are all honorable men, beyond doubt, but do honorable men cloak a scheme of spoliation and domination in studied, honeyed phrases and call it morality?

They are all honorable men, you may be sure, but with the honor of the country at stake, is it not disconcerting that their agents should be the negligible Lind, the snooping ex-Reverend Hale, the gullible, usable Tupper, and that a man like John Bassett Moore should repudiate the game?


Read "MEXICO"

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.


## THE DICTATOR.

This truth is that, confronted by the daily increasing probability of being forced by the steady trend of circumstances into an invasion of Mexico, the United States finds itself without a single sympathetic friend among the other strong governments of the earth; and, further, that there is a strong possibility, if not probability, of one aggressive nation seizing upon the moment when we are most deeply involved in Mexico to take reprisal for fancied injustice.—J. K. Ohl, Washington correspondence "Herald."

**There is the key to the whole situation.**

**The Administration is clearing the decks for action, for armed invasion of Mexico.**

**The Constitution of the United States places in Congress the power and the responsibility of declaring war against another country.**

**But the framers of the Constitution did not foresee a situation where the President of the Nation in his handling of foreign affairs could individually shape a situation so that a declaration of war by Congress would be only an unnecessary formality.**

**As far as guiding the affairs of State either toward or away from war is concerned, at the present time there might as well be no Congress.**

**The fate of the Nation, the lives and the treasure of its people are in the palm of the hand of a Dictator.**

## OF MEXICO.

(By T. A. Daly in New York "Times.")

What do you know of
Of Mexico,
You who, at ease tonight,
By your hearth's peaceful light,
Follow the far-off fight,
Letting your penny paper
Be your mind's guide and shaper?
If to your alien eyes
Truths and half truths and lies
Blend in one wild surmise,
What do you know
Of Mexico?

What do you know
Of Mexico,
You who have idly viewed
Evil that throttles Good
In your own neighborhood;
Cold to the men about you
Waging God's fight without you?
You who have never seen
Ills here at home, or e'en
Kept your own doorstep clean,
What do you know
Of Mexico?

For the last few days it was thought here that the administration's effort to force a change of front from General Carranza had been practically abandoned and that the attempts to keep General Carranza to the path of moral regenerator of Mexico had degenerated to the appeals of Dr. Tupper, of the International Peace Forum.

Degenerated is good.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# Word Tyranny

When it is authoritatively said through inspired sources in Washington that **under no circumstances** will the Administration recognize the Mexican Provisional Government, an element is injected into the Mexican situation that is the most terrible and hopeless to the mind of all those who are working for a peaceful solution.

There is no qualification of the words "under no circumstances," and although it is possible that they are impulsively and bitterly uttered to convey a state of mind, in cold blood they can be accepted only as an evidence of a perverse egotism of a kind that when responsible is pregnant with great evil in the affairs of nations.

**Under no circumstances!** Let us carefully analyze these uncompromising words.

Under no circumstances? Were the circumstances such, as many now believe they are, that recognition would save the lives of tens of thousands of American young men, who would die of wounds and disease in the mountains of Mexico? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? Were the circumstances such, as many now believe they are, that such recognition would mean speedy peace in Mexico? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? Were the circumstances such that such recognition would save hundreds of innocent Mexicans from barbarous slaughter, the honor of thousands of Mexican women from the bestiality of savage bandits? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? Were the circumstances such that such recognition would prevent the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to Americans and Europeans? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? Were the circumstances such that such recognition would go a long way to promote this country's friendly and trade relations with the countries of Latin-America? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition, accorded by all the other great nations, would enable this country to co-operate with them in a friendly spirit, and increase our sadly damaged prestige among them? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition were demanded by the spirit of right and justice of the American people? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition were shown beyond the shadow of a doubt to be not only the most expedient but also the most moral move that could be made? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition were essential to the peace and prosperity of the United States? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition were advisable in order to avoid unwelcome and unnecessary complications with another Power, involving war? **Under no circumstances.**

Under no circumstances? If such recognition would help powerfully to put an end to murder, rape, pillage, robbery, blackmail, brigandage, tortures, unmentionable crimes? **Under no circumstances.**

It is difficult to believe that any man living, at least any man in a position of power, responsible to his fellow men, responsible to civilization, a servant of the people, would use such words in this connection, unless he be totally deaf to all human appeal.

In fact, we do not believe that they are the words of either the President or the Secretary of State.

And yet not once but many times these words have been sent to the press of the country through authoritative channels and they have been accepted as irrevocable and never denied.

It would be too much to expect the Administration to repudiate such words, which suggest a personal despotism more tyrranical than any in the world. But in the interests of truth and humanity, and to reassure millions of perhaps deluded citizens that they really do live in a democracy, it might be well for the Administration to see that those words are kept out of future communications to the press.

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Some rather well-informed persons have said that the Administration will find occasion to intervene in Mexico if the Mexican Government routs Friend Pancho.

* * *

Rather than recognize the Mexican Provisional President.

* * *

As intervention means war, and as the tremendous price of that war will have to be paid in the lives and treasure of the American people, and as according to latest reports this country is not yet an autocracy, it is quite possible that those well-informed persons misinterpret the intentions of the Administration.

* * *

Or else the Administration does not know the people.

# Imaginary Letters==No. 2

Dear Doctor Hale:

You made me what I am to-day—I hope you boil in oil. You told me it was all fixed, that you were Woodrow Wilson's biographer and knew that his mind was an open book, to be written in red by us. You told me that Willie Witch Hazel Grape Juice would shed criticism like water sheds a duck. You told me that Don Sherby Hopkins would tend to the legal details and your Wall Street friends would supply the mazuma, or dinero, as we say in our exquisite Castilian.

And now I am in the desert, strapped to a high-powered motor car. If I go too fast my respectable beard will fall off and be buried in the sand. If I go too slow they, my enemies the harpies, will point to my decrepitude. If I go back to Sonora they will flout me for dallying with Pancho Villa. If I go forward to Chihuahua, I put my plaster-of-paris head in the mouth of a lion. What am I to do? Come and whisper in my ear or send friend Tupper with the consolation of the cloth.

Ah, adversity has made be brother to oblivion. And I counted so faithfully on you and your Ardmorean morality to protect me with a cloak of self-righteousness.

I am an old man now, and I submit that I should not be subjected to the indignities that have been heaped upon me. Pancho is spreading his spider web to receive this old fly in his parlor. Pancho has been a good helper and server in our scheme of things but is now riding his horse to death. He has no gratitude for me who have made him a hero who was and is a cattle thief, nor for you who have gilded his gory past for the benefit of the White House.

My soul is much troubled, Doc, and I wish you would tell your boss that I cannot stand the strain much longer. If you and he want somebody to present a respectable front for your celestial ambitions, you will have to get some other chap. I am going to dig me a hole in the desert or fold my whiskers like the Arab and silently steal away.

It would have been a good thing for you, Doc, if you had managed it. You were an optimistic child and thought nothing was impossible for you with your biographical connections, but such is life, and we didn't put it over and our dream of a Northern Mexican Republic, in which we would be duel satraps, and your Democratic friends would get concessions as high as the blue sky, has proved a chimera, a thing not to be.

Damn Huerta, Doc, and don't blame me.

I have used many boxes of cold cream, I have commandeered every wooden leg in sight, I have drawn on all the hospital supplies of braces and bandages, not to mention hot water bags and trusses, but I must confess that you have set too hard a pace for me with your boss and your countrymen.

I am a-weary of this great world.

Commend me to the prof and Willie Grape Juice and tell them that I would not love them half so much loved they not this guy more.

Yours in bad,

VENUSTIANO.

## OUTRAGES ON PRIESTS AND NUNS

Stories of the robbery, torture and even murder of Catholic priests by the rebels in northern Mexico were related here yesterday by Father Ramon Gonzalez and Jose Medina, a Carmelite student, who, penniless, arrived on their flight from Victoria, Mexico. They are being cared for by Dominican fathers of the city. Young Medina was driven out when he failed to give the rebels money but Father Gonzalez, after being robbed and blackmailed out of all his possessions, disguised himself as a peon and fled across the border in fear of his life

### Rebels Wreck Churches.

They tell of the raid by Carranza's rebels upon Catholic churches and a convent in Victoria three weeks ago. The sacraments, crosses and other articles of gold and silver were taken and the church interiors wrecked. Bibles were piled up in the center of the Victoria cathedral and burned. During the raid on the cathedral the American Sisters of the Incarnation received warning at their convent and fled on the moment to various parts of the city to hide. The rebels visited the convent shortly after and looted it of everything of value and burned Bibles, books and documents.

Father Cecilia De Leon, pastor of the Victoria cathedral, and his two assistants were made prisoners and taken off by the rebel army. Their fate is unknown, but the refugees say it is probable that they were murdered—the same way that five other priests in various parts of Coahuila and Tamaulipas were punished by the rebels when they failed to give up money the raiders demanded.

These depredations upon the Catholic churches by the rebels are at the orders of Carranza, the revolutionary leader, the two refugees assert. He has instructed his men to obtain money in any manner, and there is hardly a priest or head of a Catholic institution in rebel territory who has not been blackmailed. The priests are tortured when they fail to respond, it is claimed.

### Blackmail at Base.

Young Medina was a Carmelite student in Victoria. He was called into the street by a squad of Carranza soldiers. They demanded money. He had none. They threw him into prison and kept him there for two days and nights without water or food. Finally they were convinced that he had no money and took him from the jail, but did not release him. Instead, they deported him to the border and threatened him if he ever returned to Mexico again. He wanted to go back to Mexico City to the headquarters of his order, but they refused him this permission. Dozens of priests are being forced across the border after being robbed, the refugees say. —New Orleans "Picayune."

## OUR POLICY IN MEXICO.

From a friend of mine, a prominent American citizen, who has lived in Mexico City for over thirty years and is a leader in the American colony there, I received recently a letter regarding the situation in Mexico. The following is an extract from it:

"Referring to our troubles here, I can only say that I am sorry that the United States Government has taken the stand it has in regard to the Mexican situation. As a matter of fact the greatest sufferers by President Wilson's policy, if it may be so called, are us foreigners and the poor people of the country. General Huerta has no intention of abdicating, and if he should do so, what, and who, is to take his place? I am not able to believe that President Wilson could, for a moment, think of replacing him with such outlaws and assassins as Carranza, or Villa, or Zapata, or any of the horde of so-called Constitutionalists (God save the mark!).

"The mass of the people here may not think that Huerta is the only man for the place, but he has demonstrated a greater degree of fitness than any other. At the present what are we going to do; whom have we to put in his place? At the present time he is our only hope for a restoration of order; and remember, the deaths of Madero and Suarez cannot be fixed upon him. I am certain that he did not know of them for an hour after they occurred, and had he known that they were contemplated I am sure that he would have intervened. I know General Huerta and I like him personally very much. He is not at all the man he is painted in the newspapers in the States. If President Wilson had let this country alone and given it a chance to work out its own salvation, we would have had peace long ago. I am an American, and under all circumstances and conditions will stand by my country, but I cannot feel that anything like justice has been done to this country by Wilson or Bryan.

"It has occurred to me that this opinion of a man on the spot might be of interest.—Alfred Muller in New York "Sun."

### GOING UP!

General Carranza is due at Guzman, eighty miles southwest of Juarez, Sunday morning. If the Northwestern Railroad is repaired in time General Carranza will be able to get to Juarez Sunday afternoon. If not, he will have to come overland on horseback, which will take the better part of two days. General Villa's suggestion of an automobile was politely refused by General Carranza on the advice of members of his Cabinet, who are taking no chances on a gasoline or other explosion.—New York "Herald."

### MEXICAN PRESIDENT UPHELD IN LECTURE.

"President Wilson made his biggest mistake when he failed to recognize Huerta at the outset," was the statement made by William E. Carson, newspaper correspondent, author and student of Mexico and its affairs, in a lecture on the Mexican situation before the Men's League of the Classon Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. "The trouble with the Americans," said Mr. Carson, "is that you cannot interest them in Mexican affairs, and that they would rather laugh at the comic supplements than consider questions with intelligence.

"The reports from Mexico are all one-sided," said the speaker, 'and Huerta isn't getting a square deal. Strange though it may sound to American ears, yet he holds the confidence of the people who recognize in him the only barrier between themselves and anarchy. Mexico needs a strong hand to govern it, and Huerta is the strongest man in the country.

"While I was in Mexico I saw an impressive sight," continued Mr. Carson. "We were sitting in the national palace when suddenly the bugles sounded and a motley army of several thousands marched into the palace garden marshaled by sergeants from the regular army. Rich and poor marched shoulder to shoulder. Huerta turned to me and said: "These are volunteers whom I did not call out. No, they are not going out to fight the bandits in the north. They are the home guard, and together with thousands of others like them, they stand ready to fight any invader."

Mr. Carson branded as absolute lies the published reports of Huerta's drunkenness.

"Huerta drinks like many other good men," he said, "but in all my acquaintance with him, that lasted for about six months, I have never seen him under the influence of liquor. This talk about nights of debauchery and revelry is unfounded falsehood."—From Brooklyn "Standard Union."

### MR. BRYAN AND MR. MOORE.

Close observers at Washington have known for a long time that our foreign affairs are not well conducted; that too many of our diplomatic appointments have been personal and political, and that the machinery within the State Department has been very badly run. The resignation of Mr. Moore has merely called public attention to it.

In such an office as Secretary of State no amount of good will or high purpose can take the place of intelligence. Moreover, nothing can excuse the partisan and personal character of some of Mr. Bryan's appointments.—"Collier's Weekly."

# LEST WE FORGET

Somebody has suggested that we have utterly misapprehended the purposes of the Administration's Mexican policy, which this apologist asserts have been:

* * *

To strengthen the hand of President Huerta.

* * *

To show up the Northern rebels in their true light as murderers and bandits to the world and the better classes of the Mexican people.

* * *

Perhaps our critic is right. If he is, then we congratulate the Administration on the success of its policy.

* * *

Referring to the commission suggested by Straus, the Secretary of State was reported as saying that his Department had given absolutely no consideration to this or any other plan to bring about peace in Mexico.

* * *

This from the Apostle of Peace, whose eyes glow with the fervor of humanitarian impulse when he talks—at so much per talk—on the beauties of universal brotherhood.

* * *

Some critics of the Mexican Government, who have approved the relentless efforts of the Administration to tie the hands of that government, have the nerve now to say that President Huerta should not have been recognized because he has not shown ability to accomplish anything!

* * *

And yet the American President of the National Railways reports that sixty-five per cent. of the railroads are in operation as the result of the assistance of the Mexican Government.

* * *

And yet trains are running from the American border at Eagle Pass and Laredo to Torreon and Monterrey.

* * *

And yet the border States of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila have been virtually cleared of marauding bands and hundreds of miles of track are kept open.

* * *

And yet all of Mexico's tremendous area is under Federal control except the sparsely settled States of Sonora and Chihuahua, mountainous parts of Sinaloa and Durango, and two towns in Tamaulipas—Matamoras and Victoria.

* * *

And yet that Government has had the sources of credit to which it was entitled cynically cut off by the Washington Administration.

As lovers of a good fighter we should respect the strength and courage of the present Mexican Government in its successful battle against tremendous odds.

* * *

We often wonder what our respected leaders in Washington would do under similar circumstances.

* * *

Colquitt, the Conqueror!

* * *

He had his little strut upon the stage. We hope he's satisfied.

* * *

His is a hollow bark, and he has no fangs.

* * *

But the fact remains that the Administration, it is impossible to say why, is giving the jingoes of the Colquitt breed every encouragement possible.

* * *

Because it seems to want to do the same thing to Mexico as Colquitt, but do it in its own way, which is war under another name.

* * *

As between the two there is something more honest and American about the Colquitt way.

* * *

Than the sly, underhanded, misrepresenting, cold-blooded intervention that has been miscalled Watchful Waiting.

* * *

The spectacle the Administration presents to a puzzled world is this:

* * *

On the one hand doing everything to provoke war with Mexico.

* * *

On the other hand doing everything ostensibly to avoid it.

* * *

Is that playing both ends against the middle?

* * *

Or is it burning Mexico at both ends?

* * *

Is it amateurishness or obliquity?

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The reported arrest by Carranza's people of two leading politicians of the Madero regime is another blow to the administration's theory of the Mexican situation. The great merit which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan attached to the rebels' cause was that they were supposed to represent the democratic ideals of Madero.—Pittsburgh "Gazette-Times."

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Apparently, the State Department at Washington recognizes the fact that the Huerta Administration is the only responsible government in Mexico upon which formal demand may be made, and confesses the correlative fact that the Constitutionalist faction, which it would favor, is irresponsible and cannot be held to account for its outlawry except by force of arms.—Philadelphia "Bulletin."

# A STARTLING INDICTMENT

By CASSIUS E. GILLETTE, Former Major of Engineers, U. S. A.

For almost a year the world has wondered what President Wilson's policy toward Mexico really was.

At first, owing to the skillful press-agent work of Sherburn G. Hopkins, carried on almost under the shadow of the White House, the world assumed it was simply a high-minded resolve not to recognize a man who had achieved the presidency of a Latin-American republic by assassinating his predecessor.

Later when Europe generally recognized General Huerta, and the truth began to permeate that he was neither a traitor, assassin nor usurper, directly or indirectly, and the awful aspects of what non-recognition by the United States, under the Monroe doctrine extended, really meant to Mexico, being partially appreciated, people attributed adherence to his remarkable attitude to a somewhat enlarged determination, or obstinacy.

Non-recognition prevented Mexico from borrowing money, while savages like Villa, who do not need to borrow money, since they loot, rob and extort ransoms like other bandits the world over, gradually destroyed the country.

Then the mysteries of real diplomacy and the natural desire of public men and editors to uphold the hands of the President together with the deference almost necessary in connection with still undistributed patronage gave an apparent public sanction to a policy still unknown.

Then the newspaper men, at least, came to the conclusion he had no policy at all, and never had had one, his unswerving determination to "oust Huerta" being due merely to a desire to appear infallible and "save his face." But that theory is untenable. It does not fit the character of the man. No human being with believable instincts possibly could contemplate the suffering and destruction of property with the determination with which President Wilson has watched the results of his keeping the civilized faction from borrowing the money absolutely necessary to protect civilization from savagery, merely to "save his face."

The President even has reversed himself in Mexico. The recent recognition of Peru and Hayti are a complete reversal of all his avowed reasons for refusing to recognize Mexico. So that will not account for his unyielding obstinacy in Mexico.

### Pre-Election Agreement.

The following sequence of events may suggest the true reason:

When Mr. Bryan became convinced at Baltimore that he could not be nominated this time, he forced the nomination of Wilson, previously "tying his feet" with the provision committing the party to a single term. No President who has fought a war during his first term has ever been refused a second, and if he were a peace lover like McKinley, it didn't take much of a war. There was nothing in sight that would give the necessary wave of popularity to overcome this plank in the Baltimore platform, except to be "unwillingly" forced into intervention.

To encourage the "patriots," while the good press-agent work of Hopkins, counsel for the Maderistas and the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, keeps the American people in the preposterous belief that those bandits, essentially Geronimo's Apache band over again, were patterned after our revolutionary sires; to nag Huerta until some overt act like the sinking of the Maine should inflame the American people so much that even a real lover of peace could not stop them, just as they overrode McKinley; these were natural methods. Then another quick, sharp war and an overwhelming election to a second term.

### The President Acts.

The following is a list of the striking things Mr. Wilson has done to Mexico. Every one of them fits the above explanation and they fit no other:

First—Prompt refusal to recognize Huerta. This occurred only three days after the inauguration. It had been determined upon. Mr. Wilson's closest adviser right along has been Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, the largest contributor to his campaign fund, and a director in the National City Bank, a Standard Oil institution. Mr. Hopkins, counsel for H. Clay Pierce, wanted recognition refused.

Every one who knows anything about Mexico realizes that had Huerta been recognized promptly and thereby been permitted to borrow money, all this carnage, destruction and outrage would have been avoided.

Incidentally, Huerta seems stronger today than before. American injustice has united the civilized elements with him.

Second—President Wilson paid no attention to information and warnings on the subject. I myself wrote him the true situation, in March, and warned him that unless he recognized Huerta he would soon have to give up the Monroe Doctrine or start an unjust, expensive and bloody war.

I repeated this in a long letter from Mexico, in August, giving him the facts of my fresh observations. Doubtless hundreds of others did the same thing. He refused to discuss Mexico even with Congressmen of his own party, for which he must have had some secret personal reason.

### Recognition Refused.

Third—He was really the State Department "when foreign affairs were concerned." Whatever Mr. Bryan did or refused to do was presumably in compliance with Mr. Wilson's wishes. In March I spent more than two hours with Mr. Bryan explaining to him that the real trouble in Mexico was due to the fact that the peons owned no land; that this was due wholly to the fact that only lands actually cultivated were taxed; that even Diaz had not felt able to tackle this problem, since the Congressmen were the land owners; that only an outside Power could correct this, and suggested that he here had an opportunity to do more for real democracy than he ever had done or ever could do, by sending John Lind down there to promise recognition provided the leaders would promise to put a graduated tax on uncultivated land that in, say, ten years, would be large enough to force its cultivation or sale. His answer was we could not have "conditional recognition." Now we see John Lind down there peddling "conditional recognition" and offering assistance to get loans as a bonus, but under impossible conditions. The four Wilson requirements which John Lind demanded of Huerta were as preposterous as if he had asked him to jump over the moon. Yet to Americans, unfamiliar with the real conditions and misled by the oil press agent, they seemed quite reasonable and on the lines of true democracy.

John Lind could not be sent down there to lay the ground for a future democracy, but could be commissioned to nag Huerta into doing something to justify intervention.

### Goading Huerta.

Fourth—The systematic efforts to irritate General Huerta are remarkable.

The secret sending of William Bayard Hale, formerly a clergyman, is a case in point. This man did many things to irritate Mexico, coming as a secret sort of an Ambassador, using the embassy code and officially intruding in many disagreeable ways.

Then went John Lind bearing impossible requirements, a Scandinavian from the Far North, speaking no Spanish and with a point of view as far as possible removed from that of the Latin races, and therefore slow to realize and sympathize with the difficulties of governing turbulent Mexico—a man too old to go to see the horrors of Durango, Torreon or Chihuahua, and at the mercy of local American influences in Mexico City. And there are many there, who for personal reasons want intervention, while rumors and lies there are as thick as dust in a March wind.

Although Mexico City is as safe as Philadelphia, and with a delightful climate the year round, he keeps John Lind sweltering in the discomforts of the hamlet of Vera Cruz under the guns of our warships, as though in fear of his life, irritating to Mexico and misleading to the rest of the world.

In this work of "super irritation" the President is most ably assisted by Mr. Hopkins, the oil press agent, who by telegrams and misleading views given out by the "junta" from his office does everything possible to irritate General Huerta, especially by misleading the American people.

Pages of this could be given, but not one misleading statement from this source has been corrected by Mr. Wilson, or his State Department, so far as I can find, and although Mr. Hopkins' work is notorious and calculated above all things to bring on intervention, not once has he been rebuked or even mentioned. If the President did not really want intervention, would he not do something to inform the people about this?

### The Warning to Americans.

Fifth—Last August he ordered all Americans post haste out of Mexico—furnishing them with cattle-boat passage or a second-class ticket on the regular lines. This precipitate action has never been explained. Is not the desire to make a lot of ruined Americans demand intervention the best reason in sight?

Sixth—He has made strenuous personal efforts to prevent the established

(Continued on next page.)

## A STARTLING INDICTMENT---Continued

Government getting loans. He lifted the embargo on arms to be "fair to the Constitutionalists." Why did he not then be fair to the civilized side by stating that he would do nothing subsequently to interfere with the payment of loans made to the Mexican Government? The Constitutionalists do not borrow. They steal. To bolster up the weaker side and weaken the stronger paves the way to intervention.

He personally directed the Postmaster General to press Mexico for a settlement of about $1,000,000 difference in the postal matters. To weaken the stronger side?

Seventh—Henry Lane Wilson won the admiration of everybody by the masterly way he handled the situation during the time Madero and Huerta were fighting Felix Diaz last February. Yet the President dismissed Mr. Wilson in disgrace because his recommendations were not in accord with "the policy" (sic) of the Administration. Had these recommendations been followed intervention would have been impossible. Was not that the real clash of policies?

Eighth—Professing a horror of war, he has maintained near the border a large army only one-third of it used to maintain the embargo on arms. The remainder is at Texas City ready for emergencies. Does "watchful waiting" mean waiting for some one to "sink the Maine"? Does the maintenance of 14 warships on the Mexican coast look like preparation for war?

They were kept there under courtesy of Mexico until October 1. Now "wearing out their welcome" seems another intentional irritant—a chip on the shoulder.

Ninth—For 48 hours after the capture of Victoria, a city of 15,000 people, Mr. Wilson "viewed the situation with complacency." The facts have never come out, but beyond doubt the savages were allowed the regular 24 hours of "liberty" immediately after the capture. This "liberty" means license to loot and rob, and there is no reasonable doubt that during those 48 hours of complacency not less than 1000 young girls and women suffered. The known proportions at Durango would make it more than this. Could any human being stand for this merely to "save his face"? No; it must be a profoundly important reason, like a second term of the "new Freedom."

### Suggestions Repelled.

Tenth—Last August, about the time Carranza probably died, and his unknown brother was slipped into his place for press agent purposes, the junta in Washington was much discouraged and ready to quit. An American acting for them sent a letter to the President that if he would send John Lind to Carranza and ask him in the name of the United States to lay down his arms, he would do so. All he wanted was to save his face.

This letter was ignored totally, and some weeks later, when the writer of it informed the President in writing that he could suggest a feasible plan to promptly end all the bloodshed (it was by getting Porfirio Diaz to return), he was sent, by direction of the President, to see Secretary Bryan on the subject. Bryan grossly insulted him while his guest in the State Department carriage before he had his plan half stated. The President, although promptly informed of the matter, did nothing to relieve himself of the charge of sending a gentleman to be insulted by his Secretary of State. This was not merely to "save his face."

### Unjust Strictures on Huerta.

Eleventh—He deliberately has misled the American people in his official messages. He has called Huerta a "usurper," which he is not, and President Wilson must know he is not. He said in December, "there is no Government in Mexico"—carefully weighed words. Yet at that time all the functions of government were going on normally over two-thirds of the area and five-sixths of the population of Mexico. The courts were in session, the Congress was in session, every executive function was normal. In Mexico City, Guadalajara, Morelia, Puebla, Guanajuato, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi, Tampico, Pachuca, Manzanillo and Merida, large and important cities, all was peace and quiet, and also in the rich and populous States in which they are located, barring a few stray bandits, lesser lights than Mr. Zapata, who is frequently "storming the gates of Mexico City" in the Hopkins type of news, just as he has been storming them every few months, during Madero's regime and all, ever since Madero started him on the warpath. The storming consists in sneaking out of the surrounding mountains 25 to 40 miles from the city, murdering a few peons and robbing a few henroosts and then sneaking back to his mountain hiding place.

Mr. Wilson must know these things. Can any other reason be advanced for his bold statement that "there is no Government in Mexico" except to lay the foundation for a future unwilling intervention?

### Embargo on Arms.

Twelfth—The embargo on arms was never really effective, and General Bliss so stated in his annual report last July. It could with ease have been made perfect. Why was it not done?

Lifting it only made it easier for the bandits to get arms and made it possible to get cannon, against which the embargo had been effective.

The embargo prevented the 2000 Federals cooped up in Ojinaga whence they had come from Chihuahua to save the women from Villa's "patriots." A nation cannot very well smuggle arms like "patriots" of the Villa stripe do. Had the embargo been lifted a little sooner they could have gotten plenty of ammunition and held their ground. Now we have an official boarding house for 5000 of them, including the fugitive women and children.

So long as arms were only smuggled no claim could be urged against the United States for damages done with those arms to Mexican citizens and others. Now the case is exactly parallel with the Alabama claims our people collected from England. Can we be consistent and not pay such claims? In international law the legality of Huerta's becoming President cuts no figure. England might have asserted Lincoln was not legally elected, as a great many of the States did not vote, but such a proposition was never even suggested. A pretty bill we will have to pay. Why was this cruel and expensive move made except to make intervention necessary?

Thirteenth—Charge d'Affaires O'Shaughnessy was required to hold President Huerta responsible for newspaper criticism of President Wilson. What does President Wilson do to stop the atrocious lying about President Huerta that the press agent works into our papers? But the action is calculated to irritate Huerta.

### Inquiry Suggested.

Fourteenth—A congressional investigation into Mexican affairs on the ground would have cleared the matter up long ago. It has been proposed several times. Somebody smothers it. The President never has lifted a finger to further it. Why not, if he felt he was right?

Fifteenth—He has worked tooth and nail to undermine Huerta by saying that he was "crumbling;" that the "end was coming;" that his real condition would "presently be revealed." This was last August. The "revelation" has not arrived yet, but it has helped to prevent Mexico from borrowing money so that "intervention presently will be revealed."

Sixteenth — Propositions for Pan-American good offices to settle the trouble have never been favored by Mr. Wilson. They would be futile, in fact, but not if the situation were in line with his actions and speeches. Why has he not furthered it?

### The Benton Case.

Seventeenth—He has done many things to keep England from intervening. There would be no glory in that for the New Freedom. Sir William Tyrrel assented to his request to "let him handle it," but said England will look to the United States, not to Mexico, "for every dollar of damage and every English life lost."

That is what is bothering now in the Benton case. Hopkins, naturally, does not want the succession to go to Villa. He is impossible and his oil sentiments are unknown. Carranza (real or "ringer") is more civilized, more possible and more tractable. Since he sent many Hopkins-like telegrams from Nogales when he actually was 600 miles from that point and 200 miles from a telegraph office, he easily sent the other day a message revealing a knowledge of diplomacy and international law possessed only by specialists. It takes an unwonted time to get his as yet unreceived reply to Bryan's response—probably has to import it from Washington!

Eighteenth—The Panama Canal was built large at enormous cost to develop our West and our East by reducing the freight rates between. To put a toll on our coastwise trade is precisely equal to the abandonment of a part of the canal, or a part of its value. Even self-stultification cuts no figure. England must go into Mexico only through President Wilson.

### Debts and Claims.

Nineteenth—The floundering for a reason for not recognizing Huerta has taken some curious sides. At first it was pure altruism; peaceful change of Governments. Two lives had been lost. Balance them with the thousands lost since, the hundreds of millions of bridges, public buildings and other property destroyed, and the real beauty of this altruism appears.

A few months later Senator Swanson, of Virginia, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and close to the late chairman of that committee, about the only man with whom the President appears to have consulted with on Mexico, told me, "The reason we won't recognize Huerta is because he has incurred debts and recognition would put those debts ahead of our claims."

Shades of dollar diplomacy! Can that be a real reason? Some reason was necessary, or intervention would not follow.

Later, in the beautiful Mobile speech,

(Continued on page 11)

# MR. DOOLEY ON VILLA

in New York "Times."

"Our relations with Pancho is most corjal an' just what ye'd want th' relations iv a gr-reat civilized republic with wan iv th' most notorious burglars now in public life to be. We give him th' gun, he shoots th' prisoner, an' we apologize to th' powers. It's wan iv the pleasantest alliances this counthry has conthracted since it took in th' mickrobe iv inflooinzy. We're justly proud iv our little frind, an' he loves an' respicts us. P'raps he holds us in too much awe an' vineration, but that is no more thin nachral in a meek an' modest half breed who has gone into partnership with wan iv th' most pow'ful nations in th' worruld.

"I hope th' administhration won't be too severe with him. I thought I see signs iv that in some recent remarks at Wash'nton, an' it wud be too bad if the alliance was weakened be autycratic methods. He shud be ruled be kindness an' love. There's no use in a big, sthrong man like Woodrow Wilson bullying this gentle soul.

"F'r instance, what was th' good iv sindin' this rough message last week: 'King iv England wants to know if ye intind to kill anny more iv his subjicks. I know ye'er ixcillincy's tender heart too well to suggest that ye do, but if it isn't too much trouble I'd like an answer collect.'

"To which Pancho made th' followin' almost obseekyus reply: 'None iv th' king's business or ye'ers ayether. But if ye have to know, yes. Sind on some more ammynition, an' be quick about it, or I'll go over an' take it away fr'm ye.'

"Th' prisidint apparently lost his temper an' set down an' wrote this angry response:

"'Affictionate Ally an' Dear an' Respicted Frind: I am shippin' ye this day f. o. b. an' C. O. D. at El Paso two hundherd cases iv rifles an' ammynition, which I hope ye will use to good purpose against th' villyanous Hoorta. Plaze excuse th' delay. I thrust ye ar're well an' all th' little Villains an' Mrs. Pancho. Ye haven't sint me that phottygraft ye promised. Referrin' to me tillygram iv last week, it was nawthin' important. On'y th' king iv England has been raisin' Ned about some alleged subjick iv his that was last seen leavin' ye'er house in a hearse. He thinks th' man is dead. I pooh-poohed th' idee. But he said th' fair fame iv England was at stake, an' th' on'y way I cud wipe out th' foul blot on his honor was to let him use th' Pannyma canal free iv charge. Reely, Pank, ye must be more careful. I ralize ye'er playful disposition, but if th' powers iv Europe hears about this thing they'll be investin' hundherds iv their surplus citizens in Mexico an' I'll have to bee givin' away chunks iv territory to satisfy their injured honor, an' th' first thing ye know we'll be broke.'

"Instead iv bein' nettled be this reproof, Pancho replied in a concilyatory spirit. Th' Liberator received th' message while he was engaged in fryin' a hundherd thousan' dollars out iv a rich compathriot over a slow fire. Lavin' this important jooty iv state an' afther shootin' th' messanger an' takin' his horse, he set down, dipped his pen in a bucket iv blood, an wrote as follows:

"'Dear Dock, I don't know which English subjick ye refer to in ye'er impydint note. There has been a number iv casulties in th' foreign colony since I come here, an' next week there'll be more if I keep me health. If it's th' duck I think ye mean ye can give anny iv th' followin' raisons to th' king f'r his death: Wan—He isn't dead, but has eloped with th' wife iv a prom'nent business man iv San Antone. Two—He come to me office an' dhrew an ink eraser on me. Three—He insulted me an' was shot be wan iv me faithful lootinants. Four—He jumped out iv a window an' broke his neck. Five—He had on a pair iv new boots an' I needed thim. Six—I mistook him f'r an 'American citizen. Siven—He was arristed f'r stealin' a horse an' was shot while attimptin' to escape. Eight—He was thried as a spy be a coort martial an' sintinced to death. But, alas! too late. He had been dead f'r a week, or just afther comin' into me office to exposhtylate with me because I was wearin' a watch that he'd missed fr'm his house afther me last visit. Ye can take ye'er pick iv th' fates that overtook this onhappy man, to soot th' complexion iv th' British Govermint, an' sind what ye don't need back to me f'r use in cases that may arise in th' future if I have me way. But don't write me anny more letters. They give me a headache. I must now close, as I left wan iv me assistants watchin' th' kitchen stove, where I am raisin' funds f'r me threeasury, an' I'm afraid th' careless fellow has gone to sleep. Give me regards to Billy Bryan an' tell him that it was with th' gun he give me that I dhrilled th' Englishman. It is a beautiful wepin' an' I call it "Th' Dove iv Peace" in his honor.

"'Ye'er affictionate frind an' pow'rful ally. P. VILLA.

"'Gineralissimo an' Prisidint.'

"But I don't know what's goin' to happen to us, Hinnissy, if we go on followin' this here Monroe doethrine into ivry dark alley iv Latin America whin it goes on wan iv its slummin' expeditions. We'll have to change our idees iv what kind iv a statesman is fit to associate with. Whin George Wash'nton told us not to mix up with foreigners, but to stay on th' farm an' be at home nights, he little thought th' first foreign alliance we wud make wud be with Pancho Villa. Followin' his advice, our fair Columbya sidestepped as dang'rous companyons Queen Victorya, th' Impror Looey Napolyon, four or five czars, th' McAdoo iv Japan, th' impror iv Chiny, an' th' King iv Prooshya, on'y to be landed in th' embraces iv a statesman that a few years ago was dodgin' a warrant f'r stealin' chickens.

"I've got an idee in me head somehow that George Wash'nton an' Pancho Villa wudden't get on well together. I can't see thim havin' a tin-type taken an' George lendin' Pancho his own forty-five as a sooveneer iv their frindship. He was a proud an' particklar ol' la-ad, that father iv our counthry, an' he wudden't undherstand our new ally. Th' chances ar-re th' haughty ol' gintleman wud give Pancho a lick over th' head with his sord belt an' tell Gin'ral La Fayette to lock him up in th' callyboose.

"But," as Hogan says, "other times, other friendships. Th' counthry is no longer th' little two-be-four conthraption that it was in Wash'nton's day, an' we've got to change our idee iv th' kind iv pardner it's proper to let our Columbya give her arm to. Th' young people iv America ought to know more about our dark frinds to th' south, an' I'm thinkin' iv gettin' out a Pan-American Statesmen Series. 'Vol Wan. Pancho Villa.'—

"It is difficult to compare our first foreign ally with anny American statesman that children have been allowed to read about. He was as diff'rent as ye can imagine fr'm Wash'nton an' Lincoln, did not resimble ayether Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson, an' wud've be turned over to th' town constable be Jawn Adams or Alexandher Hamilton. Iv all gr-reat Americans he p'haps most resimbled th' late Jesse James, although there was considherable likeness to Sitting Bull, Geronimo, an' th' Pachy Kid.

"Little is known about th' hero's arly life, which was passed far fr'm th' centhers where th' Bertillon markings ar-re studied. His parents were poor an' so nigligent iv his idjacation that he was nearly six years iv age whin he saw his first bullfight. It is to be presoomed that he was like other Mexican childher iv his station, arly larned th' correct use iv th' knife, had his tame scorpion, an' so forth.

"Whin he was 35 th' spirit iv onrest seized him an' foorced him to lave his comfortable home undher his hat alongside a fire near th' railroad depot an' go out into th' wurruld to engage in th' shruggle f'r his daily chilly con carney. He had no difficulty in selictin' a

(Continued on next page.)

professyon. Manny torms iv larceny was open to him, but he choose th' wan best sooted to his love iv manly exercise an' an out iv dure life an' become a highway robber. In this pursoot he soon kilt off all compytition an' manny competitors an' was known in Mexican fi-nancial circles as wan iv th' largest an' most onprincipled bandits iv his section, a dealer in horses, cattle, an' express packages, op'ratin' a plant f'r th' mannyfacther iv currency out iv lead pipe, an' actin' as commission merchant f'r th' principal undhertakin' establishments iv th' counthry.

"An' so he might have continued, th' typical cheery Mexican squire, surrounded be th' trophies iv his career, beloved be his neighbors, goin' down on market day to inspict th' cattle dhriven in be his vaqueros or horse thieves, an' joinin' in th' rustic spoorts an' other stabbin' affrays iv th' peasanthry, if his country had not called this village Hampden to her rescue.

"He was slow to enther th' conflict, contintin' himself at first with bookin' cav'lry rig'mints fr'm th' opposin' armies. But wan day while he was peacefully engaged in changin' th' brand on a consignment iv steers that had just arrived, a message came to him that made ivry dhrop iv pathriotic blood in his veins bile with passyon. He heerd that th' hated government, th' oppressors iv his people, had just deposited fifty thousan' dollars in a bank at Chihoohoo. This outrage stirred him as nawthin' else cud. Sthrappin' a jimmy, a brace an' bit, an' a pound iv dinnymite to his helt, he put spurs to his horse an' jined th' rivvlootion'ry foorces an' soon rose, through vacancies caused be death, to th' chief command.

"It was fr'm such humble beginnings, little wans, that Pancho Villa become th' thrusted ally iv our pow'rful govermint an' so continued ontil hanged be th' succeedin' administhration. Our next ally was Red Leary.

"An' so it'll go ontil th' time will come whin th' schoolmasther won't have to larrup th' childher to make thim study American histhry, but it'll be as inthrestin' to thim as th' 'Life iv Lefty Looey.'"

## MEXICAN RAILWAY SITUATION IMPROVES.

E. N. Brown, president of the National Railways of Mexico, arrived in New York to confer with a group of international bankers regarding the road's impending obligations. Mr. Brown will make known also the condition of the Mexican railway system at this time. Officials of the road say that the situation has improved of recent weeks and that about **sixty-five per cent. of mileage is being operated, against little more than fifty per cent. early in the year.**

# Plain Words from the Border

By C. F. Z. Caracristi, Ph.D., C.E.

There can be no accession to the fields of human wisdom without firstly placing our minds in a receptive mood, ready to receive proof and weigh it in the balance of impartial justice. In our colossal prejudice regarding Mexico we invoke fanatic ignorance instead of reasoning intelligence.

If President Wilson is really an honest man, if Mr. Bryan could be gotten away from his self-centered egoism, and we could get their real **sub-critical attention,** they would probably acknowledge, what they must acknowledge to their own concience, that they have and are inflicting and perpetuating an outrage on the human race in their Mexican policy.

If the President could be made to see that, regardless of the press propaganda carried on by his Administration in its campaign of publicity, there are 60,000 Americans who have interests in and know Mexico and that there people will brand the present national crime as an injustice to them and the Mexican people, he might change his policy to one of equity.

Again, if the President and Secretary Bryan could be induced to lay aside their wild prejudice and attitude of infallibility and listen to reason and the arguments of intelligent, educated men of refined knowledge and experience their policy would change.

What I hold to be morally wrong on the part of the Administration is its use of the press in its efforts to educate our people up to the belief that we are following a just policy when these gentlemen know only too well that their claims are self-proved falsehoods. The American people are inclined to be indifferent to foreign policies; they accept blindly what the press and the Government say. We are a hip-hip-hurrah! people when it comes to war. We do not think on foreign policies any more than we speculate on interstellar space. The President, though his party press tells us, "Mexico is a bad country, has a bad President," and we answer in loud chorus: "Sure, Mike," which goes to prove both our knowledge and democracy. Or he might tell us, "Mexico is a great and a good country and its President is a canonized saint of the first water." And likewise we answer: "It's so and you are a wise guy to tell us; thanks!"

This is not the first time that the Government has used the press and its own prestige to perpetuate a fraudulent falsehood on the public. Roosevelt did this with Colombia when his Government connived with astute promoters to rob that country of Panama. What did Mr. Wilson say of this act in his Mobile speech? Why, he condemned it and our Minister to Bogota has been authorized to draw a treaty with Colombia, if it is not already drawn, to pay some $25,000,000 indemnity for this traitorous act.

What is to prevent Mr. Wilson's successor from taking a similar stand on his treatment of Mexico? Are our people to be everlastingly paying indemnities and apologizing to foreign powers and ridiculed abroad just to satisfy the spleen, ignorance or ambitions of visionary theorists in the arts of political economy and diplomacy?

While the Administration refuses to accept advice and evidence from the honorable multitude of Americans who own property in Mexico, in support of the present Government, and says it will not accept biased views, at the same time when our Department of State protested against the Huerta Government granting certain concessions to the Pearson interests the act was solely for the benefit of the American Oil interests. **Why should the oil interests be protected and other interests ignored?** Of course, it is hardly reasonable to expect a reply to this question or any other that might be asked that would throw truthful light on President Wilson's Mexican Bubble.

There can be no doubt that if Mr. Wilson does not examine into the mirror of his own private conscience (there is no such thing as political conscience, except as a figure of speech), he will drift our country into a cruel and useless war with a power that should be our friend.

All of Mr. Wilson's acts point to the fact that he is preparing not only the Army but also the American public mind for a war of intervention. The danger to Mexico does not arise from the war itself, which will be of short duration, but to the fact that once the United States enters the country the interests will do all in their power to substitute annexation for intervention.

We all know that Mr. Wilson has said that "we shall never again acquire territory by conquest," but Mr. Wilson has said a great many things about Mexico that we who know the country know to be untrue. Besides, President Wilson is not a permanant fixture in our national organization; even if he should be more honest in his statement regarding the acquisition of additional territory than of other things that he has said or inspired others to say about Mexico.

If the Mexican situation does not develop into the greatest international scandal of the twentieth century I will feel that I am no longer a good guesser in such affairs.

(Continued on next page.)

PLAIN WORDS—(Continued)

Throughout the turmoil and trying vicissitudes of the past year, and in the face of most delicate diplomatic adversities and trials, there are two men who deserve admiration and applause—they are Mr. Algara and Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the two charge d'affaires in Washington and Mexico City.

It would be of the greatest interest to learn the names of the Americans interested in Mexico in a responsible way who are against the Mexican Government. I do not believe that they would reach one per cent. of all Americans, including the laboring classes.

Who are Mr. Bryan's and Mr. Wilson's advisers?

The ex-sky-pilot Dr. William Bayard Hale—don't forget the "William Bayard." A gentleman working with him in Mexico City stopped to shake hands with a Mexican army officer. When he caught up with William Bayard the ex-pilot was in the sulks and said: "Did you shake hands with that man?" "Yes," replied the American, "he is my personal friend and a gentleman." "No, no," excitedly retorted W. B., "he is a murderer and I blush to know a countryman who would shake hands with such as he."

Now, if it were not against public decency and libelous to complete Senator Penrose's speech in Congress about this "Reverend" Hale I would do so, but there are unfair things under the Queensberry rules of discussion.

It is a pity that Senator Penrose did not place his complete information in the Congressional Record, as a Senator is not amenable to the courts for statements made in the Hall of Congress.

Besides this gentleman of ex-divine tendencies, Mr. Bryan retained a certain "Colonel" Robertson, of Monterrey, to crochet or embroider a few lines of thought and advice on the Mexican situation. The "Colonel's" claim to political consideration is based upon the fact that he once inaugurated a hunting expedition for the now grateful Secretary of State. He has not had a vote in the United States for thirty years; and is a personal friend, which is no crime, but makes him incompetent, of the Maderos and their gaunt followers.

The United States Government has in Monterrey a great, honest and able Consul General and why should it also maintain an unofficial understudy who really formulates the opinions of our Department of State?

And when we think of poor John Lind, another of Bryan's unofficial harlequins, who is the understudy and de facto superior to our able O'Shaughnessy, we are moved by a deep sense of the ridiculous. I guess that he is personally a good fellow; in fact, he must be to stand the abuse that is poured on him and still play Punch and Judy for months in a climate unfit for Swedes and Polar bears.

One of his closest advisers in Mexico has been Mr. Galbraith, the able manager of the Waters Pierce Oil Company, and his family—catch it?

Let us look into the "neutrality" of the American Government on the border. So long as the Mexican Murder Syndicate held the frontier coast east of El Paso the Government instructed its consuls to issue consular invoices for cattle shipped out of the territory, knowing that a large percentage of these cattle were either stolen or, to use a milder word that means the same thing, confiscated. The agents of the U. S. Treasury Department were instructed to permit these illegitimate importations through points never before recognized as ports either by Mexico or the United States, some within sixteen miles of ports held by the Federals when the U. S. Consuls issuing the invoices were duly accredited to the Mexican Government. This gave the outlaws not only money, but also arms and ammunition, and still we claim to be neutral.

Through these ports cattle aggregating $65,000,000 in value were imported during the past three years of war. But as soon as the border was taken over by the Federals the Secretary of the Treasury, who has nothing to do with the Bureau of Animal Industry, telegraphed the collectors of the ports not to permit cattle to enter the United States because a disease called the "scab" had been discovered by long distance telescope from the naval observatory in Washington. Is this neutrality?

The Mexican Government very justly retaliated by putting an export duty of $20 per head on cattle and now the cattle buyers want intervention.

# BANDIT RULE

Some typical examples of the treatment that Americans and other foreigners are subjected to in Mexico have just been told to the "Tribune" by George Richardson, a recent graduate of Yale University, who for the last three years has been employed in the laguna State of Durango by a cotton raising concern. Mr. Richardson was graduated from Yale in the class of '10, and has been in Mexico ever since, with the exception of two or three brief trips to New Haven and New York City.

How Villa, or his compatriot, General Yuriar, sent horsemen to the ranch near Torreon where Richardson was in charge, with instructions to procure from Richardson $100,000 or to shoot him and to kill all the Spaniards on the ranch, is one of the incidents of the narrative. He had been warned of the rebel raid and made his escape that morning. The rebels, however, made prisoners of eight Spanish employes, who bought off their lives from the captain in command for a considerable sum of money. When the captain returned he was executed by his superiors for not shooting the Spaniards, who made their escape, but were hunted down on neighboring ranches, and shot, a boy of 12 years being one of the victims.

The rebels are for the most part composed of marauding bands. They are not so strong as they were four months ago, and Huerta is the best man in Mexico in its present chaotic state. Every day Richardson and his companions would be "called on" by detachments of rebels, who demanded corn and money. When they were refused they did not hesitate to steal whatever they could lay their hands on. They "vamoosed" with practically all the mule power the ranch owners possessed, 385 mules being drafted into the rebel army at one time, and on another they walked off with all the firearms that had been laid in stock by the Americans for protection, the whereabouts of the guns, under the flooring of the manager's house, being betrayed by the only Mexican servant who knew of their concealment.

The first attempt that Richardson made to leave Torreon took him about two hundred miles by railway, when in the night he saw a red glare ahead of the engine, and a burning bridge stopped further progress. The train was backed away as fast as possible, accelerated by the bullets of the rebel troops, who shot at the engine and coaches when they approached the bridge. It backed all the way to Torreon, where five days were spent before another start was possible. The next attempt was on a freight train and more fruitless than the first, the train being stopped by a burned bridge within twenty miles of its starting point. After a further wait of two weeks in Torreon, railway connection with the outside world was finally established, and Richardson left the country.

Returning from New Haven to Mexico in July, he was forced to make a detour of several hundred miles to reach Torreon and to travel by automobile and handcar. Part of the way he travelled in company with a Federal secret service officer disguised as a Mexican mechanic, who had thirty or forty telegrams in a sealed tin tube deposited in the gasolene tank of the automobile.

Nine men started for Torreon in two automobiles. Besides Richardson and the two supposed chauffeurs they included a doctor of the State Department, a representative of a foreign corporation sent in to bring support to employes of his company who were supposed to be in Torreon, an official of one of the Federal states and a Swiss mining man named Weiniger, who was later killed by bandits and his fingers cut off to secure the rings that decorated them.

The party had a stretch of two hundred miles of desert to cover before its members could reach their destination. A short distance from Saltillo they met two Federal irregulars with dispatches who had been captured by the rebels, but had succeeded in making good their escape. The soldiers told them that the employes of the foreign corporation had left the country, so the representative sent in to aid them returned to Saltillo, leaving the others to continue their dangerous journey without him.

The soldiers also told them that they would find rebels at a ranch in the neighborhood of La Rosa, and it was decided to run past, if possible, without making a halt to show credentials. So when the party reached the ranch they opened up their throttles and put on full speed

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## "CASH" INTERVENTION AS BAD AS ARMED INTERVENTION.

In a letter to the Christian Register Samuel A. Eliot says: "Finally there are the advocates of intervention 'in the interests of humanity,' who would have us believe that it is our duty to give to the Mexicans 'the benefit of real liberty and good government,' and that we ought to invade Mexico in order to execute justice, proclaim freedom and promote prosperity. These people have, as Senator Hoar used to say, 'forgotten the vocabulary of liberty.' They talk about 'giving good government,' a phrase that is in itself an insult to any self-respecting people. There can be no good government imposed upon a people by an alien authority. Is it not the axiom of freedom that the only good government is self-government?"

The policy of the Administration has in fact been one of actual intervention. It has not been content to withhold recognition only, which is its right, but it has likewise instituted a financial embargo. "You take my house when you do take the means whereby I live." Our theory of moral intervention is based on the arguments Mr. Eliot cites as the reasoning of the proponents of armed intervention. Our failure to send troops into the country is revealed, therefore, as due in no wise out of regard for Mexico, but solely because our Government dreads the burden of such an adventure. That may or may not be a cowardly policy, but it smacks of a selfishness at variance with our professions of altruism.

We cannot by fiat order good government in Mexico. It is apparent that the success of the Constitutionalists will promote bad government. Our "cash" intervention has enfeebled the only real government that exists, yet, despite this handicap it has maintained itself for months. It is obvious that with complete neutrality on our part the revolution would long since have become desultory instead of extensive brigandage. We have not maintained equality between the two contending factions, for we lifted the embargo on arms for Villa while maintaining the embargo on money against Huerta.

The Administration is insisting on a kind of government which the Latin-American mind cannot comprehend. It is demanding an impossibility. It is coercing an independent State. It has invaded the sovereignty of Mexico in exercising a veto-power on its financiering. Washington has erred because it has not understood Latin-American thought.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIBILITY.

### To Him Alone Will Belong the Blame for Intervention if It Comes.

From various quarters in these latter days come hints and anxious suggestions that certain sinister forces are hampering the President in his Mexican policy and are rendering ineffective his wise and humane endeavors. At one moment a section of the press is to blame; at another, mysterious references are made to great interests which seek selfishly to plunge the country into war. Pathetic pictures are drawn by these nervous supporters of the President of the horrors and atrocities of war. They remind us that intervention would cost husbands and sons and sweethearts; that it would entail immeasurable misery, suffering and sorrow; that it would crystalize Latin-American antagonism; that it would burden the nation with a colossal debt and impoverish it with a new and never-ending pension roll.

Nobody questions all this. But what does this nervous anxiety on the part of the President's supporters mean? As one reviews the history and faces the facts of the situation, this dread lest the President be forced to intervene seems to indicate a concerted movement to relieve him from bearing the burden of responsibility for his own policy. They seek to make it appear that he alone has stood like a mighty bulwark against intervention. He is the good angel that has stood with flaming sword on the Mexican border and said to the mad hosts of American invaders, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther." And now the mighty arm is growing weary, and there is danger that this great hero will be compelled to yield to the wild clamor of the frenzied mob. Verily, these nervous supporters do protest too much.

The cold truth is that the American people have refused to become excited. There has been no clamor for intervention. A small section of the press and a few interested parties have perhaps advocated it. But the one thing that has been clear in the midst of all the confusion is that the people of the United States do not want intervention. They have remained calm and cool. Their refusal to grow excited is the finest tribute to the good sense of the people during our national history.

The policy of the President toward Mexico is his own policy. Those who differed from him have been anxious not to embarrass him. They are willing that he shall have the honor if his policy succeeds, but they are not willing to shoulder the blame if the policy fails.

The real misgiving on the part of press and people concerning the President's policy is due to the fear that this policy spells intervention. They do not desire intervention, but they are apprehensive lest intervention be the inevitable outcome of the President's policy. And if intervention does come, it will not be because the press and people forced the President into it, but because the President took a position that forced the country into it.

It is too late in the day for eager worshippers of the President to befog the issue. If we escape without intervention, then the President deserves the credit; if we drift into intervention, he cannot escape the responsibility.—Rufus P. Johnston in New York "Tribune."

## OFFICIAL COQUETRY.

We have had over a year of official coquetry with Villa and Carranza. We have had over a year of robbery, murder and outraged women in Northern Mexico, where Villa and Carranza have been in control. We have had over a year of tolerable order and private safety in Southern and Middle Mexico, where General Huerta has maintained the de facto government of Mexico. A distinguishing characteristic of the rebel administration in Northern Mexico has been the destruction of railway communications, by blowing up bridges and tearing away tracks; and an equally distinguishing characteristic of the Huerta administration in the rest of Mexico has been that these great lines of business and civilization have been promptly repaired, when broken, done by some wandering band of Zapatistas or other bandits, and have been kept in continuous operation. Does any one think that everybody interested in the peace of Mexico is going to submit to another year of this sort of riot and ruin? All that is needed is for our government to cease intervening in Mexico on the side of disorder, and to let those natural Mexican forces that make for order and peace have fair play.—Hartford "Courant."

## A CONTRAST.

The reports that five priests have been slain in Tamaulipas, that cathedrals and churches have been burned and looted by the so-called Constitutionalists would seem almost incredible had not other evidence to show the character of Villa and his associates been accumulating through the last few weeks. It is for these men that our government raised the embargo on arms and enabled them the more easily to carry out their campaign of pillage and slaughter.

What a difference in the state of affairs in Mexico City, under the rulership of Huerta. In spite of the hostility of our administration, not an American appears to have been molested. The business of the city seems nearly undisturbed. Life goes on as usual.

Contrast the equations of Mexico City and Juarez. Huerta and American hostility afford protection to Americans and all other foreigners. Villa and American friendship spell anarchy under which the lives of Americans and other foreigners are forfeit, if it be the whim of the blood-thirsty bandit in power.—Boston "Herald."

## MEXICAN POLICY CONDEMNED.

### Foreign Diplomacy Has Administration "Beaten to a Frazzle."

With reference to President Wilson's so-called Mexican policy, is there to be no limit to his personal dogmatism? There are occasions when such stubborn tenacity to one's own personal opinion, that brooks no interference and obstinately refuses to admit that there may possibly be others who know at least a little and whose judgment is deserving of some slight consideration, is justifiable; but such occasions are exceedingly rare. * * *

Is it not true that this Administration is just "watching and waiting:" to try to make the public believe that it is is most censurable. Too proud to reverse itself, it is actively straining itself to the utmost to have the personal opinion of the President, previously expressed, prevail at any cost. It is willing to let American and all other foreign interests suffer, to allow our citizens to be outraged, the Mexican people themselves to be brutalized and sacrificed, and the time-honored Monroe Doctrine to be made a laughing stock, rather than admit its evident error and thus allow the President's pride to suffer. * * *

The Administration declares that all the great Powers are in accord with it;

(Continued on next page.)

and yet all the great Powers have recognized Huerta! But if they are indeed in accord with it, it is most likely because the Administration is steadily breaking down the Monroe Doctrine, which thing they have tried in vain to do for a century!

Foreign diplomacy seems to have the Administration beaten to a frazzle.—Henry A. Bomberger, in Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## OUR MEXICAN POLICY.

It has become popular to describe the policy pursued towards Mexico by our Federal administration as weak and pusillanimous, yet there are not lacking some indications that, in so far as President Wilson is concerned, the attitude assumed is anything but weak. The withdrawal of the embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico was an open move in favor of the Constitutionalists, led by Carranza and the erstwhile bandit Villa. It was hoped that the rebels, with the aid of liberal purchases of arms and ammunition from the United States, would be able to drive the Federal forces before them and hurl Provisional President Huerta from power.

According to some critics, the real motive behind the administration's policy is the overthrow of Huerta and the triumph of the revolutionary cause, and in assuming that position it has become necessary to disagree with all the other powers that have recognized the Huerta regime. In order to overthrow the existing government in the City of Mexico our administration has been willing to wink at the killing and maltreating of Americans and other foreigners in the northern part of Mexico, and it is this cowardly course that has misled so many into accepting the idea that the government's policy towards Mexico has been weak and pusillanimous.

After the exhibitions of savagery which the Constitutionalists have given the world recently, it is difficult to understand how President Wilson can wish for their ultimate success. Huerta is no doubt harsh and dictatorial, but he is infintely better qualified to rule in Mexico than Carranza or Villa. Thinking people are rapidly reaching the conclusion that our government has made a mistake when it declined to hold any relations with Huerta, even as the de facto executive of Mexico. Such recognition would not have committed the United States to an indorsement of his acts, but it would have put us in a much more favorable position for safeguarding our citizens and their interests than we now occupy, and it would have saved us from the obloquy of having openly aided a set of revolutionists who have set aside all the accepted rules of civilized warfare and have resorted to rapine and pillage, as well as murder and summary execution of prisoners.—New Orleans "Picayune."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## "FOOL BUSINESS."

It was "fool business" not to recognize the de facto government, when every other civilized country did so on the advice of their representatives.

It was "fool business" to discredit our minister, Mr. H. L. Wilson, who knew at least as much of the Mexican situation as our Washington government.

It was "fool business" to recall him and attempt to deal with the situation through our charge, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, at the same time not allowing him to "recognize" Huerta.

It was "fool business" to send John Lind to negotiate with a government that we did not "recognize."

It was "fool business" for Mr. Lind to attempt to interfere with the internal politics of a sister republic. Would we have done it if Mexico had been as large and powerful as the United States?

It was "fool business" to offer to promote a bank loan to Mexico if Huerta would resign. It was most insulting and brought a merited and dignified rebuke.

It was "fool business," if not worse, to send personal envoy Hale to treat with Carranza and his fellow bandits on the northern border.

It was "fool business" to order our nationals out of Mexico, instead of guaranteeing them the protection that Italy and Spain extend to theirs.

It has been "fool business" all along, feeding the newspaper men with promises that the administration would show "results," that Huerta was on the verge of collapse, that he was without money or friends, and that the "watching and waiting" policy was winning approval at home and abroad.

It was "fool business" beyond expression, to lift the embargo.

That the American people are opposed to "intervention," or "war," there is no doubt. We have no quarrel with the Mexican people or government. All that was needed was a firm, dignified demand for protection for the lives and property of our citizens.

President Wilson says that he has nothing but praise for his secretary of state. He indorses his action or non-action in every particular.

Consequently they must stand or fall together, and with them will be judged their party in Congress, who have shown the same willingness to accept dictation in this respect as they did in the matters of tariff and currency legislation.—Joseph D. Holmes in New York "Evening Mail."

## GENERAL HUERTA.

To the Editor of "The Sun":

Sir—The letter of "Junius" stated very clearly what seems to be the main reason for the extraordinary "policy" of the present Administration toward Mexico, namely, the personal pride of the President. It would seem, however, that there is still hope for a reversal when one considers the attitude of Mr. Wilson in the canal tolls question, which called for courage of an order at least as high as that needed to acknowledge that a mistake was made in refusing to recognize General Huerta a year ago.

While no one doubts that the President's course, mistaken though it may be, has been dictated by an honest desire to avoid plunging the United States into a war of which the resultant gains could be in no way commensurate with the expenditures of lives and money involved, it seemed obvious from the first to any one having any knowledge of Mexico that that country should have had a chance to work out its own salvation. This it could only do by means of recognition by the great Powers and the financial credit ensuing therefrom. This recognition, granted by others, has been withheld by the United States for what reason? Because General Huerta's rise to power, his morals and his appetites did not measure up to the standards of Chautauqua and of the personal representatives who are the laughing stock of Europe and have so appealed to the sense of humor of the Mexicans that a comic paper named after the gentleman who is watchfully waiting in Vera Cruz is now being published in Mexico City. Is it in keeping with the traditionally benevolent attitude of the United States toward the weaker nations of this hemisphere that the President of this great nation should deliberately undertake to ruin and bankrupt our unfortunate southern neighbor?

The wisdom of Mr. Wilson and his advisers may be such that they feel qualified to judge of an alien country and of matters beyond their ken, but there is a Spanish proverb which bears repeating in this connection: "Mas sabe el loco en su casa que el cuerdo en la ajena," "A fool in his own is wiser than a wise man in the home of another."

General Huerta has lost no ground since a year ago. It is not too late even now for President Wilson to pocket his pride and to recognize the only Government in Mexico which has any chance of stability.—Reynaldo in New York "Sun."

## WOES OF CARRANZA.

(By Direct Wire—Exclusive Dispatch to Los Angeles "Times.")

Agua Prieta, March 10.—Like other diplomats, General Carranza and his Cabinet talk officially and unofficially. Officially there is nothing but harmony within the ranks of the Constitutionalists and their immediate success is predicted. Unofficially both Carranza and his official family interestingly discuss their cause—its present, past and future. The past is certain, the present and the future doubtful.

Carranza is dissatisfied with his six months' stay in Sonora. The people of Sonora and its army have failed to understand the true principles of the revolution; they have even told the aged leader that he is rapidly becoming the laughing stock of the State as well as of the American nation. Sonora has backed up its opinion of the "First Chief" by refusing to supply an army to continue the trip into Chihuahua. Carranza asked for an army of 5,000 men from Sonora to accompany him into Chihuahua; an army of 7,000 was ordered mobilized in Agua Prieta. Without explanation the orders were countermanded. Today less than 1,000 are available in Agua Prieta. Fewer than 700 of these will accompany the rebel leader into Chihuahua. In all probability Carranza will return to Eastern Mexico with the little bodyguard of 400 cavalry which accompanied him from Durango to Sonora and which have since foisted themselves on the State, much to the disgust of the Sonora officials, who have contributed to their financial support during the stay.

Carranza is peeved and wants to leave. Sonora is pleased and wants him to leave. Only one difficulty remains. Pancho Villa yet remains in Chihuahua, deferring from day to day his threatened attack on Torreon. Carranza and his Cabinet do not care to be quartered in the same country as Villa; he will delay his trip until assurances are received that Villa has "gone south." Carranza admits that he and "the half tiger, half brute" of the rebel army do not agree when brought face to face. "Embarassing situations arise which are difficult to explain," he says.

The members of his Cabinet admit Carranza's waning popularity. The emotional half-Latin, half-Indian make-up of the Mexicans demands virile, instant action, is given as the cause. Carranza himself is in the hands of his advisers. He is rapidly tiring of the role he is forced to play in the events of Mexico; he cannot trust his own

(Continued on next page)

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followers; his own advisers cause him to throw the cause of Constitutional government into disrepute. They advised him to refuse to treat with the United States regarding the wanton murder of William S. Benton in Juarez. He did. Two days were necessary to show him the error of his ways. He is now confronted with the question of how to reinstate himself and the cause in the good graces of the United States, without openly admitting the error.

Sedition smolders in Sonora. Gen. Obregon, to whom he gave the commission to lead an army against Torreon, has refused to place himself under Carranza's or Villa's orders. Col. P. Elias Calles, commanding the frontier, has likewise refused to accompany the aged leader.

"Affairs at home will demand our attention. We cannot afford to leave Sonora to be overrun by thieves and bandits," is the only reply Carranza can get for their refusal to accompany him.

Both Obregon and Calles openly flaunt his inaction in his face. "We will be in the City of Mexico when you are giving fiestas and dances close to the American line," they told their Jefe, who says he cannot treat with the American government for the murder of Benton in Juarez.

"Make the wager what you wish," said Obregon, when they parted ways in Nogales, "I, at the head of my forces, whom I know to be loyal, will be in Mexico City before you start." Carranza only smiled. "Affairs of war are very uncertain. It all depends on Villa. I don't know what he is going to do; they say he is still loyal. I am getting tired. The conflict has lasted over a year now, el Senor Dios sabe (God knows) how much longer. I do not. Don't forget me; I need your support if Villa errs."

## A STARTLING INDICTMENT—

(Continued from page 5)

the reason had taken another plunge downward. It was concessions, and oil concession at that. Is there enough oil this side of the South Pole to justify the destruction of a nation that our oil kings may get it?

But it served as an excuse for non-recognition.

### Benton and Vergara.

Twentieth—The State Department has maintained a most remarkable silence on things Mexican. I believe they have records of about 135 Americans being killed since American money helped Madero to "break out"—all killed by bandits who are trying to destroy Mexico, not by Mexico. If those are "let out" suddenly, and attributed to "Mexico" after some Constitutionalists posing as "Federals" shall have "sunk the Maine," it would make intervention certain, and a scholarly but unwilling "war hero" would be born and maybe re-elected.

Note the difference between the energy of the Administration today in the Benton and Vergara cases. "General" Villa, the leader Mr. Wilson is supporting, undoubtedly foully murdered this well-known, prominent Englishman. The Administration has piffled over the matter until decomposition has destroyed the evidence. On the other hand, Clemente Vergara, good old Yankee name, an American citizen whose picture does not look like it, is alleged to have been decoyed across the river by some horse-thieves, who posed as Federals, and "maybe" killed him. General Huerta is 1200 miles away and cannot exercise jurisdiction because we permitted a "revolution" against his country by a man who said he got his money from Standard Oil and because we are helping bandits to destroy his jurisdiction. Yet far more diplomatic energy has been spent to make General Huerta account for that farce than was put on Benton's real case right under our noses, while all the other Americans that Villa seems to have murdered in the last month are almost in "innocuous desuetude."

Have you not noticed that every time Villa does something unspeakable the press agent "coppers it" with something similar on Huerta? When Villa thoughtlessly murdered every prisoner he captured in Juarez, that just as soon as there was time to concoct the scheme, a written order was found in the same vicinity purporting to be an old order of Huerta to do the same thing? General Huerta is a soldier and gentleman, trained at the West Point of Mexico. If he were brute enough to order such a thing, do you think he would be fool enough to put it in writing? Verily we are easily fooled. But do you think the President was fooled? With his sources of information he ought not to be, but such things help bring on intervention.

### After Huerta, What?

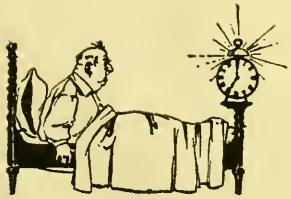
Twenty-First—The very plans, or lack of plans, to answer the question, "After Huerta, What?" are illuminating. President Wilson's only expressed plan is a "hope"—and a futile, queer hope at that. He said at Mobile some months ago, speaking of General Huerta: "By a little every day, his power and prestige are crumbling, and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting, and then, when the time comes we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

This "crumbling," mind you, was to be done by the atrocious Villa. How many leaders of concert and energy, think you, would Villa leave to displace him in power? The only "concert" possible would be the low bass rumble of revolvers fired into the stomachs of those energetic leaders, like poor Benton, but the only music about it would be to ears waiting to intervene, since armed force alone could then have any influence in that distracted land.

Even today the President is "making it very plain" that drastic measures may soon be necessary. Has not enough appeared to justify the belief that if Huerta personally, instead of Villa, had shot into Benton's stomach, drastic measures would have been taken already?

General Huerta is carefully guarding the American Club in Mexico City. He will not let fakers "sink the Maine" there. But the possibilities are potential, and I earnestly entreat the American people and our Representatives in Congress to take no action on anything that may be charged to the "Federals" in Mexico without the most calm and searching investigation.

The Maine was blown up from the outside, but no sane person now believes Spain had anything to do with it.

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## THE HOUSE OF CARDS.

The House of Cards is toppling.

A good builder looks first to the solidity of the foundation.

The Administration in formulating its attitude toward Mexico may have sincerely believed that it was founded on the rock of righteousness.

Either there was something innately deceitful about that supposed rock, or a severe frost may have temporarily hardened the sand into the semblance of solid granite—whatever the cause of the initial mistake in planning the foundation, the fact remains that since the superstructure was reared it has been buffeted by cruel winds, it has rocked on its foundations, and only the most frantic propping has saved it from collapse. But each day the giant task of upholding the false structure is more hopeless and the end of that building is in sight.

## WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

Many good-hearted but misinformed souls are supporting the Administration blindly in its Mexican policy because they believe that the Administration is seeking only to avoid war and all its horrors.

The Administration may not want war with Mexico but for any one with peaceful tendencies and aspirations it has done more to make war more than a possibility than all the loud-voiced jingoes put together.

What is the answer?

The Army and Navy expect war, the foreign chancelleries expect war, the stock market observers are sure it is coming, the majority of Congressmen and Senators cannot see any other outcome if the Administration persists in its present course, every editor of every leading newspaper will tell you that under the circumstances war will be unavoidable—but Bryan prays to God that he may save the country from such a calamity, and the President talks feelingly of the brothers and sons and sweethearts whose lives would pay the terrible cost.

What is the answer?

## THE FINAL OUTCOME.

What is to be the final outcome in Mexico and what are to be the future relations between Mexico and the United States?

If the Administration would remove its hand from around the throat of the only responsible Government in Mexico, the answers to these questions would be comparatively easy.

However difficult this throat-grip makes such answers, it is almost universally agreed by intelligent Mexicans and Americans who know Mexico intimately that if the present Mexican Government is overthrown there will ensue a reign of anarchy more appalling and hopeless than anything Mexico or any modern nation has known.

It is admitted by even President Huerta's enemies that in the face of obstacles that would have overwhelmed a less able man he has restored order and protected the life and property of natives and foreigners to an extent that seemed for a time impossible.

It is admitted that he has built up an organization of government remarkable for its efficiency and discipline, as the result of a year's steady effort, which it would mean chaos to destroy.

It is agreed by even President Huerta's enemies that a government of such men as Villa, Carranza and Zapata would not and could not exist. Those men are destroyers, not builders.

The power of the present Government, whatever its faults, consists in this—it is the only strong, effective barrier against anarchy, the only constructive force in Mexico making for law and order and the civilized processes of responsible government.

If the hand of the United States were taken from the throat of this government there would be no doubt that peace and order would soon be restored and that Mexico could set about the work of reconstruction and necessary reform, in which all with the welfare of the nation at heart could take part.

If the Administration wants to see this outcome in Mexico and wants to see cordial and mutually advantageous relations between the United States and Mexico, then it most unclutch its fingers.

If it does not, it will be personally responsible in the eyes of God and man for the ensuing anarchy, if the Government cannot survive its enmity, and for the war that will then be inevitable.

At any rate the events of the last month or so have served to clear the air somewhat and put an end to the outrageous glorification of banditry and lawlessness that was disgracing our press.

* * *

There can be little or nothing more of that, which is good, because it removes one more obstacle to the revelation of the truth.

* * *

Law, civilization and organization are sure to prevail against the anarchy and crime that are the fruits by which you know the so-called constitutionalist.

* * *

Had not the Administration allied itself with the forces of anarchy, they would have been overcome months ago.

* * *

Does not, can not the Administration feel its responsibility for the lives and property that have been lost and destroyed as the result of the prolongation of conditions that could not possibly lead to anything but downright savagery?

* * *

You can't make silk out of a sow's ear.

* * *

You can't make civilized government out of the elements the Administration is openly supporting.

* * *

The Administration has made a collossal blunder in thinking so for a moment, contrary to the advice and first-hand information that was readily available and as readily scorned.

* * *

If the blunder is persisted in, what are we to think?

* * *

It will be an inevitable conclusion that it was not acting in good faith, and that it has committed the people of the country in an ulterior way.

* * *

Which nobody wants to believe.

* * *

But which will be the verdict of humanity and history.

## CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderland of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# The Shame!

The fight at Torreon is a fight between civilization and barbarism. It is a fight between responsible government and anarchy.

Velasco is law. Villa is lawlessness.

Velasco is order, organization. Villa is chaos, disorganization.

In the end civilization, responsible government, law, order and organization are sure to conquer.

To the shame of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan be it said, and history will say it more powerfully if not with more amazement, they are ranged on the side of barbarism, anarchy, lawlessness, chaos, disorganization.

To the shame of a portion of the press it must be said it has willingly let itself be made a tool, a mouthpiece of these purely destructive elements.

The Administration has with the most deliberate purpose, the most relentless drive, the most obvious animus sought to hamper, shackle and destroy the only power in Mexico that stands to protect the decent people of the country from murder, pillage and rape.

The Administration has coldly, calculatingly sought to tear down the only force in Mexico that stands for law and order, while it coldly and calculatingly entered into an alliance with the forces of destruction.

With whatever theories the Administration may offer to palliate its atrocious acts, with whatever adroit mental distinctions and reservations it may deceive itself, with whatever idealistic impulses it may credit itself, the fact, the glaring, damnable fact will always stand out in sharp relief that it consciously, aggressively and obstinately made war on the civilized, peaceable people of Mexico and as consciously, aggressively and obstinately encouraged and assisted the barbarous and savage elements, even after their true character had been revealed beyond a shadow of a doubt.

The greatest proof of this accusation would lie in the triumph of the allies of the Administration.

The God who orders all things well will never let such a triumph be. But God and the Administration are not working together.

Why, in Heaven's name, will not President Wilson and Secretary Bryan see the situation in this, its true, human light?

You are a decent, law-abiding Mexican, living in Monterrey, let us say, or any Northern Mexico city. You have a little business, or a trade, or a profession, or a job. You have a family growing up around you. Your life may be a success or a struggle, as the case may be, according to your industry, connections or opportunities. You are doing the best possible with your materials and trying to live in harmony with those around you. Politics and government concern you little or not at all. You know that there are conscienceless, ambitious men who make a business of politics and agitation. You want merely to be let alone to work, to build, to take care of your family.

One day you hear that an outlaw, a bandit, a cattle thief, a bad man, a fugitive from justice has gathered around him some followers of his own kind and is robbing and raping wherever he can elude the authorities. You hear that the central government is in difficulties and that all the bandits and criminals of this fellow's type are taking advantage of the weakness of the authorities. You hear that the outlaw's band is growing in fierceness and boldness. Word of its criminal atrocities in outlying villages and towns comes to you and you tremble with apprehension for the safety of yourself, your little property, your family. The local authorities are troubled, anxious.

It is reported that the government is sending more troops to protect the city and its environs, but that it is embarrassed for lack of money. Then you and your fellow citizens are startled and amazed to hear that the outlaws are getting recruits and arms and ammunition from the United States with the connivance of the United States authorities. The newspapers astonish you with reports from Washington that the President of the United States looks with favor on the marauding and lawlessness of those you have known as outlaws and criminals all your life. You learn that he is trying to overthrow the government of your country and prevent it from putting down the conditions that are spreading because of the profit in loot and blackmail which the leader shares with every ignorant or vicious fellow who will join his band.

The bands are getting richer and are emboldened by the fact that the United States Government is back of them. Finally you learn that the United States Government has openly permitted the arming and supplying of these outlaws and the leaders are growing so rich at the expense of the country that there is no telling where they will stop. The authorities are doing all in their power to protect your city, but every day there are rumors of a coming attack and the government is lacking in money.

One day the bandits do swoop down on the town. They come, a horde of drunken, vermin-infested half-savages. They have cut telegraph and telephone

(Continued on next page.)

### THE SHAME!

wires and torn up the railroad tracks. They have dynamited a bridge and burned scores of cars. They set fire to the outskirts of the town and shoot down any one who stands in their path. You and your family huddle in your barred home. If you were armed and attempted to resist them they would kill not only you but your entire family after they had ravished the women and girls. You hear shots as they make their way from doorway to doorway to the center of the town. They outnumber the pitifully small garrison. Finally it is forced to surrender.

The savages line up officers and men against a wall and shoot down all the prisoners who will not join them. Then they separate with a savage yell.

The town is theirs to do with as they will. The wealth of the shops is theirs. What they do not take they destroy. They drink, they dance, they murder for the sheer joy of killing.

The women and girls are theirs. They take where they will.

They beat down the door of your house. They demand your money. They torture you till you give it to them. They rape your wife and your daughter in front of your eyes and they leave you a pitiful, broken man. When all that the town holds has been appropriated and destroyed, or word of an advancing column of soldiers is received, they go, looking for another defenseless town to attack.

Your life is ruined. With your broken family and your broken life you manage to get out of the country, a refugee. You come across the border to the United States.

You hear here that the attack on your city was a "constitutionalist" victory, that the newspapers of the United States have joyfully reported it as another evidence that the Huerta Government is crumbling, that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are elated and that they are satisfied that their policy is correct and that they are succeeding in their efforts to bring peace to Mexcio.

What would you think of President Wilson?

What would you think of Secretary Bryan?

You would think exactly what millions of human beings are thinking to-day.

And history will record what you would think as the truth.

---

### PREMATURE.

When, according to the dopesters of the press, it was all over at Torreon but the shouting, the New York "Evening Journal," in a burst of premature elation, announced "on the highest authority" that the next step in the "pacification" of Mexico would be the formation of a Northern Republic, composed of "part" of Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and part of Durango and Sinaloa, which would be immediately recognized by the United States, which would then permit President Huerta to go his own sweet way as regards the South of Mexico. This new "republic," according to the Hearst sheet, would not for the present include the "richest oil fields." How nice! Carranza, it said, was agreeable to the scheme, although the original intention of the Carranzistas was to sell all this territory to the United States for $30,000,000. Of course this would come in time.

Without entering into the subject, except en passant, we merely wish to remark that if the Mexicans and the people of all Latin-American countries distrust Uncle Sam's smooth words of friendship, while he contemplates spoliation, they have mighty good reason for this feeling.

## THE TOLLS FIGHT

There is a bitter fight waging in Congress against the President's surrender to England in the matter of the Panama Canal tolls exemption.

The attack is fierce and the attacking force is well supplied with ammunition.

But the attack has been directed at the outposts of the enemy's position.

It is weak because it has not concentrated on the center!

Which is the President's personal interference in Mexican internal affairs.

Which, against the dictates of reason and experience, contrary to international law and American traditions, is responsible for the position in which the Administration finds itself helpless in handling foreign relations.

It is surrendering to England not to extricate itself, but to keep itself in this hole!

Obstinately.

England has used this obstinacy as a club.

So will every other nation.

There is the heart of the matter!

---

### DESTRUCTION!

When all the smoke has cleared away it will be found that to "get Huerta" the Administration, with a promising first year of achievement:

* * *

Adopted the Big Business method of "financial starvation," one of the Trust tactics against which it had set its face in this country.

* * *

Encouraged armed revolution while professing to abhor violent methods of changing a government.

* * *

Entered into a virtual alliance with bandits like Villa, Urbina and Zapata, making itself responsible for their barbaric outrages, while professing a policy of peace.

Advocated the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption to have a freer hand, despite the humiliation such action would bring to the people of the United States.

Thereby caused a division in the Democratic party and placed it in a damaging position before the voters of the country.

Supplied its opponents with ammunition in the coming Congressional elections.

Imperilled its whole future success.

Made war with Mexico the only alternative of action.

Is it conceivable that the Administration would do all these things to "get Huerta" unless obsessed by some strange necessity that has not seen the light of day?

What is it?

Certainly no one has shown how conditions in Mexico will be improved by the dictatorship of a Villa.

No one has indicated that there would be anything but a dictatorship of the United States in Mexico if this country should intervene.

Where is there any sign of a constructive program as regards Mexico?

The Administration should adopt as its motto the word the Anarchists of New York City flaunt on their black flag:

Demolizione!

Destruction!

---

### "WATCHFUL WAITING."

To the Editor of the "Evening Mail":

Sir—In your paper today you say President Wilson is in an untenable position in regard to Mexico, but you do not say what he should do.

Why not name definite things that he should do? So far as I can understand the situation, nothing that the United States or any other nation can do will settle their troubles inside of ten or twenty years.

I am with you on Progressive policies, but I do not understand your position on the Mexican question. Faithfuly,

RICHARD T. WYCHE.

President Wilson should have realized before he undertook to dominate Mexico by "moral force" a year ago that "nothing that the United States or any other country can do will settle their troubles inside of ten or twenty years." Every Government in the world except the United States promptly recognized Huerta. The charge that he permitted Madero to be killed did not justify our refusal.

We are engaged in "watchful waiting" while thousands of men, women and children are butchered and their homes destroyed. A nation is being desolated while this great Government endeavors to thwart the only power in Mexico that has been a protector of life and property. — New York "Evening Mail."

## HUERTA TO GET $33,000,000 GOLD.

MEXICO CITY, March 24.—President Huerta's financial stress will be relieved by a plan adopted today which will bring into the Treasury 100,000,000 pesos, approximately, at the present exchange, which is practically three to one, $33,000,000 in gold. Fifty million pesos will be immediately available, the balance as required.

The result will be the resumption on April 1 of the interest payments on the foreign debt, suspended on January 12, and the early revocation of the 50 per cent. advance in import duties recently imposed as a war measure, all of which will be set forth in a decree to be issued within a day or two.

The plan involves the issuance of Treasury notes against the unsold balance of bonds authorized in May, 1913, to the amount of $100,000,000, for a portion of which a Paris bank syndicate subscribed, but of which practically half remain unsold. These bonds are to be placed with the Mexican banks at 30 per cent. of their face value, the banks to issue currency against them at the legal ratio of 3 to 1. The bonds are secured by the pledge of 16 per cent. of the customs.

The bankers have agreed to take the bonds in question, and the plan awaits only the signature of President Huerta to become effective.

In return for the assistance rendered by the banks President Huerta promises definitely to abandon the scheme for a Federal Bank and likewise the proposed 1 per cent. tax on the capital of corporations and individuals.

The plan has been the subject of many conferences between the leading bankers and the Finance Minister, and before its final adoption was submitted to Jose de Limantour, the ex-Minister of Finance, who is now in Paris. He responded at great length, giving his approval of the project as a sound measure.

Provision is made in the contract with the bankers subscribing that in the event that the Paris bankers determine to exercise their option on the balance of the bonds the Mexican banks shall surrender their holdings for cash.

The London and Mexican Bank will subscribe $11 000,000, the National $4,000,000, and the rest will be distributed among State banks.

**Read "MEXICO"**

**ONCE A WEEK**

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT**

**BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.**

# LEST WE FORGET

There are certain newspapers which one day will run a picture of General Huerta, labelled "The Butcher," while the rugged old soldier is fighting against tremendous odds to bring peace and order to his distracted country. The next day the same papers will describe picturesquely and heroically the career and activities of Pancho Villa, a self-confessed bandit, a fugitive from justice, a notorious murderer.

* * *

It is true that the opinion of the thinking people of the country is against this manifest wrong and unfairness, to qualify it gently, but it is amazing and depressing to know that the Administration depends for approval from the other element.

* * *

In the newspapers that carry on the campaign of lies and misrepresentations designed ultimately to force intervention on Mexico, Villa's followers are always referred to as the "Constitutionalists" and the Federal troops are always "Huerta's men" and "Huertistas."

* * *

Every "Constitutionalist" band becomes the famous something "brigade" and every bandit chief is a "general."

* * *

And so the great fiction is kept alive—that there is a tremendous civil war raging in Mexico for popular rights and constitutional liberty.

* * *

Whereas the truth is that outlawry, brigandage, organized blackmail and anarchy have been glorified and made profitable by the Washington Administration and the interests this side of the border that want control of Mexico and who must keep the game going by hook or by crook till they get what they want.

* * *

Well, they have lighted the dry forest. Let us see how they will put out the fire without a tremendous sacrifice of American lives and treasure.

* * *

Who knows but that the forest fire may be fanned by a wind that will blow the embers of anarchy in this direction?

* * *

Encouraging anarchy is playing with dynamite.

* * *

Where does, now, Carranza come in on all this hero business? Every column of dope advertising Villa is a death warrant to the hopes of Carranza, the would-be Supreme Chief.

* * *

He is hanging on the outskirts of events.

Carranza maneuvres around, hoping to take advantage of the military performances of Pancho Villa.

* * *

Villa and his followers use the reputed respectability of Carranza as a cloak for their nefarious deeds.

* * *

It's a fight for publicity and the favor of Washington.

* * *

The shrewd politicians in the Carranza clique can't do without Villa.

* * *

It remains to be seen whether Villa needs them as much as they need him.

* * *

If he doesn't—overboard they go.

* * *

Poor Carranza!

* * *

And it always comes back to this: The success of the Villas and Carranza will be the success of anarchy, the success of Huerta will be the success of law and order.

* * *

If anarchy succeeds then the arms of the United States will have to put it down.

But the Administration does not want war, it says.

Yet it is encouraging the conditions that will make war inevitable.

And there you are!

---

He cannot induce the people to believe that Mr. Hyde Wilson obstinately refuses to recognize Huerta and pushes us towards a war with Mexico, while Dr. Jekyll Wilson loves Huerta, loves Mexico, loves everybody, and shudders at the thought of war. The Press Club comedy was well acted, but it did not humbug the spectators.

Major Gillette, U. S. A. retired, has the courage of his opinions. No man knows Mexico and understands the Mexican question better, and in the Philadelphia "Ledger" he charges directly, without mincing words, that Mr. Wilson is working towards an open war in order to pose as a War President and thus nullify the one-term plank of the Baltimore platform. This seems to explain his constant nagging of Huerta in the hope of forcing some such incident as the blowing up of the "Maine." "No President who has fought a war during his first term has ever been refused a second term," says Major Gillette. There may be something in this theory, but Mr Wilson is so closely masked that he and the Lord only know what are his schemes and purposes—and I sometimes believe that he does not know himself.—"Town Topics."

# THE COST

The criticism of President Wilson's Mexican policy which is set down on this page should not be confused with that other kind of criticism of which the end and purpose is intervention or some sort of war with Mexico. **This latter kind of criticism, which looks to intervention and hopes for it, is a very deplorable incident of current political discussion.** It comes partly from men and factions and newspapers that think war would be popular; partly from others who represent property interests in Mexico which they think would be helped by intervention; partly from others overeager to criticize anything that flows from a Democratic Administration. But the fear of being confused with these critics should not prevent free expression of a more disinterested criticism of President Wilson's Mexican policy. **This criticism is based precisely on the fear that our present Mexican policy will lead us ultimately into intervention.** War with Mexico or some other active use of our American troops is the logical end of our present attitude. **This should be prevented. It should be prevented, if necessary, even by a certain amount of "backdown" on the Administration's part.**

Of course, to say now what thoughtful observers generally acknowledge—that President Wilson's Mexican policy has been a mistake from the start—is a matter of hind-sight. President Wilson, in adopting his Mexican policy, could have had the benefit of a wise statesman familiar with diplomacy and international law at the head of the State Department. He did not have this aid. It is only fair also to say that at the beginning of his Administration, at the time Wilson adopted his policy, **men experienced in international law were shocked, and predicted the very muddle that has now come to pass.** The Administration's foreign policy at the beginning could fairly be summed up in one sentence: "Huerta is an assassin, and I do not like assassins." Let us all admit that at the time most Americans praised this policy and were rather proud of it.

### Morals—Private and Public.

Let us be fair to Wilson. He refused recognition to Huerta because he believed Huerta was an assassin, and he wished to express his disapprobation of a government founded on assassination. To take this position was the highest kind of personal morals. But to act as if this were the whole of a foreign policy had drawbacks. It failed to take into account a multitude of considerations which trained diplomats would have remembered. In addition, it failed to take into account the special nation we are dealing with in this case, and the special moral standards of that nation—standards very different from our own. All Mexican politics is a matter of factions and leaders. Some of the rebels in the north call themselves Constitutionalists. This is a joke. There are about as many real Constitutionalists in Mexico as there are monarchists in the United States. Few persons in the United States, the Administration least of all, seem to realize the composition of Mexico. There are less than half a million whites, less than one in thirty. About a million and a half are of mixed breed; the remaining thirteen millions are Indians. What the United States most needs in Mexico is a government that will maintain order. The way to secure this would have been to give a guarded recognition to the man who had a government and an army and was maintaining order. That Huerta has been able to do so well under the appalling handicap of our disapproval shows what he could have done if we had recognized his as a government de facto.

### The Cost of It.

It must be admitted that a year of Mr. Wilson's mistaken policy has cost some things that can never be recovered. Of course, if we should reverse it or modify it now we might be able to avoid the intervention which is the logical end of such a policy. But, even so, a certain number of Americans have lost their lives in Mexico who would have been living today if Wilson had adopted a better policy. For the Mexicans themselves, civilization has been measurably set back by the turbulence which would have been restrained if Wilson had dealt differently with the de facto government which he found there when he came into office. **Most serious of all, we have forfeited the confidence of Latin America as far south as Cape Horn to such a degree that we shall not be able to win it back until another generation grows up. They have seen us adopt toward Mexico a policy of which the logical end, to persons who know the situation, is intervention. Can they be blamed for suspecting—what is in fact preposterously untrue—that the policy was adopted in order to bring about intervention?**
—"Collier's Weekly."

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We never heard of a more perplexing situation. Great Britain has recognized Huerta, but can get no satisfaction in the Benton case except by approaching Carranza through diplomatic channels, which would be a recognition of his government.

President Wilson refuses to recognize Huerta, and yet undertakes to hold him and his Government responsible for injuries to Americans, and is constantly dealing with that Government by way of the back door.

## A PATRIOTIC MEXICAN WRITES

The actual conditions of this country are better, the situation has improved a great deal in the last three weeks.

I have decided not to read any more American papers. Every time I read them, I am nauseated. They have nothing about Mexico, but a bunch of stupendous lies. Most of the American public seems to be inclined to believe that the only thing necessary for peace in Mexico is the downfall of General Huerta. There is not a more enormous mistake. General Huerta is enthusiastically applauded wherever he goes; he is considered a victim of the Wilson Administration. The full knowledge that everybody has here that the revolution has been financed by American big business and the enmity that your President, Mr. Wilson, has shown to our President, has led all the white classes in Mexico to blame Americans in general as the cause of our troubles. I personally think, and am absolutely convinced, knowing what our conditions were, and the different political changes we have had, that this revolution, which has the strongest disapproval of public opinion here, would have never become what it has been unless with the powerful help of American money.

At the time when I was in Texas, I saw the rebel chiefs traveling through the State of Texas without any trouble, while the Federal soldiers could not go across a bridge without being immediately imprisoned. If you should have been in Mexico as I have, and would know that the Federal soldiers mean law and order, and that the rebels mean only the worst kind of brigandage, you would agree with me that it is a shame for the United States to do what it has been doing. You are standing before the eyes of the world as the supporters of brigandage and robbery.

I have got papers of Paris (France), Germany and of England, saying that the attitude taken by the United States to Mexico is the biggest financial scandal and the most shameful act of modern times.

The American public reading every day about supposed crimes of General Huerta and atrocities committed by Federal soldiers, perhaps think this is a slaughter house. There is nothing more untrue than that. In all the cities where the Government has control, life goes on as usual. Theatres, circus and all other amusements go on as usual, and things are as quiet and it is as safe as in any city in the United States, while any city under the hands of the Constitutionalists (?) is in nothing else but anarchy.

Yesterday I was talking with a rich gentleman from Chihuahua. He told me that after the rebels have emptied all the banks and stores, having nothing else to steal there, they are taking all the furniture of the private homes in trains to Ciudad Juarez, to sell them in the States. His home has been so emptied. Of course his farms with all the cattle have been taken. He has nothing else but the lands, and when he thinks that these conditions have only been able to exist by the first underhand help of your Government, and afterwards open help, you will agree with me that it is a shame. Time is a good friend of Truth. Peace will soon be restored to Mexico, thanks to the iron character of General Huerta, and there is no doubt many Americans will come to Mexico to see this "barbarous country." The day that these Americans come here to learn the truth and find out that Mexico has got its

(Continued on next page)

cities full of civilized people, just as civilized as the best in the United States, and they will hear from these people what they think about Carranza and Villa and all that bunch and what they think about your Government, these Americans will feel ashamed of what has happened in the last year.

There is no excuse today, as there was some time ago, for President Wilson being ill-informed; he ought to know by now the situation; he ought to know that public opinion is unanimously with the Government and it is time to stop helping brigandage against order in the name of morals. The indignation there is all over Mexico against the United States is very great, and it is shown in the theatres, in the papers and everywhere. You hear nothing today but the strongest criticism about the disastrous policy that is starving and ruining Mexico in the name of morality, and everybody despairs at not being able to show the American public in general the colossal blunder of your President's policy and of your opinion as to Mexico. The conditions have improved a great deal, despite the big obstacles with which General Huerta has been compelled to struggle. Thousands of soldiers are being sent to the North continually and I hope that success will follow.

### POOR TIMBER.

And again I say the residents, the better classes, the educated and prominent people do not care in what way his rule was ended. They all say—Americans and Mexicans—the instant his name is mentioned: "Oh, Madero! He was crazy, absolutely crazy."

These same people like Huerta and feel the pity of his not having had the support he needs to right these conditions. They say he may not be all that they would have, but that he is the best man of the hour, and can control all outlawry with the justified loan and moral support.

Francisco Madero was a Portuguese Jew. The name was spelled Madeiro and means wood, timber. He and his wife were spiritualists. His wife—who was sent post haste to Washington to get and hold the ear of the United States President after Madero's death—was his medium. He took no important step without first consulting her, who then consulted her spiritual, occult adviser. Mrs. Madero, it is claimed here, is intelligent, very clever, very foxy—artful. It would be quite within understanding that our President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan consider her version, clothed as it is now, or was, in such sorrow, as authentic and to hand information. I say "or was" because the rumor is current here that the sorrowing widow is married again. Mrs. Madero could have bet a one-sided view, but we all know that our President puts the barrier up to his decisions being changed by more information when once his stand is taken. This is understood also. A scholar, a head of a great college who stands to instruct, takes an authority that he considers reliable, and establishes it as the viewpoint that cannot be muddled or swayed, or disputed. So with the to

# GETTING WARM!

WASHINGTON, March 25.—In a bitter speech in the House late this afternoon, condemning President Wilson's Mexican policy in the severest possible language and denouncing Gen. Villa as a "blustering bully" and "hideous monster," Representative W. D. B. Ainey of Pennsylvania, a Republican candidate for the United States Senate, blamed the Standard Oil Company for the Constitutionalist rebellion.

Mr. Ainey told the House that "There are those who claim that Villa and Carranza have been capitalized to foment war, that S. G. Hopkins, representative of Carranza in the Hibbs Building, Washington, D. C., could, if summoned before Congress, tell a story of international intrigue by which the illiterate Villa is made the head of a revolutionary army and his words clothed in classic English, according to press despatches; his common murders garbed as heroic acts of chivalry, that the Standard Oil may advance its Mexican interests through him.

"Inasmuch as the Administration pins its hope on the Constitutionalists, and Gen. Carranza without Villa is as useless as a locomotive without wheels," said Mr. Ainey, "one asks who is Villa? Villa neither reads nor writes, except as in jail he learned to write his first name, Francisco. To those who knew him as a vulgar, ignorant, and brutal specimen of humanity, the high-sounding phrases contained in dispatches purporting to repeat his words carry their own refutation.

"An effort to depict him as a hero, driven to the hills by great wrongs inflicted upon him, has failed in the light of truth. The glory with which an inspired press sought to clothe him has been stripped away by the Benton and other gory incidents of his career.

"The country could no longer blind its eyes," continued Mr. Ainey, " to the fact that Mexican conditions are growing worse, and that the policy of the President consists of sound rather than substance."

Alluding to the President's message for the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption clause, he said:

"The President asks members of Congress to reverse themselves without a fact being divulged or a reason presented other than the vague and disquieting suggestion of international complications. So grave and important and of nearer consequence are these international matters that members of this House must no longer act or think for themselves, but are called upon to abandon principles and positions because an extreme condition has arisen in international affairs requiring this surrender of brain and heart. The tolls speech of the President has not borne full fruitage, but the complications have arisen, possibly involving Mexico's relations with Germany and Japan, requiring us to have the moral support of England, in payment for which the American people are asked to repeal the toll provision exempting American ships engaged in coastwise trade."

Mr. Ainey alleged that President Wilson committed an act of war when he said that "Huerta must go," and when he sent John Lind to Mexico City to deliver "this ultimatum and seek its accomplishment."

He said the sending of Lind on such a mission was an act of war, not of peace, and would have been treated as such "had it been directed against any of the great nations of the world sufficient in power to have resented it."

"At Durango, in spite of the protest of the American consul, the city was given over by the Constitutionalist general to the unrestrained license of his soldiers for twenty-four hours, because it was said to be the only way of paying them. Little girls scarcely ten years of age and women did not escape.

"The cry of suffering coming up from Mexico uttered by American citizens, whose lives have been sacrificed, whose wives and daughters have been ravished, whose property has been confiscated, has not reached the sympathetic and responsive ear of the Chief Executive.

"The danger of war comes not from those who seek to know the truth, but from those who would conceal it. If war comes with Mexico; if Huerta, spurned by the United States, turns to Japan, and the price is Magdalena Bay; if the citizens of Germany are murdered in Mexico, and we are thereby involved the responsibility for the dire result rests upon a weak and obstinate policy, which has refused the pathway of safe and patriotic precedent."

### POOR TIMBER

hand Mrs. Madero version, from the habit of years President Wilson perhaps has not received willingly versions that would have assisted him much in his deductions. Another thing, too, is the fine press work that somehow the Villa-Carranza combination has for backing. Former friends of Carranza—Mexicans who were with him in Congress here only two years ago—are much surprised at his "rebellion" being against the Federal government. Villa they do not count; only as bandit.—The Widow in Mexico City in "Town Topics."

# TRUTH CLIMBS SLOWLY

By Managing Editor Splitstone in "Leslies Weekly."

Two things here in Mexico City impress the newly arrived American most forcibly. The first is that there are no outward indications of war in this city; the second that **the American colony is not only favorable to President Huerta, but unanimously and aggressively so. The United States is blamed for the continuance of the war.** Well-informed American business men here nearly all say that had the present Government been recognized by the United States ten or eleven months ago, Mexico today would be pacified. The value of recognition lies in the fact that without it Gen. Huerta has been unable to borrow funds abroad, and consequently cannot prosecute a campaign against the rebels with vigor. So far as the immediate necessities go the Government needs men and money. The former it gets as Mexico has always got recruits for its army—by conscription. But money is not so easily to be had, and while it is claimed with every appearance of truth that the financial situation is better now than it was a few months ago, the fact remains that the Government is still terribly handicapped for funds.

This, of course, is exactly what President Wilson planned. **In doing so he accepted a very grave responsibility and the people of Mexico are not slow to put up to him the present unhappy condition of their country.**

Mexican politics, Mexican ideals and Mexican methods are not generally understood in the United States. The two countries, though the closest of neighbors, have totally different civilizations. It is this that gives rise to the constant accusation that the press of the States does not print the truth about Mexico, and that the people are generally friendly to the rebels.

"Only tell the truth about things," is the constant cry from Mexicans and foreign residents alike, and generally speaking, this is not a plea to favor the Government. * * *

The Government is General Huerta. While called President, he is really military dictator. His power is absolute, and even his enemies admit that he knows how to use it effectively. So well has he enforced order and protected life and property in the region where he is supreme, that it is reasonable to suppose that if his actual control extended over all of Mexico, conditions would approach those of the times of the now greatly regretted Diaz.

It is just a few days more than a year since the close of the bombardment—"the tragical ten days," as the English-speaking Mexicans love to term it. Out of that awful struggle General Huerta, then commander of the army, emerged as the strong man of the hour. **And here it may be stated that he succeeded to the Presidency according to legal form.** When Madero was forced to resign, the prime minister, Lascurain, became President according to the Constitution, and General Huerta succeeded him when he resigned, after having been President for only 35 minutes. Thus the letter of the law was fulfilled, though General Huerta became President through the force of his personality. * * *

The futile Madero administration had dissipated the national reserve of about $65,000,000, and had besides borrowed more than $100,000,000 abroad. And in addition to a bankrupt treasury he had a broken army, while rebellion was rife in many States. There is no question but when General Huerta assumed the Presidency he fully expected prompt recognition by the powers, which would have made it possible to borrow money abroad. But when the United States refused him recognition the credit of his Government was destroyed and he found himself in the difficult position of having to carry on a war without funds. Most people thought he could not last more than a few weeks. * * *

A year has passed. He is still the President. He indicates no intention of being starved out for want of funds. He has increased the army from less than 20,000 men to something more than five times that number. The war department gives the official strength of the army at 150,000 men, but it is highly improbable that there are that many effectives. Arms and ammunition have been obtained abroad and ammunition factories established at home. Clothing and equipment are being made, and some attempts at the manufacture of small arms are under way. **Life and property are reasonably safe wherever the Government is in control and the rights of foreigners are protected.**

More than all this, General Huerta has demonstrated that he is a strong man. He has won the support of thousands who were hostile to him at the beginning of his Administration, and today **he is considered by the most responsible men of the country as the only man in Mexico who is equal to the gigantic task of restoring peace.** To the criticism that he has made no headway in crushing the rebels in the North his partisans reply that he has not had until recently the men or the means to prosecute an active campaign. But now it is claimed that he has an army large enough for the task and that the revenues of the Government will enable him to finance the campaign.

The revenues are a little less than 10,000,000 pesos a month, and today the peso is worth 35 cents gold. Various war taxes have been levied, the latest of which was an export duty on coffee becoming effective tomorrow. An additional export duty of one cent per kilogram on sisal fibre brought 2,000,000 pesos from Yucatan alone, and the sisal growers advanced the amount before it was due. A gambling concession in the larger cities has been sold, and a special tax on haciendas, or plantations, of $5,000 each, is reported as being imminent. These indicate only a few of the means employed to raise funds at home.

Whether General Huerta will be able to crush his enemies without help from abroad is doubtful. Help of a financial nature is not to be expected unless the United States changes its attitude. And that is the only kind of help Mexicans want. Intervention of any kind is hateful to the most of them.

**By most American residents intervention is heartily dreaded.** They feel that it would mean loss of their properties and perhaps endanger their lives. The lower class Mexicans are not very fond of Americans anyway, and the Government has been obliged to be very firm in restraining anti-American demonstrations. If American troops were to land on Mexican soil many fear an uprising against our countrymen that would mean much bloodshed.

**On the whole it seems most unfortunate that President Wilson does not like the man whom the Mexicans want for their President. If he felt otherwise than he does the Mexican situation might be well on its way to a satisfactory solution by now.** * * *

What Mexico needs is peace; the opportunity to plant and reap, and work her mines and build up her shattered trade. Reforms can wait. **Any man who can establish peace would be a benefactor to his country.** And peace can be established only by force of arms; by stern military rule. It could be established, no doubt, by an army of intervention, but at a fearful price. It could be better done by Mexicans if there were any competent for the task. There are some intelligent observers here who think that General Huerta could still do it if he had funds, while others say the time has passed. **No one believes that Carranza and Villa can ever take Mexico City.** So there is every prospect of a long struggle; of warfare that is wrecking one of the richest and most beautiful countries in the world.

## AN ENGLISH VIEW.

This is the party which the United States Government has elected to assist covertly, in the hope that they may win out and overthrow the Huerta party, and so save President Wilson from admitting the blunder he has made.

President Wilson, having tried threats and bluff in vain, has now resorted to what he is pleased to call financial starvation. He is using all the influence he can bring to bear on all foreign countries to prevent Mexico raising a foreign loan, so as to try to starve old Huerta into submission.

It is not fair, because if Huerta does not pay his army they won't fight, and naturally desert to the rebels, who steal themselves, and allow their men to steal. The financial starvation scheme hits the general business of the country much harder than it hits the Government.

Old Huerta is not the man to starve financially or otherwise. The Government just puts on more taxes, hence everyone is being ruined.

### What He Should Do Now.

There are two or three ways open to Mr. Wilson: (1) He can recognize Huerta and stop the exportation of arms and ammunition to the rebels; (2) He need not recognize Huerta, but he can give the tip to the bankers in the States that the financial blockade is off, and that they can co-operate to provide funds to Mexico, putting in as a consideration for supplying the cash a financial control board, composed of foreigners, to see that the money is properly spent. This would be cheaper than intervention.—London "Morning Post."

## IN MEXICO.

*John Reed in April "Metropolitan."*

"What are you fighting for?" I asked. Juan Sanchez, the color-bearer, looked at me curiously. "Why, it is good, fighting. **You don't have to work in the mines."** * * *

"We are fighting," said Isidro Amayo, "for Libertad."

"What do you mean by Libertad?"

"Libertad is when I can do what I want!" * * *

Some time later—a good deal—we all sat down to supper. There was Lieutenant-Colonel Pablo Seanes, a frank, engaging youth of twenty-six, with five bullets in him to pay for the three years' fighting. His conversation was sprinkled with soldierly curses, and his pronunciation was a little indistinct—the result of a bullet on the jawbone and a tongue almost cut in two with a sword. He was a demon in the fight, they said, and a killer (muy matador) after it. At the first taking of Torreon, Pablo and two other officers, Major Fierro and Captain Borunda, **had executed alone eighty unarmed prisoners, each man shooting them down with his revolver until his hand got tired pulling the trigger.**

## IN NEW YORK.

Plenty of dangerous recruits are near at hand. The whole lawless element of gangsters and gunmen, thieves and thugs, will join the I. W. W. under the banner marked "Demolitione", when there is a clear chance of loot. The time to stop these depredations is now. This mob of Saturday had no other reason for its demonstration than the burglar has for housebreaking and murder, the pickpocket and the hold-up man for the pursuance of their chosen jobs. **"The wealth of the nation belongs to you," said Emma Goldman. So the thief always argues.** That incendiary woman should be placed under lock and key and kept there. Fit companions for her in her captivity would be the shallow-pated scribblers the object of whose existence seems to be to stir up strife. They have found it very profitable, thus far, but their careers should be checked. "Free speech" is not involved. Emma Goldman has no opinion to express. The whole anarchistic movement means mischief, and it should be no longer tolerated. There is no room for anarchy in this country. There is no excuse for its existence here. We urge the Mayor to take action in this matter without delay and Commissioner McKay to order the police to break up such meetings as that of Saturday and enforce the law against all unlicensed parades and street demonstrations. All the trouble can be stopped now by a few determined policemen with heavy clubs who know that the will of the people is behind them. **If it is allowed to develop, infantry, cavalry, and artillery may be needed.**—New York "Times."

# OIL AGAIN!

## CLOSE VIEW OF THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

**By Cassius E. Gillette, Formerly Major United States Engineering Corps.**

The fundamental cause of these awful conditions lies primarily with Madero, a half-baked devotee of spiritualism, who possibly seriously put forth the old propaganda of "free land" and a general democracy, with which fake shibboleth at least a hundred rebellions have been started in Mexico between the overthrow of Spain, in 1821, and the ascendance of Diaz, in 1876.

The testimony of Sherburne G. Hopkins, given before the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, under oath, suggests a possible, and even probable, financial backing of Madero, such as may ultimately prove that the poor fellow was a mere cat's paw, a pawn sacrified to the greed of big American oil interests.

Mr. Hopkins admitted under oath that he was the legal representative of Madero from the start, that he now represents the present constitutionalists, and that he has been such representative continuously. He also admitted that he had been a legal representative during at least a part of the period since the Madero outbreak, of Henry Clay Pierce, the head of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, presumed to be one of the tentacles of Standard Oil.

### Long Fight Over Oil.

There certainly has been an intense fight in Mexico for years between the Waters-Pierce Company and the English Pearson Company of Lord Cowdray. Yet Standard Oil appears to own, through the Doheny interest, more oil and more capital invested than all the other interests in Mexico put together. The question then, is, Why is Standard Oil not engaged in this fight for the trade of Mexico, as are the Pierce interests and the Pearson interests? The only logical answer is that it owns either one or the other.

Mr. Hopkins admitted on the stand that his services to Henry Clay Pierce were for the purpose of fighting Lord Cowdray in Mexico. Lord Cowdray had some astonishingly favorable concessions and contracts under President Diaz, and about the only way Standard Oil or Mr. Pierce could reach him was to overthrow Diaz, the natural way to do which would be to finance Madero.

That they did this financing is asserted by sworn testimony printed in the same report.

Mr. Converse, an intelligent young American who fought for Madero from the start, and was his intimate friend, when questioned under oath, said that Madero had personally told him several times that he got his money from Standard Oil, and that Standard Oil would back him to "the last ditch," the witness remarking that his memory was strengthened by Madero's use of the Americanism, "the last ditch." He swore that Madero told him this several times, as also did Madero's staunch supporter and intimate friend, Braulio Hernandez, and Madero's Governor of the State of Chihuahua, Abraham Gonzalez.

There is much other testimony in the printed volume to the same effect, yet our State Department a few weeks ago gave out that it had no information to connect Standard Oil with the financing of Madero. This report must certainly be on file there.

On the same day the Standard Oil officials stated that the company had not financed Madero. They did not deny that Standard Oil money, however, had been used for the purpose.

There is a pretty strong rumor that Madero got his original funds for the purpose by mortgaging his Guayule rubber land to the Continental Rubber Company, whose president is John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

A somewhat curious coincidence is that the largest contributor to President Wilson's campaign fund, and apparently one of his closest advisers, is Cleveland H. Dodge, a director, I believe, in the Standard Oil National City Bank and a trustee of the Carnegie Peace Foundation, while the officials of his company in Arizona some months ago were under indictment for smuggling arms and ammunition to the Constitutionalists.

In any event, Mr. Hopkins is admittedly the leader of the Constitutionalist representatives in Washington, and he is undoubtedly one of the most skillful press agents in the country. At times from what appears to be his press agent work, he seems to have a remarkable knowledge of the inner workings of our State Department, and a most remarkable ability to get news telegrams started from out-of-the-way places in Mexico, a tremendous percentage of which "news" is afterward contradicted.

### Beyond Villa's Ken.

For example, General Villa, as is well known, can neither read nor write, and yet immediately after his recent murder of Benton, he gave out a statement involving an intimate knowledge of points of international law, with American and English precedents in the matter, a knowledge of such things entirely beyond the ken not only of Villa, but of anybody within 100 miles of his headquarters in Chihuahua, at the time he gave it out.

The ingenious internation moves made recently by Carranza indicate a knowledge of matters of which Carranza himself has doubtless never thought, while they are plainly beyond anybody whose pictures he has so far published as composing his alleged "cabinet."

## AN OPPORTUNITY.

Checkmate! The flat refusal of General Carranza, the Constitutionalist leader in Mexico, to comply with Secretary Bryan's reasonable request for detailed information concerning the assassination of Mr. Benton, a British subject, afforded President Wilson a fine opportunity for a decisive turn that would have relieved the Mexican tension at once. Carranza is under many obligations to our Government. He has even sought its recognition, but the moment our complication arose with Great Britain, he sought to make matters worse by refusing to cooperate with the State Department. If President Wilson, in the face of this insult, had promptly recognized Huerta as the de facto President of Mexico, as

(Continued on next page.)

other nations have recognized him, Carranza would have been at the end of his rope and Huerta would have been placed under obligation to our Government. All our present difficulties, not only with Mexico, but with other foreign governments on Mexico's account, and much of the terrible losses of life and property during the past year would have been avoided if Huerta had been promptly recognized by our Government. In other matters, the President has not hesitated to reverse himself. It is time for decisive action with Mexico. At this critical juncture the resignation of the Hon. John Bassett Moore, the able and experienced adviser and counselor of the State Department, is a matter of most serious portent. It would have been otherwise if the resignation had been that of Secretary Bryan.—Leslie's Weekly."

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## HUERTA'S VICTORY.

Woodrow Wilson, the professor of peace, is not the only man who has been pursuing the policy of watchful waiting in regard to Mexico. Victoriano Huerta, the post graduate in war, has been doing the same, only with this important difference. While Wilson has been waiting supinely for (as soon as heaven winks fit), something to turn up, Huerta has been watching like a hunter for an opportunity to bring something down.

Now it begins to look as though the indomitable old Aztec fighter has found the opportunity for which he has been waiting. The defeat of the rebels near Monterey, let us hope, is a start toward restoring that peace which might have been won nearly a year ago had President Wilson recognized Huerta instead of stimulating the party of plunder in Northern Mexico.

Every American who desires to see peace re-established across our southern borders will pray that the Mexican Federals may be successful in putting down the rebellion and so ending the reign of anarchy and slaughter. Even those who do not approve of Huerta personally. For really the approval or disapproval of the moral standards of one man is not so important as the moral and material welfare of a whole nation. The piety of Lot could not save Sodom, nor need the ruthlessness of Huerta damn Mexico.

Even if his methods for overthrowing the Maderistas were as reprehensible as his enemies have claimed them to be, since seizing the reins of power he has at least maintained law and order over the territory that he controls. He has not countenanced a program of robbery and pillage such as has been used to enrich Villa and his fellow-baudits in Northern Mexico.

Wilson has affronted this only competent man in Mexico in every possible way. Under this treatment the dignified attitude of Victoriano Huerta, his resolute and successful protection for American citizens in Mexico City, his evident determination to make Mexico alone his business and to stick to that business, his resourcefulness in combating circumstances that would have crushed a man less strong and capable, cannot but command some respect from all fair-minded men and women.—Los Angeles "Times."

# COURTING WAR

### While Breathing Words of Peace

That American intervention in Mexico is a matter of the future no one in Mexico City doubts—that is, if the United States intends to insist upon constitutional government and the preservation of peace and order in this neighboring country. Huerta's elimination is not likely to settle the Mexican problem. There is no man in Mexico to take his place with the ability and strength to overcome the habit of revolution which has been so assiduously cultivated since the retirement of Don Porfirio Diaz. Indeed, there is no man in the world.

The fault lies not with Mexico's leaders and best men, but with Mexico's ignorant, unfit Indians, led into revolution and brigandage by the self-seeking politicians, the most troublesome of whom are often unholy combinations of Indian, Spanish and possibly African blood. So, even if Huerta goes and another takes his place there is bound to be further revolution and turmoil and bloodshed. The country cannot stand much more of this sort of thing; the powers of the world with huge sums invested here probably will not stand for it.

There is ample proof that one revolution breeds another and that elections are almost invariably followed by outbreaks. After Madero took office there were certain elections for Governors in various States. In half a dozen instances the defeated candidate took to the warpath without the slightest delay. It was the custom of the country and it was necessary for him to do so in order to demonstrate his true worth, his bravery and his superiority over the victorious candidate. There is one instance, said to be the only one in Mexican history, where a defeated candidate congratulated his victorious opponent. That man is politically dead in Mexico today. The people were completely incapable of understanding his motives and considered his action only a show of weakness.

That America's course of action does not meet with the approval of the Huertistas goes without saying. That it is disapproved by Americans who have made their residence here can be stated with emphatic emphasis. That portion of the American policy which directed Americans to leave Mexico has aroused an intensely bitter feeling among Americans. They feel themselves deserted by their own country. They consider their right to reside here and engage in business as inalienable as their right to the protection of their Government, and to be told, as they consider they were told, that if they remained in this country they would do so at their own risk, which becomes a tangible risk through the edict of recall, was a decided strain on their patriotism.

### Americans All in Doubt.

There have been, and are, in Mexico, Americans of an undesirable class, trouble makers who arouse anti-Americanism, but there are also men of the highest type of Americanism, mining engineers, merchants and farmers. Some of these have made their life work in Mexico. In this city there are many who have settled down, established what were flourishing businesses, bought their homes and have their families with them. To abandon their businesses is utterly impossible.

Too old to establish themselves elsewhere they must remain here. Abandonment of Mexico means a ruined life to them and misery for their families. The Americans in Mexico City are better off than many elsewhere, particularly in those regions in the war zone, for here business continues after a fashion, while in other places it is utterly ruined. Also, there is little danger to American life and limb in Mexico City, save for accidents.

One would little think here in Mexico City that the country is torn by strife. Externally everything is as peaceful as a May morn. Business goes on, although stumblingly; the shops are open, the cafes and restaurants seem to be doing a fair business and the many military bands give constant concerts in the public squares. The beauties of the city stand out in reassuring aspect. The broad asphalt streets are filled with carriages and automobiles. The people seem rather happy. Yesterday the fiesta of Mardi Gras was celebrated with more animation than in recent years. The Avenida San Francisco was packed with motors, carriages and pedestrians. Some of the occupants of the carriages were in mask and costume. Confetti flew and the crowd laughed and jostled.—Philip H. Patchin, in New York "Tribune."

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The situation is the direct result of President Wilson's attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico. His logical course was to recognize Huerta as President de facto—as he was—without inquiry as to how he got his power, which is none of our business.

Our plain duty then would have been to prevent the use of our territory to in any way aid the cause of the rebels by supply of arms or otherwise.

If, under such conditions, the Carranza outfit had succeeded in occupying a large part of Mexico and in maintaining therein an effective civil government adequate to the protection of life and property, it would have apparently been entitled to recognition as a belligerent.

The present situation is the consequence of poking our governmental nose into what is none of our business.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

# PUBLIC OPINION

**From North, South, East, West and All Angles.**

**Villa might take Torreon and still be further from the capital than Lee's army ever was from Boston. Villa has merely been touching the outskirts of Federal territory.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."**

## WHO IS MAKING THE OVERTURES?

There is considerable persistence in the rumors that Portillo y Rojas, Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Special Agent John Lind are negotiating for a settlement of the differences between the American Administration and the Huerta government, and the assumption in all the dispatches is that it is Huerta who is asking terms from President Wilson.

But granting that negotiations are actually in progress, why should there be such an assumption? The situation in Mexico City has not changed for a year. Huerta stands before the world just where he did when he first assumed office. If anything he is stronger than he was three months ago.

Washington on the other hand has identified itself with Carranza and with Villa, two bandits whose misdeeds send a stench around the globe. It is being openly asserted in the national capital that the President and his Secretary of State have about given up hope of expecting anything from the so-called constitutionalists and are at last beginning to swing around to the view of all the rest of the world, which is that Huerta should be recognized and given every possible assistance in pacifying Mexico.

It is only a surmise, of course, but if these much heralded negotiations are in progress why is it unreasonable to suppose that perhaps the United States is trying to come to some accommodation with Huerta which the latter will be inclined to accept? Whatever his faults, the Mexican President has shown himself a man of vast self-restraint and generally willing to discuss any reasonable proposition with any person.—Detroit "Free Press."

## OUR MEXICAN POLICY.

According to the latest Washington advices, President Wilson is reopening unofficial negotiations with Provisional President Huerta through his agent in Mexico, ex-Governor Lind. Just what these negotiations will amount to or just what end it is desired to accomplish, has not been announced. It is evident, however, that President Wilson is not satisfied with the course of the rebels in northern Mexico, and there are not lacking hints that he would not be adverse to some form of recession from his hitherto inexorable insistence on the elimination of Huerta.

There is a steadily growing sentiment among the more conservative American people that our policy towards Mexico has been a grave mistake. Our government alone among the great powers has refused recognition of Huerta as Provisional President of Mexico, although he has now for more than a year controlled the central government and three-quarters of the entire territory of that country. As a result of this policy we have been utterly unable either to protect our own citizens in Mexico or exercise our duty under the Monroe Doctrine to safeguard the subjects of European powers.

That there are indications that even President Wilson's confidence in the appropriateness of his course has been weakened, is not denied in official circles, hence the reopening of the negotiations with Huerta may mean a change in policy that may have important results. That Mexico's Provisional President will agree to anything short of unqualified official recognition along the lines adopted by the European powers is unlikely. Such recognition, however, would be galling to the powers that be at Washington and for that reason may be delayed.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## O'SHAUGHNESSY'S REMOVAL WOULD BE A BLUNDER.

Had the Administration not piled blunder upon blunder in its treatment of the Mexican situation, the report that Mr. O'Shaughnessy is about to be retired would refute itself. The Administration is on record as not changing the Consul at Juarez because the appointment of a new one would require credentials to some responsible Government, and we are not prepared to concede that any such Government exists. The appointment of Mr. Shanklin, therefore, or any one to take Mr. O'Shaughnessy's place, would require that he be accredited to the Huerta Government, which would be recognition. Mr. Shanklin, too, is a Republican, and the record of the State Department is not such as to warrant the belief that it would remove a Republican and not utilize the vacancy to reward some Democratic politician.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy received his degree at the University of Oxford for work in languages. He speaks French, German and Spanish fluently. He was stationed at Copenhagen, Berlin and Vienna from 1904 to 1911, when he was assigned to duty in Mexico. He is one of the few men remaining in the diplomatic service who worked their way up and became skilled in diplomatic thought and duties.

If there has been any creditable feature of our diplomacy in Mexico it has been the tact and admirable conduct of Mr. O'Shaughnessy. In a position of extreme delicacy he has handled himself well and has reflected credit on the service. The public is aware of no fault that he has committed, and it is absurd to intimate that he may retire "under fire." If he retires at all it will probably be because his health has given way under the strain of work and domestic bereavement. The only other explanation of the report would be that the Administration has determined to recognize the Constitutionalists or take other aggressive action against the Huerta regime. The bloody trail of the Constitutionalists precludes all possibility, it may be hoped, of the former course.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## "MANIACAL."

Republicans must not stand back and chuckle over the Administration troubles in Mexico. The Republicans began the troubles when the Rubber Ring in their State Department forced President Diaz, the only man who could govern Mexico, into exile. Their President Taft increased the troubles when he ordered our little army to the Mexican border, without the advice or consent of Congress or of the War Department, because, as he has explained, "there was nobody in Washington at that time for me to consult." Having begun and increased the troubles, the Republicans cannot rejoice over "putting the Democrats in a hole." There is no political partisanship in international affairs; all parties must support the Government. When open war follows the secret war now being waged against Mexico the Republicans will have to go to the front, as well as the Democrats, and the blood of Republicans will be shed, as well as Democratic blood. It is, therefore, the duty of the Republican leaders to use their utmost efforts to assist sane Democrats in overcoming **the almost maniacal prejudice of the President against Provisional President Huerta, and to compel him by every means in their power to join the rest of the world in recognizing Huerta and giving him every possible assistance in restoring order in Mexico.** That one man in the American Republic can be able to cause the continuance of murders, robberies and outrages upon women in a neighboring country seems inconceivable. A czar, an emperor, a dictator, a tyrant could do no more—and yet Mr. Wilson is doing it! There should be a patriotic union of both parties in Congress to curb this madness by a vote of censure so emphatic that personal prejudice shall never again rule at the White House.—"Town Topics."

## UNTENABLE POSITION.

Unfortunately for the President's case, he has not made known, even in an indirect way, the matters of more serious import which, he said, justified his plea for repeal, nor is it apparent that the present unfortunate plight of our foreign relations would be materially relieved by this one act. We are at outs with the nations of the world for other reasons than the exercise of our undoubted right to exempt our own ships from tolls for the use of an American-built canal. Bryan, the Chautauqua orator, constitutes in himself a reason far more substantial than the tolls controversy. The President himself, particularly in his wholly untenable position in Mexican matters, is another reason for the isolated position in which this nation finds itself.

Nowhere is there the slightest indication that the President's tolls repeal bill has relieved our international situation, or promises to do so. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who at first regarded it as a patriotic duty to stand with the President, as he said, without inquiring whether right or wrong, are now feeling that Mr. Wilson's plea was based on a state of mind rather than an actual condition.—New York "Evening Mail."

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### "THE WIDOW" IN MEXICO.

A staggering astonishment struck me in the fact that these people—Americans, who should understand the situation—seemed to think that just back of our steamer might be transports loaded with marines and soldiers of the United States Army en route for immediate intervention! Sometimes these impressions took form in statements from newspaper correspondents who are close to the throne—the throne being the Consulate where Governor Lind holds sway. When I would ejaculate at the preposterousness of any immediate intervention; that it seemed much farther away than a few months ago; **that the United States as a people were awakening to the fact that an egregious blunder was made in not recognizing the Mexican Government and Huerta—or anybody else—as representing it,** then arguments would come thick and fast, which bears out the old maxim that people believe what they want to believe—there are those who want, personally, intervention and so they believe the Army en route, and they cannot, will not, deduce the situation in any other way.

The "egregious blunder" is wide- open talk, with now "intervention being the only way out." There are others, however, who say differently—Americans, too, who have lived in Mexico twenty-five or thirty years. I might say, incidentally, that people talk freely, more openly away from Mexico City, I judge, than they would where there is danger of being quoted. The policy is to keep absolute silence and let "Our Woodrow"—as President Wilson is invariably called—work out his own problem. It would be most unfair for me to betray confidences and quote from these men who know their Mexico like a book. One man said, and he has lived in Mexico thirty years: "If 'Woodrow' expects Carranza to overthrow Huerta, and help out in this mistake he made in not recognizing him as Provisional President, he is making another mistake. Huerta can without doubt hold out for a long time. The better classes of Mexicans and Americans believe in him and respect him much more than they did Madero. He has a power that is wonderful. Everything has been done to cripple him in the demand that he vacate the position, but he has, in his dignified bearing and forbearance, grown stronger every hour. When Woodrow recognizes the 'Constitutionalists' as people supporting the constitution of the country he shows more of the dense ignorance or of the great misunderstanding he has of not only Mexico, but all these countries where revolution is always on the qui vive. There are no 'Constitutionalists' excepting in times of revolution. It is the peg they hang their rebellion on. This lack of knowledge made 'Woodrow' refuse recognition, and now he can't—cannot possibly so humiliate himself. He is certainly in a fix. His waiting looks as if he hopes and prays for the success of Carranza's and Villa's murderous methods in the North or for something to happen which will provide a peg for him on which he can be relieved from the embarrassing and heartrending situation." It was strong talk, but based on the recent recognition of Peru.—"Town Topics."

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### EVERYTHING MISCHIEVOUS.

The following graphic description of the situation in Mexico is sent by a correspondent of the London "Morning Post," which has exceptionally intelligent foreign correspondents. Winston Churchill, present Lord of the Admiralty, was, for instance, its chief war correspondent in the last war. The "Morning Post" correspondent writes from the City of Mexico:

"Everything that President Wilson has done in Mexico has been mischievous. Nothing has been helpful or wise or strong. If there had been no Government in Washington for a year past (so far as Mexico is concerned), the people of Mexico would now be better off. Foreign bankers would have financed Huerta and he would have maintained better order. Mr. Wilson prevented that.

"Commissioner Lind, whom Mr. Wilson sent to Mexico, speaks no Spanish and does not know the Mexicans. When his mission failed, President Wilson 'threw his great bluff,' as the Americans say. He sent warships loaded with men and railroad material to Vera Cruz and advised all Americans to get out of Mexico City. The Americans bolted for Vera Cruz at once, and we who remained prepared to defend the British colony, because it was thought Huerta would retreat from Mexico City to the north, after cutting the railway line between here and Vera Cruz.

"But old Huerta never turned a hair; he is not an easy one to bluff, and he plays better poker than either Wilson or Bryan. Every one waited breathlessly for Mr. Wilson's grand coup, but nothing came, and after four or five weeks the Americans began to drift back to Mexico City to look after their property.

"I saw one prominent American, who had assured me before he went away that something was really to be done this time. I asked him what was going to happen. He said with bitterness: 'Nothing; I wish I was a Chinaman.'"

#### A Policy of Weakness.

People who wish to see law and order established won't buy land at any price from the banks, because it may be taken from them by the rebels. The whole situation is wrong, and the man who has done more to put it wrong than any one else is President Wilson.

He may be a very good man for handling the tariff and the currency, because his training has been that of a college professor. As a man to direct foreign policy Mr. Wilson is, I think, a failure. He is a theorist, just as Madero was.

If he had not attempted to dictate to Huerta his policy of non-interference would have been at least consistent and understandable.

The Carranza party is really composed of bands of irreclaimable robbers, in the business for personal gain. Anyone who thinks the individual chiefs would obey the commands of Carranza is misinformed, just as much as anyone who thinks that, were Carranza elected President tomorrow, it would cause a cessation of fighting. There are not 2 per cent. of the chiefs now fighting as Carrancistas who would sink their personal ambitions for the good of the country.

When Carranza himself was asked lately by the United States Government if he would stop fighting if Huerta were induced to resign, and an impartial individual were named President, he emphatically refused. He said he personally would shoot any President so named, and would only recognize himself as President.

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### A LETTER FROM MEXICO.

I write you to suggest that the American President as far as possible send representatives to Mexico as requested by President Huerta, to observe the true conditions. In doing so I would suggest that they travel over the country and meet all foreigners and factions, especially those who have no axes to grind. If this were done I am convinced our people would materially change their minds and be in a better position to assist in finding a solution that would meet the approval of the majority of Mexicans and all the foreign powers as well as the American people.

After visiting all the principal towns from Port of Mexico to Salina Cruz and meeting many representative people from all parts of the republic, I have changed my mind on all important matters, having satisfied myself that we have been misled in the states from start to present of this trouble, which is very regrettable for Mexico, and is leading our country into an awkward and dangerous position.

It must be understood that Madero put himself into the President's chair, not so much through the force of arms as through use of money and false promises, which never were or could be fulfilled. He never was elected, as supposed, by a fair election. As an example, I can give you the name of a ranch that had 380 voters or men of age. All were notified to appear on the day of election and cast their ballot on penalty of arrest for failure. Four of the 380 could sign their names to the ballots, which were all for Madero, with no choice whatever. The remainder were forced to pay 25 cents each to the officer in charge for signing their names. Yet Madero has been held up as the only constitutional President Mexico ever had. The facts are Mexico has had none unless the recognition of powers made them such. As for consent of the governed, it is impossible for some years to come.

It would be well to investigate the fall of Madero, as to what led up to it. How many thieves and murderers he punished, how many bandits he promoted over army officers, with whom he "stood in," how much property he and his friends bought up after raids and where and whom he went to see when he took the auto ride before his fall. All of these things will throw

(Continued on next page.)

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light on President Huerta's popularity. Madero's decree that all railroad men must be able to read and write Spanish, his attempted confiscation of the Pearsons properties will throw much light on the dark waves. It should not be forgotten that he liberated the murderers of a German family, the most brutal murder yet reported, yet he has been held up as a Christian and a model ruler, who lived 50 years ahead of his time. I find a few who regret his murder; many who say he got what was coming to him; none who are wearing crepe.

It would also be well to investigate whether or not Carranza and his following were not preparing to revolt against Madero six months before his death. It should also be remembered Madero took office with $62,000,000 in the treasury, borrowed $40,000,000 more and had the recognition and good will of the United States and left the treasury empty.

I came to this country to look after property I have here, was hurt on the boat coming over, so am spending my time visiting over the country to regain my health. There is good order wherever I have been. Some lines of business are adversely affected by exchange rates, while other lines are benefiting. Money seems plentiful, no distress in these parts. All are hoping that Wilson will either assist Huerta in establishing peace or take the job on his shoulders.

While no one has accused President Huerta of having wings, he is by far the strongest political power in Mexico.

You are at liberty to use this letter as you see fit. The truth must come out somewhere in the wash. When I left home I was very much in sympathy with the rebels, but find they really represent the bandit class mainly, and a very small per cent. of foreigners or Mexicans.—Patrick Potosi. in "Houston Chronicle."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: Isn't it strange that the respectable newspapers that decry and call a halt on the anarchical activities of Tannenbaum, Haywood, Emma Goldman, et al., are flaunting and idealizing the activities of armed I. W. W.'s and anarchists who are doing to Mexico exactly what their brothers in blood here plan to do to this country if they get half a chance. There are shallow-brained writers and agitators who are largely responsible for the anarchy in Northern Mexico. There are shallow-brained writers here who throw a glamour about the devil's work of a Villa, an Urbina, an Ortega and give the cue to a Tannenbaum and a "General" Kelly, out in California, who threatens a revolution to overturn the national Government. Of course such a threat seems utterly silly, but that is no reason why we should not consider the future. It is much easier to light a forest fire than to put it out. We are, or rather Mr. Wilson is, for some peculiar reason, encouraging forces in Mexico which if he had to deal with in this country he would be the first, I think, to take measures to suppress. Why is he doing this? It cannot be from ignorance—because he has been fully informed as to the actual conditions in Mexico. Is he carried away with an opportunity to test the possibilities of anarchy as a theory of "government," test it out in a neighboring suffering country? Heaven knows why he is encouraging and helping murderers and worse in Mexico. And he smiles happily, they say, when he hears that Villa is getting along.

Yours very truly,
PUZZLED.

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The Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: The civilized world has experienced a feeling of horror and indignation on account of the murder of the English subject, Mr. William S. Benton at the hands of Francisco Villa, the main leader of the revolutionists in the north of Mexico.

All of the circumstances of this case substantiate the charges of cruelty and blood-thirstiness against these rebels who have in every way and at every opportunity shown themselves to be the most inhuman of savages.

The only fault of Mr. Benton was to make a just protest against the depredations committed by the "constitutionalists" against his property, and perhaps these protests were too much for the irresponsible wild beast who rejoiced not only in the support of the Chief Magistrate of a great nation, but in the daily plaudits of a large portion of the American press, which commended him as an able leader in a righteous cause. Thus this spoiled child of the White House has been brought to such a state of exaltation that he feels at liberty to murder any foreign subjects at will.

Recently Senator Fall presented proofs to his colleagues that Benton was "killed like a dog" at Villa's hands, and thus it was necessary for the hyena to revel in foreign blood in order that foreigners might learn with whom they have to deal. Now it is known abroad, principally in England, just how much damage is being done by the "watchful waiting" policy of Mr. Wilson which he adopted instead of the logical course of recognizing the Mexican Government. The world at large may now be expected to take a more intimate notice of the effects of this ruinous vulture-like policy than it did when Americans only were the victims of Wilson and his "constitutionalists." Everyone can now see that whatever might be the defects of origin of the Huerta government, it is certainly a "de facto" government which has received its sanction by Mexican law and at the hands of a Congress elected under the overthrown regime. Mr. Woodrow Wilson chose to refuse recognition to Mexico, and while declaring against intervention, has used every other means in his power to accomplish the downfall of the only constituted government—the unequal enforcement of the neutrality laws, the financial blockade, the lifting of the embargo on arms, the support of the "constitutionalists" have all ended equally disastrously for the Administration, and seem to be bringing the recourse to arms a nearer menace every day. As everything else has been tried to avoid such an unhappy contingency, why not do the most obvious thing and try recognition?

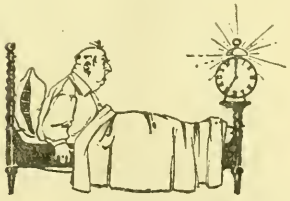
Foreign powers are becoming restive at the acts of "General" Villa, as the American press calls him, and are casting accusing glances at the White House where sits his patron and accomplice!!

The Wilson Administration, rather than admit that it has made a mistake in not recognizing the Mexican Government, prefers to charge the country and Congress with a mistake in dealing with England. England is a powerful, Mexico is a smaller than the United States. Who said might makes right? Who said the Wilson Administration would bully Mexico, but show yellow to a Great Power? In desperation the Wilson Administration is trying to bribe England to its side—so the Administration may be free to destroy Mexico.

Baltimore, Md. C. U. MESTA.

## CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderland of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.

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# "MEXICO"

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## ATTITUDE OF WILSON.

What the President emphasizes in his informal discussions of the Mexican situation is that he, as President of the United States, has never sought to approve or disapprove of individuals who may aspire to the Presidency of Mexico and that he has no list of men whom he holds under the so-called ban for alleged complicity in the assassination of Madero. His refusal to recognize Huerta, it may be stated on the highest authority, was not based on any personal antagonism to Hureta, but on the ground that the "constitutionalists" would never be reconciled to the man who had overthrown Madero and Suarez, and that governments set up by arbitrary force and not reflecting the popular will should not be dealt with by the United States.—Associated Press Despatch.

It is extremely difficult for an honest mind to have patience with the clever casuistry that emanates from the "highest authority" in explanation or attempted explanation of the Administration's Mexican policy. The above is characteristic of the facile stringing of words that totally misrepresent but which "get over" with the average reader. "Why, of course," he will say, "it has not been any personality to which the Administration has objected in Mexico. Of course not. It just wants to see popular government and peace there and there can't be any such while the "constitutionalists" oppose Huerta. Therefore Huerta must go."

There cannot be popular government and peace in Sing Sing while the criminals confined there oppose their jailers, or in any asylum where the inmates are not reconciled to their keepers. There can be no popular government and peace in this country while the I. W. W., the anarchists and their leaders are not reconciled to what they call the brutal and arbitrary police rule of the capitalistic classes, in which they include President Wilson, mind you. Therefore the jailers and keepers and police and President must go!

If the "highest authority" who passes out the above kind of twaddle is honest he is ignorant of Mexico and Mexican conditions. If not, then he is monumentally dishonest.

---

We don't hear so much about oil these days in connection with the Mexican situation.

* * *

Did the octopus get nervous? Did it stretch out one of its long tentacles and put a damper on the speculations of the press?

* * *

Or did the octopus get a tip from somebody that the intrusion of the oil ogre as a burning question was getting mighty embarrassing.

* * *

Strange that it doesn't occur to any member of Congress to inquire where Villa is getting the money to arm, equip and support the twelve thousand men that are claimed for him.

* * *

Of course we know that he has sold stolen cattle, issued fiat money and "confiscated" right and left, but it is pretty well known that the proceeds of these bandit operations have been split fifty-fifty with his men, fifty to Villa and fifty to his followers, and that Villa has salted away his share in El Paso and New York banks.

* * *

And it costs some millions to supply cannon, machine guns, rifles, ammunition for all, and feed and pay twelve thousand men.

* * *

The money is not coming from Mexico.

* * *

The President has been reported as telling the correspondents in Washington that he had looked into the charges that the disorders in Mexico have been financed on this side of the border and that he was satisfied that such has not been the case.

* * *

Of course, nobody had the knowledge or gumption to inquire further as to the testimony before the Senate Investigating Committee that proved the contrary or to ask how and through what agents the President had looked into the charges.

* * *

Some of these days Congress may see fit to "look in" a little deeper.

* * *

Remember sometime last October Villa was going to eat his Christmas dinner in Mexico City!

* * *

Whatever the outcome of the Torreon attack Villa will never eat his dinner in Mexico City, it is safe to say, unless he means bread and water in Belem Prison.

* * *

The rebels occupied Torreon almost a year ago.

From which point they advanced backward.

* * *

History has a way of repeating itself.

* * *

Tampico has been captured by the rebels several times in the course of the last year—in the newspapers.

* * *

To show the extent to which the newspapers will go to get a story: Several days during the past week they would lead off by saying that not a line had come over the wire from the scene of battle and then follow this statement by columns of the most detailed account of "constitutionalist" victories.

* * *

Of course, simply "doped out" in Juarez and El Paso.

---

## LUCK.

Most of the wise and disinterested persons of our acquaintance think that the President's record contains nothing finer than his Mexican policy. A leader in the Progressive Party said to us the other day that in the Mexican matter Wilson had seemed to him positively inspired. Yet he, like every one else, admits that chance will inevitably play a part in deciding whether this policy shall have the fortunate termination it deserves. If we get out of it without a war with Mexico, immense credit will be given to the President. If some folly by the Mexicans, backed up with narrow-mindedness from certain Americans, shall ultimately bring on a war, the President will have deserved credit just as clearly, but he will not get it.

The above remarkable editorial is from "Harper's Weekly," of which one Norman Hapgood is editor. All that we dare say about it is that somebody said to us the other day that when Hapgood wrote it he was "positively inspired."

We wonder whether the inspiration is of the same nature in both cases?

---

A new and particularly interesting feature of some of the excellent lectures on Mexico being given under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education and before various prominent clubs and societies in neighboring cities and towns by Mrs. Ada Brown Talbot, in the presence of Sr. Alfonso L. Jimenez, Mexican Vice Consul, who, at her request, answers any questions that members of the audience may ask regarding political and commercial conditions in the republic, growing out of the revolution.

The Vice Consul's sources of information, being official and absolutely up-to-date, lend to his statements the weight of authority, and render them a most convincing and important adjunct to Mrs. Talbot's splendid work in presenting the real Mexico in her beautifully illustrated lectures—"Journeying in Southern Mexico," and "Journeying in Northern Mexico." His defence of Provisional President Huerta's administration, and his denounciation of the bandits trying to destroy the country cannot fail to materially strengthen the cause of Mexico wherever he is heard.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. II—No. 33. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1914 FIVE CENTS


# News Fakers

It has been aptly said that the happiest nation is the one without a history, the word being used in the sense of a chronicling of wars, violent changes, revolutions and disasters. There is meagre food for the historian in the quiet, sober, matter-of-fact evolution of a people. History is the record of friction, conflict, upheaval. In a certain sense the daily newspapers are the nervous recorders of the world's conflict in its many phases. They thrive on violence, catastrophe, cataclysm. They are impatient of prosaic peace and order, and non-contentious change.

All of which may in a charitable mind suggest itself as a possible explanation of the extraordinary inventions and falsehoods that have been accepted or manufactured by the newspapers in reference to the Torreon fighting during the last ten days, **so long as those inventions and falsehoods would sustain the claims of the Mexican rebels.** Mexico at peace under a strong government like that of President Huerta would offer few opportunities for these falsifying historians. Mexico torn and destroyed by bandit chiefs of the Villa type—ah, there are all kinds of dynamic possibilities. There are "stories."

It should not be thought for an instant that this predisposition of the newspaper instinct is the only reason for the press' false and distorted news of Mexican affairs. It is not so simple or impulsive as all that. There are several other explanations for the shameless coloring of Mexican news. They may be classified under the following heads:

**1. The attitude of the Wilson Administration.**

**2. Contamination at the sources of news.**

**3. More or less honest ignorance.**

**4. Deliberate misrepresentation by interested parties.**

Here it must be noted that within the last six months the editorial expressions in our newspapers have become more informed and fair, as the editorial intelligence has vainly tried to reconcile its former preconception with the facts as they have been revealed. It is in the news columns that the spirit of American justice and fair play is woefully lacking.

As to the explanations offered above:

**1. The attitude of the Wilson Administration.**

By this time it is almost universally recognized that the Administration made an egregious blunder when it refused to join with all the other Powers in recognizing the de facto and de jure government of Mexico. It is realized with forebodings for the future that it took a tremendously consequential step when it assumed the right to overthrow that government and put another in its place. The public is convinced and amazed that the Administration in raising the embargo on arms and giving moral encouragement to the rebels virtually entered into an alliance with murdering, ravishing barbarians.

Now the question in the minds of the people, **who do not want war with Mexico,** is, how is President Wilson going to avoid it? It is admitted that he can avoid it by acknowledging his mistake and repairing it. He can at least withdraw his virulent opposition to the Mexican Government, which has led him to unworthy extremes and has simply prolonged in Mexico conditions that he professed to wish to end. But it is also felt that this acknowledgment would go against the grain of his personal pride. In view of the human, heartrending issues at stake it would seem that one man's personal pride should not be taken into consideration, but the President is master. To help him out the public will grasp at every straw.

The agents of the rebels have so often promised that they would bring peace to Mexico if permitted to import arms from the United States that, as "a way out" for the Administration, their "cause" has been most falsely glorified in the news despatches even following the brutal crime and the outrageous lies of the Benton case.

The fact that the success of the rebels at Torreon would not weaken the position of the Mexican Government, but rather would strengthen it with the great mass of the Mexican people who want its protection against the further advance of Villa's barbarians, has not been taken into consideration.

The fact that the people of Central and Southern Mexico would rise en masse to check his army of looters if they tried to advance south of Torreon has not been taken into consideration. The fact that the Mexican people as a whole would not tolerate the government of a Villa or any one who came into power with his assistance—**or American assistance, for that matter**—has not been taken into consideration. To the newspapers the military success of the rebels might seem a "way out" for President Wilson. If anarchy in Mexico is what he desires, yes! Otherwise, no, **and every unbiased intelligent Mexican and every American who has any knowledge of Mexico and the Mexican people will emphatically confirm this statement.**

**2. Contamination at the sources of news.**

There are three principal sources of Mexican news: Mexico City, border towns, and Washington.

In Mexico City the Associated Press is represented by correspondents, also the

## NEWS FAKERS—Continued.

United Press and the leading newspapers of New York and other large American cities. Recently on invitation from President Huerta, there have been in Mexico City special correspondents from some American papers and magazines. We assume in all these correspondents a spirit of fairness, a desire to tell the truth and at the same time a good appetite for a stirring "story." **We have known some of them who have deliberately lied with malice aforethought, but they have not the respect of their decent fellows and their lies are in time shown up.**

As to the general run of news from Mexico City: As long as there is a controversy between the Wilson Administration and the Mexican Government the correspondents show a keen reception to information or facts tending to discredit that government and vice versa. Then again, Mexico City is a breeding place of irresponsible rumors, probably more fertile in this respect than any other city in the world. In the American Club, in barrooms, in the cafes, on the streets, the American correspondent is buttonholed by rumor-mongers who mysteriously hint at portentous developments which have their only foundation in their author's idle imagination or lying propensity.

Usually the American correspondent does not speak Spanish, or is in no position to learn the truth. The city has been full of thrills and surprises from time inmemorial and one feels in the air that **anything may happen, anything may be true, at any time.** That is the atmosphere which is the fascination of the capital, but which plays hob with the correspondent's sense of proportion. He accepts rumors and surmises as facts and cables them to his office, hungry for sensations. Assertions are always scareheaded; denials are always inconspicuous.

Americans in Mexico City, almost as a unit, condemn the Administration's policy, but it is the business of the American Embassy to support it. The correspondents take their cue largely from the Embassy and the Embassy gets its cue from Washington. So much for Mexico City.

In the border towns, especially El Paso and Nogales, the rebels of the North have their juntas, their press agents, secret agents, friends and relatives. Revolution in Mexico is profitable to the border tows. El Paso merchants, for example, have sold thousands of dollars' worth of supplies to Villa. The trade in arms and ammunition is profitable to border Americans. More than a million head of cattle have been stolen by the rebels from the ranches of Sonora and Chihuahua and sold to American cattle dealers at less than value. The American money interests in the North of Mexico find it necessary to "stand in" with the rebels, and these big interests are influential with the border newspapers. Furthermore covetous eyes are cast on Mexican territory which through the contenance of disorder may some day become American!

**A newspaper man with Villa or Carranza must write the news as it is told him or he will get none at all—and his job depends on his getting "news." So he finds it to his advantage to write fiction in the absence of facts and glorify outlaws for whom as a self-respecting American he must have supreme contempt.** The newspapers throughout the country know by experience that border news is frightfully colored, but they play it up, if only for its fiction thrills. The border newspaper men are simply press agents for whatever group of rebels may be in control and the medium through which they seek to deceive and bamboozle the American people.

In Washington the correspondents are governed by the wishes of the White House and the State Department in their speculation as to Mexican affairs, as well as by the policies of their respective newspapers. The Hearst newspapers are hungry for anything that might bring about armed intervention. Ralph Pulitzer, an Administration courtier, directs the attitude of the "World's" Washington Bureau in support of President Wilson, "right or wrong," and so on. The agents of the rebels in Washington for months had free swing and any wild, fantastic yarn they concocted was good "copy." Their work became so obviously unscruplous and untruthful that they rode their horse to death and now their statements are taken with a bag of salt. **The only person in Washington who takes stock in them now is Secretary Bryan and he loves the gold brick with which they presented him.** As a matter of fact, the Washington correspondents are personally sick and tired of the kind of Mexican "dope" they have been compelled against their own intelligence to foist on the public, **and they would welcome a chance to tell what they really think. Meanwhile their hands are tied.**

**More or less honest ignorance.**

This is amazing and deplorable to all who know Mexico, but the excuse for it is less than formerly, because so much of truth about Mexico is available to those who are honestly desirous of learning it. We are happy to hear from many enlightened quarters that "Mexico" has been largely instrumental in "promoting intelligent discussion of Mexican affairs," which from the beginning has been the announced purpose of this publication.

**4. Deliberate misrepresentation by interested parties.**

This has been covered to a great extent by what has been said above in reference to the contamination of news at its sources, but it refers particularly to the campaign of misrepresentation that has been waged for the last three years by certain American interests in conjunction with the Madero family, and under the management of the present Washington attorney of the "Constitutionalists." This campaign was determined upon when Porfirio Diaz refused to do the bidding of grasping American oil and railroad interests. It was conducted with the purpose of forcing Diaz out, it was continued to maintain the Maderos in power, it has been relentless in seeking to oust Huerta, **and it will continue until those interests either get their grasping way in Mexico or are called off by the voice of a people whom they would plunge into war with Mexico if necessary to their purposes.**

## NEWS FAKERS AT IT AGAIN.

The "Times" yesterday, as on the day before and all days previous, was the only newspaper in Los Angeles that presented the straight news of the Mexican situation. The "Times" yesterday stated in its headlines and in the text of its dispatches from Chihuahua and Juarez that fighting was still in progress near Torreon and that Villa's advance had been checked. The two other morning papers in Los Angeles falsely reported in glaring type that Torreon had fallen and that the Federals had been routed. The "Times'" dispatches were verified by new developments of last evening. The mendacious reports of the fall of Torreon, Tuesday night, were offered to The "Times" by **the rebel news fakers in El Paso, Chicago and New York,** but The "Times" refused to print them.—Los Angeles "Times."

## SUFFERING MEXICO.

Napoleon, Sherman, Sheridan, Lee, Washington, Cornwallis and all the other war heroes of the past have been proven the veriest tyros in their profession of war and the palm passes to the wielder of the blue pencil, the copyreader on the daily newspaper who reads and assorts the dispatches from Mexico and then conceives the glaring, thrilling headlines for the front page. Since Madero first pronounced his provisional presidency and the rule of Porfirio Diaz first wavered, Mexico has lost more soldiers, both privates and officers, than ever were enrolled in the combined armies of Diaz, Madero, Huerta and Villa. Scarcely a day has passed in the last eighteen months or two years but the headline writer has chronicled tragically the deaths of from 10 to 10,000 Mexican troops, Federal or rebel.

'Tis indeed a terrible war and unless the headline writers' attacks are stopped soon Mexico will be an Adamless—well, not Eden; rifles and swords and daggers will be discarded and the fiery senoras and senoritas will be pulling and clawing and scratching in their final effort to restore peace and goodwill in the shadow of Popocatapetl.—Denver Times.

### THEIR BOSOM FRIENDS.

Lind and Bryan pin their faith, their sublime, external faith, on the Mexican rebels. With the assistance of Lind and Bryan, Villa will save Mexico! The gentle bandits are their dearly beloved proteges. Here is a sample of the manners and methods of these friends of the Constitution:

Mexico City, March 30.—How five members of a crew of a National Railway train were tortured and killed and three terribly injured by rebels was told to-day in a report in the hands of the railroad officials. The report was sent in by Daniel M. Mier, the only survivor of the train crew.

"Our freight train was between El Oro and El Sobre," reported Mier. "Suddenly we heard firing, and in a few minutes came right into a battle between rebels and Federals. The Federals were being whipped. They stopped the train, climbed aboard and made a sort of a fort of the cars. They fought until every one of the Federals on our train was either killed or wounded. Then the rebels surrounded us. We tried to get away, jumping off the train and running up a creek.

"Pena, brakeman; Ortis, a fireman, and I, as well as a passenger, ran along the bed of the creek until overtaken by two rebels. They took us up the bank, where there were many rebels. They had a Federal prisoner, and one of the rebels said to us:

"'Here's how we kill Federal officers.'

"He shot twice at the Federal from a distance of eighteen feet and missed. Then he swore, walked up to him and shot him through the forehead, killing him. He turned to us and said:

"'As for you fellows, I won't waste ammunition on you.' With that he hit Pena with the butt of a rifle and Pena fell stunned and bleeding to the ground. When Pena fell the rebel picked up a big rock and dropped it on Pena's head. When he saw Pena was not dead he called for other rocks and his men brought him three more. He dropped these on Pena until his head was crushed flat."

If one asked Lind about this he would say that probably the dear rebels were a little unbalanced by too close study of the Constitution, but that they meant well. Bryan would say, if questioned about it, that it is a beautiful world.

---

When the agents of Carranza in Washington were urging the removal of the embargo on arms, they asserted, cocksurely, that the rebels would be in possession of Mexico City in sixty days and would have established peace in Mexico in ninety days. After more than sixty days, Villa is fighting for his life eight hundred miles from Mexico City and peace will not come until he and his kind are destroyed or driven into their bandit fastnesses, in the mountains of Northern Mexico.

* * *

The attitude of the Administration has simply made the task of the forces of law and order more difficult.

* * *

If that is any satisfaction to the President and Secretary Bryan, they may enjoy it.

* * *

But the price they are paying for this satisfaction is tremendous.

# LEST WE FORGET

Nine-tenths of the reports of the fighting at Torreon has been Juarez guess work, with the wish father of the thought.

* * *

The only truth is that Villa went down to Torreon, boasting that the city would be his in twenty-four hours—or was it minutes?—and that at the end of twelve days, as we go to press, he has not succeeded in capturing it.

* * *

And they said the Federals were conscript soldiers, who could not and would not fight.

* * *

Notice that thousands of wounded rebels are straggling back to Chihuahua.

* * *

One of them said: "We walked into hell!"

* * *

It is a barbarous, brutal conflict, from any angle.

* * *

A disgrace to civilization that such a shambles should be made possible by the moral support of the United States, or rather, the Wilson Administration.

* * *

What of the thousands of peaceable Mexicans, men, women and children, in Gomez Palacio, Lerdo and Torreon?

* * *

You read little or nothing of them in the false and exaggerated accounts of the doings of that noble patriot, Pancho Villa.

* * *

They do not count. Hundreds, thousands of them, may have been killed—but Huerta must go, and the Administration save its face.

* * *

Messages for Bryan from American consuls in Mexico go through the hands of the rebel agents in Juarez.

* * *

Carranza gets a peek before they are sent on to Washington.

* * *

It is said that hereafter they will be sent in code.

* * *

Why have they not been in code heretofore?

* * *

The papers reported the death of Colonel Victor Huerta, son of the President, at Torreon.

* * *

Victor Huerta is not a colonel and he is in Mexico City.

* * *

But why bother enumerating all the lies in the news?

Villa's fight is for new fields to loot.

* * *

He and his men have about exhausted the available resources of the State of Chihuahua.

* * *

Since they are destroyers and not builders, they must now go elsewhere or find no profit in fighting.

* * *

That is why the capture of Torreon is so important to them.

* * *

They have denuded the Chihuahua ranches of cattle. The mines have been closed down. The fields have not been sown.

* * *

It is easy to see the desperate state in which the rebels will soon find themselves unless they can reach the rich cities of Central Mexico.

* * *

And they would, if they could, devastate the rest of the country as they have the State of Chihuahua.

* * *

Their triumph would be the triumph of destruction and anarchy.

* * *

And that is what would seemingly please Washington.

* * *

Then the Administration might "get Huerta?"

* * *

Is it any wonder that the world is amazed by this cold-blooded attitude?

* * *

Not reckoning human life or a nation's destruction rather than change its mind.

* * *

It will not be long before the people of this country will rise as one to protest against this monstrous injustice.

* * *

If the Administration would only point out how the situation would be improved by the elimination of Huerta!

* * *

It is simply a case of obstinate dictation, based on ignorance and misrepresentation.

---

**Read "MEXICO"**

ONCE A WEEK

AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT

BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.

# AT CLOSE RANGE

By F. J. Splitstone in "Leslie's Weekly."

The Huertas lived very modestly in Mexico. They have a little house in the suburbs which the general laughingly called his country home, and which he still retains and uses. It is only since he became President that he has owned his city home, and it is a most modest one on a quiet street. Chepultepec Castle has been the residence of the rulers of Mexico since the days of the Aztecs, but so far the Huertas have not occupied it. Mrs. Huerta has given one tea there in the year that she has been the first lady of the land.

As for President Huerta, he is a tireless worker. Sometimes he sleeps at the National Palace, where the executive offices are. Sometimes he goes out to his little "country home." He is much annoyed by people who want favors and otherwise impose upon his time, and to avoid them he spends much of his time in an automobile. The coche of el Presidente is well known in the capital, and wherever you see it you may be pretty certain that another follows, and in it are the President's secretary and telegraph operator. The business of the nation is done from the automobile. Almost any fine morning the President can be seen in the vicinity of Chepultepec at about half-past seven, transacting business with his cabinet members and their subordinates. The President's automobile stands at the side of one of the magnificent drives in the Bosque de Chepultepec, and the vehicles of the others come and go. Ministers and secretaries enter the executive coach, make reports receive instructions and go their way, while the President acknowledges the salutes of the casual passers-by with a simple raising of the forefinger to the brim of his hat.

The President is the most democratic of men. He goes about the city now just as he did when he was a soldier unknown to fame. He dines at the restaurants, drops in at the soda fountain for drinks and attends the theatres, bullfights and even the moving picture shows when he can find the time. His brown suit and soft hat pulled well down over his eyes are familiar to all the residents of the city, and wherever he goes there rises a little murmur of "el Presidente," and perhaps a ripple of applause.

There can be no doubt that the President is growing steadily in popularity in his capital. For one thing he is absolutely fearless. He goes about unguarded, though scarcely a day passes in which he does not receive letters threatening his life. Then, too, his unpretentious way of living makes a favorable impression. The people of Mexico are not used to democracy on the part of their rulers, but they seem to like it. But most of all, Huerta has grown in popularity because he has shown himself to be a strong man, a man of blood and iron, a man with a will that nothing can break or bend. He is a personality that would command respect anywhere.

Mexico accepts calmly his autocratic rule. **It denies vigorously that he is an assassin and that he was in any way connected with the killing of Madero. The best informed American residents here say that there is not the slightest evidence to connect President Huerta with that unfortunate affair; and they say, further, that had he thought it necessary to have Madero killed he would have had him publicly executed instead of assassinated.**

President Huerta is popular with the foreign residents here. Almost with one voice they speak well of him. Many Americans have talked to me of him in words of affection. His is not a simple nature. He has an Indian mind, active, full of surprises and unexpected kinks, but his tastes are simple and he is capable of deep and sustained friendships. He has been severely criticised from the moral standpoint, and his enemies have charged him with almost every crime in the calendar, but the only charge that can be substantiated is that he is fond of brandy. He drinks the best and he drinks much, but I have not found one person among the hundreds with whom I have talked and who know him intimately who will admit to have ever seen him show any signs of being under the influence of liquor. The charge that General Huerta is a drunkard can be dismissed as a malicious slander.

**As a matter of fact, he is a plain, blunt man, whose life has been spent in military duties, a man of shrewdness and common sense and to all apearances of honesty and patriotism. Everywhere he is affectionately alluded to as "the old man," and that means a great deal to those who know Mexico.**

---

### The Cost of It.

**Is there any price too large for the Administration to pay that it may persist in its obduracy?**

* * *

**Seemingly not.**

* * *

**It is the Panama Canal tolls exemption for American ships now.**

* * *

**It will be something else three months from now.**

* * *

**And the country pays the bills!**

* * *

**And national honor pays.**

* * *

**And human lives and millions in treasure are sacrificed.**

* * *

**But the Administration must not admit it made a mistake!**

* * *

**Frankly, we think Colonel Harvey's masterly appeal will fall on sterile soil.**

* * *

**That kind of mind does not yield to a human appeal.**

* * *

**But it will yield to a demand—a demand from its master, the American people.**

* * *

**And that demand will soon come.**

## PERU FOR PERUVIANS.

When General Huerta assumed control of the Mexican Government on February 23, 1913, he telegraphed to President Taft:

I have the honor to inform you that I have overthrown the Government. The forces are with me, and from now on peace and prosperity will reign.

When Colonel Benavides assumed control of the Peruvian Government, eleven months later, Carlos Leguia telegraphed to his brother, Robert Leguia, Vice-President of Peru, then in London, as follows.

By the glorious action of the army we are free from Billinghurst, who is now in the penitentiary.

The revolutions were oddly analogous. Like the Mexicans, the Peruvians are nearly sixty per cent. Indian, the remainder being approximately twenty-five per cent. mestizos, four per cent. negroes and Chinese, and less than fourteen per cent. whites. Like the Mexicans, too, they have a Constitution which provides for full, fair, and free elections, which are never held because, also as in Mexico, the smallest proportion imaginable can read or write. In 1912, there was no result whatever at the polls, for the simple reason that mobs burned the ballot-boxes; whereupon the Congress duly elected Guillermo Billinghurst President. He, like Madero, was a reformer and possessed the advantage of exceptional experience as soldier, diplomat, legislator, and administrator. That he tried earnestly to give his country an honest and efficient government is the common report. Indeed, the only accusation published against him is that he "ignored the better class of people and drew around him people without social position who were ready to serve his will." Whereupon the "better," or ruling, class headed by the Leguias plotted to depose him. Colonel Benavides executed the plans formulated by Augusto Durand successfully, taking the capital by force of arms, putting the President in prison, and incidentally killing the Minister of War. He thereupon declared himself Provisional President and sought recognition from the United States of his de facto government, precisely as General Huerta had done. But there the parallel ends. Huerta was rejected; Benavides is accepted. It would seem, therefore, that we have, not a foreign policy, but foreign policies of varying consistency. But is this the fact?

The Administration's refusal to make explanation of any kind naturally has evoked much criticism from the Press, not of its action per se, with respect to Peru, hut of its abrupt departure from the rule declared by the President to repudiate Governments "stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed"; but for ourselves, we heartily applaud the President's attitude toward Peru for the same

(Continued on next page)

reason that we deplored his contrary position toward Mexico, viz., that it is no part of our business to say who shall or shall not be President of any country.

If it be maintained, as of course it may be with semblance of reason, that recognition of Benavides implies confession of error in refusing to recognize Huerta, then so much greater is the credit, and so much higher the honor, due the President for courageous and conscientious performance of distasteful duty.—"North American Review."

## LIND EGGING ON CARRANZA! And He Is Tolerated By the Mexican Government.

(By Mexican Cable to the New York "Herald.")

VERA CRUZ, Mexico, via Galveston, Texas, Saturday.—In the event General Villa takes Torreon Mr. Lind considers it highly important to discourage Mexican bankers from negotiating further loans to prop the tottering Huerta Government through the sale of old Government bonds, as done recently, for an aggregate of fifty-four millions pesos, at Huerta's urgent solicitation.

To that end Mr. Lind has cabled the State Department, recommending that should Torreon fall the department should urge General Carranza immediately to issue a general proclamation unequivocally repudiating all contracts entered into by the Huerta Government since the assumption of dictatorial powers and the incarceration of Congressional Deputies, whether for the purchase or sale of any Government property, including bonds and other securities, and warning all prospective or actual purchasers that after the Constitutional Government is installed all such contracts will be held null and void.

Carranza is already on record with a general declaration of repudiation to that effect, but Mr. Lind believes the insurgent position would be greatly strengthened internationally if the specific declaration be restricted to acts consummated since the assumption of dictatorial powers.

## LONDON OPTIMISTIC

(Special Cable Dispatch to The New York "Evening Post.")

LONDON, March 28.—As regards Mexico, the strongly hopeful view which now exists is caused by the belief that Huerta is really gaining ground in his campaign to restore order in Mexico, and is also encouraged by the feeling that, if it were to be proved to Wilson that negotiations with the Huerta faction present the real solution of the problem, your President is sufficiently strong to reverse his previous policy and acknowledge that it was a mistake. There is a highly interesting unanimity, in financial circles here, of respectful recognition of Wilson's character, even in quarters where his particular policies are entirely opposed.

# "THE CASE OF MEXICO"

By R. de Zayas Enriquez.

The Wilson policy has been condemned by the entire world. The Americans residing in Mexico, who are well qualified to speak of what is taking place there, what is to be feared or hoped for, have protested against it. Prominent members of the American colony called upon Mr. Wilson in a body for the purpose of conferring with him and supplying him with accurate information; those men told me, however, that the President refused to receive them, on the plea that he was not soliciting opinions regarding Mexico. Many newspapers of the United States have published very illuminating articles showing the mistake which President Wilson is making.

All over Latin America, from Cuba to the Straits of Magellan, the problem has been discussed from every angle, and the conclusions reached have been uniformly adverse to the Wilson policy.

The majority of the English, French, German and Spanish papers have condemned it; some have even gone so far as to prefer grave charges, which I consider unfounded, if not slanderous, against Mr. Wilson, accusing him, for instance, of venality, an absolutely inadmissible charge.

The conservative papers of all those countries are unanimous in stating that, considering the anomalous conditions through which our country is passing, General Huerta is the indispensible man of the hour; the only man, perhaps, who has the necessary qualifications to reestablish order; the only one, in any case, who can protect fully the lives and interests of foreign residents.

I admit that every man should be guided in the accomplishment of his task by idealistic motives; his feet, however, should remain on the ground.

I also believe that a faith which is not constructive is a negation, a delusion, or a form of hypocrisy.

The future does not belong to those who would impose their ideas through violent gestures, violent epithets, or violent deeds; but to those who can reorganize society on a better basis, and unite men in order and harmony.

I cannot believe that President Wilson is planning to precipitate a war between the United States and Mexico. If the Wilson policy has not as its sole aim an armed intervention and the conquest of Mexico, or of a section of it, Mr. Wilson should direct all his energies towards the resumption of an harmonious modus viviendi with Mexico; he should abandon his hostile attitude and avail himself of the best diplomatic assistance.

When Mr. Wilson sent Mr. Lind as his confidential agent, or in whatever capacity it may have been, a thing which has never been definitely ascertained, to present to President Huerta the inadmissible requests I have previously mentioned, President Huerta was tactful enough to offer a counter proposition which, if it had been accepted, would have solved the difficulty.

The perfectly dignified suggestion made by the Mexican statesman covered two points:

1. That the Mexican Ambassador to Washington be received.
2. That the United States send a new ambassador to Mexico without any prior conditions.

Those two points encompassed a vast program; to enter into relations and to discuss the situation through diplomatic channels, with due regard for good form.

Mr. Wilson must be aware of the fact that in international negotiations good form is indispensible for the arrival at a perfect understanding.

Sympathies and prejudices should be set aside for the sake of convenience, reason, and justice.

In politics there is no worse adviser than self-conceit.

It is high time an end should be put to the present situation, which is anomalous, dangerous, and inexcusable, and greatly prejudicial to both Mexico and the United States.

Mr. Wilson must not be blind to the facts. He must realize that, notwithstanding his attitude of hostility to President Huerta, the latter has remained in power and has by this time completed his first year in the Presidential chair. He must realize that, notwithstanding the boycott directed against the provisional Government, it has succeeded in supplying itself with arms and ammunition, enlisting men and raising money; money has been contributed voluntarily in Mexico and abroad, for the patriotic endeavors of President Huerta are inspiring more confidence than the inexplicable doings of the American Government. He must realize that notwithstanding the direct assistance the rebels have found in the United States, and the moral help the American Government has given them indirectly, they are less than ever likely to triumph; a few victories won in the frontier States where the American influence is the most effective, mean little or nothing. In the rest of the country the Government retains the upper hand, and Huerta has succeeded in limiting and localizing the insurrection. Mr. Wilson must realize that the triumph of the rebels would prove disastrous for Mexico and would imperil its institutions, its social order, and legitimate interests of all foreign residents, not excluding the American residents.

The Honorable Mr. Wilson has only one alternative: either order an armed intervention, a course which he pretends he does not contemplate and which I contend he has neither the right nor the power to resort to; or rely entirely upon diplomatic action. An attitude of watchful expectancy does not constitute a solution. It constitutes a real danger; it is in the last analysis, inaction due to ignorance of whatever action should be taken.

# TO SENATOR FALL

An Open Letter by Dr. Lara Pardo.

Intervention—or conquest—is not justified in Mexico. The armed invasion of a country, in modern times, is only justified in these instances:

When imperatively needed to secure additional territory for an overcrowded population.

To destroy a direct and imminent menace to the sovereignty or integrity of a country.

It is obvious that the United States, with her wonderful resources and enormous strength, needs no land and cannot fear an aggression from Mexico.

As to obtaining redress from injuries to citizens, the international law gives ample means for a peaceful solution.

Since the beginning of her relations with the United States, Mexico has never refused to give redress for injuries to American subjects. In fact, it is a matter of record that not long ago an amount of money was returned to the Mexican Government, as a surplus left after paying all claims passed upon by an international committee. It is also a matter of record that in all the different arbitration cases settled so far between Mexico and the United States, Mexico has accepted the decision of the arbiter, while the United States have refused to accept the only decision favorable to Mexico. This refers to the Chamizal case.

There is an arbitration treaty between Mexico and the United States covering all claims for damages, and not before arbitration is tried in good faith would the United States have the right to use force to obtain redress from injuries to her citizens.

This is according to the text of the treaty. But there is something very important, besides. It is universally known that the present revolution in Mexico has been openly fomented in American territory. It is a fact that from the Madero original proclamation, prepared and issued in San Antonio, Texas, to the last shipments of rapid fire guns received by Pancho Villa, the rebellion has been planned, managed, organized and conducted in American territory by American interests and their Mexican allies, with the support of the American Government. The Washington authorities have done everything in their power to overthrow Porfirio Diaz, first, and Victoriano Huerta now. The present situation has been originated mainly by the firm decision of the President of the United States to place a man of his personal choice in the Government of Mexico.

President Wilson has done this in open violation of the universally accepted principles of international law, and in spite of solemn pledges made by the United States.

And now, if this situation, created by American interests, maintained and fomented by the Wilson Administration, is taken as a pretext for an armed invasion, the crime of such war would be unparalleled in the history of conquest, which is the history of international plunder and infamy.

We Mexicans, however, should welcome your stand in this matter. At least you come openly, you advocate military invasion which will bring American supremacy in Mexico, but at cost of American money and lives. Your course, if not more just or fair, is at least more courageous and frank than arming brothers against brothers, using bandits and throwing them against peaceful villages and ranches to sack, rob, kill and attack innocent women and children, and waiting watchfully for the ruin of a formerly prosperous country. At least you come openly as a foe. You do not, under the cover of MEXICO'S BIGGER BROTHER, conspire against her very existence.

It is right for you to present the matter squarely before the American people, provided that the Mexican side of the matter is also candidly stated.

Your proposition means a foreign war in Mexico, grafted on the present domestic disturbances. Let the American people decide whether it is good for the honor, welfare and prestige of this country to foment disorder in Mexico, to impair her development, to create there an anarchic condition and then to invade her in a military conquest, costing hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives, for the benefit of a few politicians and speculators.

I feel sure that the American nation, if correctly informed about the facts, would repudiate the odious and disastrous policy adopted by the Wilson Administration. But should the American people approve it and support the military invasion of Mexico, then the responsibility would squarely fall on the United States, and at least Mexico would be placed face to face to her real foe. An international war would win for us the sympathy never denied to those who struggle in self-defense against a stronger enemy. That would be a thousand times better than the present inglorious struggle Mexico is having against gunmen, armed and supplied by speculators and politicians who lack the courage to assume the responsibility and the risk of military conquest.—Dr. Lara Pardo in an open letter to Senator Fall of New Mexico.

## NO CONFIDENCE IN REBEL ABILITY.

Huerta's staying qualities are of more importance in this situation than anything else. His achievements in this direction thus far have been little short of marvellous, and the prospect is that he will hang on for some time to come. This is said even in the face of a possible severe defeat at Torreon. Such defeat will make a difference, but probably not to the extent of his elimination. Again, Huerta may win at Torreon. His troops are assuredly putting up a splendid defence.

Looking at the situation from another angle—supposing that the rebels win and Huerta is deposed—there is no confidence in the ability of the Constitutionalists to govern, even if they take office. There is nothing to indicate that Zapata, the bandit rebel of Morelos, whose following is growing while Huerta is occupied in the north, will succumb to the rule of Carranza or Villa, or whoever else may become President. Zapata has aspirations of his own. He yielded not to Porfirio Diaz, to de la Barra, to Madero or to Huerta. He is probably the most consistent man in Mexico—always a rebel.

In consequence of these conditions, and considering the probability of internal squabbling and almost immediate counter revolutions if the present rebellion succeeds, the situation following rebel victory will be one of chaos, with no prospect of peace being restored to Mexico. Unfortunate conditions which now prevail will continue and there will be as much need for a strong hand then as there is now.—Philip H. Patchin in New York "Tribune."

## LEADING TO ANARCHY.

Regarding the situation at Torreon as revealed by the press despatches, which are so contradictory, Mr. Bennett expressed the belief that the stories of success coming from General Villa's camp are greatly exaggerated. From his knowledge of the topography of Torreon and the surrounding country, he said it was apparent to him that the fall of that city will be delayed for some time.

"I think President Wilson's watching and waiting policy is wrong," said Mr. Bennett. "Had President Huerta been recognized the situation in Mexico would not be as horrible as it is to-day. General Villa, although a forceful character, who has made himself a factor to be reckoned with, is nevertheless a bandit, and were he to win in this revolution he would deem himself a conqueror deserving of all the rights and privileges of the man in power. With such a nature as his, this would mean endless war, if not absolute anarchy. —Interview with H. W. Bennett in New York "Herald."

## THE COLONEL IN CHILE.

The fact that it was President Roosevelt who "took Panama" and boasted of his act doubtless accounts for much of the hostility manifested against him personally, but it is a significant circumstance that the many "Vivas Mexico" and "Vivas Huerta" plainly indicated bitter disapproval of our present attitude toward our stricken neighbor. Altogether the story makes most unpleasant reading.—"North American Review."

# "WE APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT"

"To Save Mexico, to Save His Party, to Save Himself." By Col. George Harvey in North American Review.

"The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do—a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation."

Those words, Mr. President, spoken by you as the head of the nation to the Congress of the United States upon the first day of your second year in office were more than worthy, more than courageous; they were noble. They breathed the sense of national honor; they were shot through with patriotic feeling; they evinced the power of personal greatness to acknowledge and repair a fault. And they will serve the purpose for which they were uttered—never fear!

Pending the accomplishment of that great triumph which is to be yours, may we not ask you to perform the more pressing duty of turning your eyes upon the stricken people of bleeding Mexico, and consider—consider in candor and with deep solicitude which we know you feel—whether you may not apply those words to them. Is not our attitude toward them also "everywhere questioned and misunderstood"? We think and presently shall try to convince your mind that it is. If we shall succeed in that endeavor, is not "the large thing to do the only thing we can afford to do"—a reversal of our action "without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation"?

Four months have elapsed since we raised the questions—

What legal or moral right has a President of the United States to say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? and

Did not President Wilson imbed himself in a practically inextricable position when he demanded the retirement of Huerta?

and the only answers forthcoming are to be found in a consensus of the world's opinion and in a hopelessly tangled diplomatic situation surcharged with peril. But no! That is not strictly accurate. You answered the first question, Mr. President, when you recognized the Huerta of Peru, and you answered the second when you urged so impressively upon the Congress, as a primary reason for repudiating a pledge of your own party platform, the necessity of mollifying foreign powers.

### War Not Wanted.

The partisan attacks in which you are now being increasingly subjected constitute, we suspect, the least of your anxieties. Senators and Representatives who demand "action" which would lead to armed intervention may reflect the opinion of their own restricted constituencies, but they wholly misinterpret the wish of the country. Never was a war so unpopular, so hateful in the eyes of the people, as would be a war now with distracted Mexico. Whether avoidance thus far is fairly attributable to your sagacity and forbearance, or to mere good fortune, or to both, matters not at all; the country is grateful. Sir, deeply grateful to you for sparing them the calamity which unhappily so many are coming to regard as inevitable.

Nor does one whit of justice lie in the strident criticisms of your course as "inert" and "lifeless." You have done all that lay within your power to do in furtherance of the success of your programme. Never before to our knowledge, while their countries were at peace and resolved to continue in amicable relationship, has one President declared war upon another President. Yet that is what you did without a quiver of hesitation. And you did not stop there. You certainly struck deep and hard in those days early in November when the following declaration was served upon Huerta as coming from the President of the United States:

First—That the First Magistrate is of the opinion that the recent coup d'etat was a direct violation of the assurances which Huerta gave his Government.

Second—That unless Huerta, voluntarily and on his own initiative, retires at once from power and abandons every idea of controlling the organization of the Government and the conduct of negotiations, the First Magistrate will find himself under the necessity of intervening by means of an ultimatum, and if this is not accepted he will be obliged to propose to the Congress of his country the adoption of practical measures of a most serious nature.

Third—That the Government of the First Magistrate sincerely desires to avoid extreme measures, as much for the sake of Mexico as for the sake of peace in America, and is of itself disposed to act reasonably in order not to wound Huerta's sense of dignity, and at the same time to give Huerta the personal protection he might need.

Fourth—That with this purpose in view it proposes the following: That there be selected some person, or small group of persons, which to the least possible extent shall have been connected with the recent political disturbances, (for example, men of mature age who have retired from the field of politics and who enjoy the confidence of the people), who shall form a constitutional Government and make whatever arrangements may be necessary for a general election. In these elections there shall be selected a new Congress and a new Chief Executive, to the end that the Government be established on a constitutional basis.

Fifth—That such a course is absolutely necessary to the end that he (the Chief Executive) merit the approval of the First Magistrate for the reason that the Government of the Chief Magistrate has firmly and irrevocably decided, by one method or another, to eliminate completely all assistance that Huerta believes he may receive from foreign sources, if he persists in his proposal to remain in power, it being a further fact that only for a few days longer will he, Huerta, be free to select the course he chooses to follow. His withdrawal, and consequent absolute liberty of action in the re-establishment of constitutional power, alone will be accepted by the Chief Magistrate. This Government cannot urge with too much insistence, now that the outcome is inevitable, that Huerta reach his decision wisely and at the same time giving full consideration to the terrible consequences which will follow his vacillation or refusal.

Sixth—That the proposal to substitute Blanquet, or any other representative of the Government of Huerta, or any one connected with his coup d'etat, will conduce to further irritation on the part of the First Magistrate, and inevitable and definite rupture. The same result will follow any effort to place in power the candidates chosen at the last election, be it for President or member of Congress.

And when the old Indian coolly ignored this demand you did not shrink from inviting the criticism of your own countrymen by lifting the embargo upon guns which, like those in the Philippines, may at no distant day be turned upon our own soldiers. No, Mr. President, it is not from lack of energy or resolution that your attempt to apply political eugenics to Mexico in a schoolmasterful way has failed. It is from the fatal defect within the policy itself—the futile threat which, as we declared in November, "instead of eliminating Huerta from power, riveted him in his place, there to remain, in all probability, until he shall be expelled by force of arms." This judgment, based upon certain logic, has now found general acceptance, and it is to that most important fact, Mr. President, that we would direct your attention.

### What Papers Say.

No writer has made it so clear as you that "the only force" that can control a President in shaping his course with respect to large matters of public policy is "the force of public opinion." But public opinion is no less subject to change than individual judgment and, if it is to be accepted as a true guide, it must be examined and interpreted at frequent intervals. When, in November, we urged upon you mantul reversal of a policy which we then believed to be and which has since proved to have been untenable, we did not assume to reflect the common view. We could not but feel that much of the seeming approval was no more than natural and praiseworthy restraint; but there were few evidences to that effect, and you were quite justified in assuming that your attitude had won general commendation. The newspaper press in particular was notably insistent and steadfast in support of your determination to drive Huerta from his position of authority. But is it so now? Let us mark the indications afforded by our leading journals. (Here the writer quotes columns of editorial comment and public opinion, all concurring in stating that a mistake has been made in not recognizing Huerta.)

### A Policy Without Friends.

The extraordinary characteristic of this galaxy of editorial and individual pronouncements is its unanimity. There may have appeared somewhere a word of approval of "watchful waiting" since the embargo was lifted, but if so, despite our painstaking reading of many American newspapers, we have not seen it—not one word. Taking into further consideration the rapidly increasing disposition of Senators and Representatives, who are most sensitive to the views of their constituents upon the eve of an election, what are we to infer?

In your truly eloquent message to the Congress delivered in person on August

(Continued on next page.)

## "WE APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT"---Continued

27 you attributed the Mexican Government's rejection of your proposals to your belief that "the authorities had been grossly misinformed and misled upon two points." First, they did not "realize the spirit" of "friendship" and "determination" of the American people; and, secondly, "they did not believe that the present Administration spoke, through Mr. Lind, for the people of the United States." Consequently, you added in perfectly good faith, and we believe with full warrant as of the moment, "so long as the misunderstanding continues we can only await the time of their awakening to a realization of the actual facts." You concluded, if our memory is not at fault, with the comforting assurance that "the steady pressure of moral force will, before many days (after Aug. 27, 1913), break the barriers of pride and prejudice down and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies," etc.

But that is beside the point. The question is, does the present Administration now speak, through Mr. Lind or anybody else, for the people of the United States? In view of the indications of the certain trend, if not indeed the definite formulation, of public opinion, is there not room for doubt—and occasion for very grave reflection?

You spoke, Mr. President, in your latest message, of the difficulties which you are now experiencing in dealing with foreign Governments, especially with respect to "matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence" than the canal-tolls dispute, and you pleaded with the Congress to empower you to adopt conciliatory measures. It is clear, therefore, that you attach particular importance to foreign public opinion at this crucial time. What, then, is the consensus of that judgment upon your Mexican policy?

The most consistent friends of America among the public journals of England are The London "Times" and The "Spectator." Both have deplored from the beginning your refusal to recognize the de facto Government. While hoping for the best, The "Times" still cannot escape the conclusion that you have "assumed responsibilities that may well lead to armed intervention." * * *

The conservative "Morning Post" pronounces your position "absolutely unintelligible" and possessing "all the appearance of encouragement to anarchy, civil war, and murder of foreign residents in Mexico." * * * (Follow quotations from the European press.)

Is it not now quite clear, Mr. President, that your attitude toward Mexico is "a position questioned and misunderstood" in Europe?

In your speech at Mobile you emphasized our friendliness for the South American republics. "We must prove ourselves," you declared, "their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. We must show ourselves their friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not." What has been the effect upon these republics of your Mexican policy? What signified the "Vivas Huerta" with which Mr. Roosevelt was greeted in Chile? What says the press of South America? * * * (Here follow excerpts from leading South American journals.)

Can there be any doubt, Mr. President, that your course has served only to intensify the distrust and dislike of the very peoples whose good-will you courted and whose "friend and champion" you sincerely wish to become? Is not here again, where least of all we desire it, questioning and misunderstanding?

It is not necessary to point the direction of the sympathies of Japan, with whom we would maintain amicable relations; it is not necessary to record the unanimous judgment of all foreign residents of Mexico nor to recount the prayers of our own countrymen who feel that they have been abandoned; these are only too unhappily familiar.

What to do? Why, Mr. President, there is but one thing to do. There never has been but one thing to do. That is to put under your feet the solid precedent that was established by this nation at the beginning of its career and that has been heeded by all other powers in this particular instance: Extend to the de facto Government of Mexico official recognition. We pass no criticism upon your refusal to take this logical and sensible action originally. You erred, of course, as all the world now concludes, and as you yourself confessed when you acknowledged the validity of the "usurping" Governments of Peru and Haiti; but it was an excusable, possibly even a justifiable, error because it sprang from the best of intentions.

What we do ask is that you do not persist in a course which leads straightway to the undoing of all your good works, through the certain defeat of your party and the execration that just as surely will be visited upon yourself if, as a consequence of sheer obduracy, this country shall be dragged into a hateful war. It may or may not be a correct assumption that Huerta, unhampered, could have pacified his country, but there is and can be absolutely no question that you deprived him of the means of effective striving.

Confronted at the outset by a hostile Congress such as he well knew had achieved the downfall of Madero, surrounded by a Cabinet of intriguers, refused recognition by the United States, branded rightfully or wrongfully, but without adduced evidence, as an accessory to assassination, deprived of the opportunity to borrow moneys through the desire of foreign Governments to curry favor with the nation which is now more commonly than before referred to throughout Latin America as "the big bully," cajoled, threatened, cut off from aid wherever possible, while simultaneously, the hordes of opposing bandits and desperadoes were being supplied, furtively at first and then openly, with arms and ammunition, and now—at the end of thirteen months—he is conceded to be more strongly intrenched than ever! It is an amazing personal record, Mr. President, worthy surely of admiration, and remarkable especially for the consistent dignity, courtesy, and consideration exhibited by the old Indian himself in his dealings with an Administration which has been—shall we frankly admit?—not invariably tactful and perhaps upon occasion slightly dictatorial.

It is not too late. It is never too late to do the right thing. Moreover, the change in conditions affords you full warrant for reversing your position. While you had faith in the sincerity and high purpose of the rebel leaders, there appeared at least a semblance of reason for taking their part, but now that they have dropped the mask and stand revealed in their true light as murdering marauders, their last claim upon your consideration has disappeared.

You gave them their chance, at great risk to your own reputation, when you opened the doors for the delivery of arms, and they have shown their appreciation by ignoring your wishes, flouting your authority, and making you appear before the world as a virtual ally of a dastardly bandit. While Huerta has been earning your respect, Villa has been abusing your confidence. Clearly, the withdrawal of aid from the rebels now would be regarded everywhere not only as fully justified, but as a fitting response to the demands of humanity and civilization.

But what, you may ask, is to be gained by recognizing Huerta at this late day? And we answer, everything. He may not be able under any circumstances to pacify Mexico, but all there whose lives and properties are at stake agree that he is rightfully, or wrongfully, Mexico's only hope. He is ours too, and yours, because he has come to be the only force capable of maintaining order and so possibly of averting the dreaded intervention which continuance of the existing chaos is certain in time to produce. Practicability, no less than theory and tradition, calls for upholding of the de facto Government.

There are other reasons, Mr. President, more personal to yourself. You have no base now from which to act; no avenue through which to communicate; no way of meeting the just demands of foreign powers except, as in the case of England, by proffering special favors. And you are under suspicion. The mere fact that your policy is "unintelligible" has given rise to a growing conviction, especially in South America, as evidenced above, that it is insincere and is deliberately designed to engender war and conquest. You no longer have at your back the mighty force of public opinion, as we have shown.

Abroad, as you must realize, the common attitude toward your watchful waiting is quite frankly contemptuous; at home it is one of grave doubt and grave anxiety. To speak plainly, Mr. President, the feeling is growing stronger daily that your persistence in a course which in common with everybody else you must know to be wrong, is attributable to no kind of reasoning whatsoever, but to your own stubborn pride. For your own sake, then, if for no other cause, it is of the utmost importance that, if there must be war, it shall come as an inevitable consequence, as demonstrably unpreventable by any conceivable means and in strict conformity with the customs and precedents fixed by international usage.

Is it not clear Mr. President, that this condition can never be realized until the only Government, however discreditable, that does exist and the only really strong man, however disreputable, who has appeared, shall have been accorded the full opportunity which so many believe they could utilize even now with ultimate effectiveness? It is the only way, Sir, the only way out, the only way to save Mexico, to save your party, and to save yourself. It is, too, "the large thing to do," the "only thing" you "can afford to do" to escape from a position "everywhere questioned and misunderstood."

We implore you, Mr. President, to take to heart your own splendid words—"We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong"—and then do it "without quibble or hesitation" and win for your country just honor and for yourself the fine renown which the world invariably accords a noble act nobly done.

# PUBLIC OPINION

**From North, South, East, West and All Angles.**

## THE AVERAGE MEXICAN.

E. Alexander Powell, a well-known and responsible writer, contributed to last Sunday's New York "Times" an account of an interview he has had with Villa at Juarez. He begins his interesting story with these words:

In the outskirts of Juarez, where the poorer classes exist in wretched hovels of sun-baked clay and where, after the fighting was over, the dead lay thickest, the streets are as silent and deserted as those of Pompeii. It gave me the feeling of riding through a deserted city, for in many blocks I did not see a human face or hear a human voice. Refuse of every kind littered the unpaved streets and smelled to heaven; a dead dog here, the decaying carcass of a mule around the corner, and over them swarms of buzzing flies. There is scarcely a house wall in the place that is not pitted with bullets; in some of them there are apertures the size of a grand piano, such is the dreadful havoc caused by fighting at close range.

The residences of the more conspicuous Huerta sympathizers have been seized and converted into military bureaus and barracks and hospitals by the rebels. It was in such a house that I found Villa—"Pancho" Villa, (pronounced, not as though you were starting to say "villain," but as though it were spelled "vee-yah,") less than a year ago a hunted outlaw with a price on his head, but now, if you please, Gen. Francisco Villa, Commander in Chief of all the Constitutionalist forces in the field.

This was the picture at that time inside Juarez. Last Sunday V. Carranza reached Juarez, and was lodged in a "confiscated" house filled with "confiscated" furniture—"confiscate" being the rebel jargon for plain theft. The dispatch from Juarez which we printed yesterday described the look of things outside Juarez, where the crowd was waiting for Carranza, as follows:

The contryside spoke graphically of the years of revolution. Everywhere there were roofless and unoccupied houses, which had been the homes of the wealthy ranchers in the days of peace. Beside the railroad track lay a derailed and partly wrecked box car. In the hamlet of Ruente Del India, where Carranza was received by General Chao, not a house was occupied. Not a window remained in any of them, and all showed signs of previous battle.

These bullet-marked houses in Juarez and the roofless and empty houses just outside of Juarez tell no stories of the horrible household tragedies that certainly took place in some of them. Their occupants were quiet people, but thrifty, and many of them prosperous in their small and simple fashion. None of these people were of any earthly consequence in the large affairs of the world. But they were human beings, and as such are entitled to pity. They fell in the way of this mongrel blast of cupidity and ferocity; they took their medicine as the saying is, although quite innocent, and although it is easy to conjecture how frightful the dose was; and they have disappeared, broken and broken down, but so obscure that no one cares how they manage to live, or indeed whether they live or not. Of course Juarez, and Chihuahua, and a good part of all North Mexico, have been plundered out. Even a Villa cannot extract booty from a roofless and empty house. But the same work is being carried into the unplundered regions, so far as this is possible by means of the fresh supply of munitions of plunder which these fellows are now freely permitted to buy in the United States.

There are those who think that thirteen months of this sort of thing are long enough for the thrifty Mexican, and long enough for the reputation of the United States. Colonel Harvey speaks out for this opinion in the April number of the "North American Review." He writes directly to President Wilson. He cites American opinion. European opinion, South American opinion, to the effect that our course has been wrong from the beginning.

It seems very easy, as Colonel Harvey urges, to correct this Mexican error, now that President Wilson has taken the ground that our error in construing the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, in the matter of the Panama Canal tolls, must be corrected. It is quite as disgraceful to be concerned in rapine and murder, even at long range and without intention, and even in the case of wholly obscure and unimportant people, as it is not to keep one's given word. **The little weekly paper called "Mexico" has good reason to say that it would be a "shame" if the Government of this humane country should continue to throw its influence on the side of those Mexicans who are hewing their way to plunder and political power through the ruin and worse of these simple and decent Mexican homes.** —Hartford "Courant."

## WHOLESALE MURDER, WITH OUR AID, IN MEXICO.

The annals of modern warfare contain few accounts of horrors as barbarous as those that have reduced the streets of Torreon to a reeking shambles in the demoniac fighting of the Constitutionalists and Federals. * * * In the personal character of Pancho Villa there has not yet appeared a single trait—except that of bravery—which suggests a comparison with great military commanders who have drawn their sword in defense of their own strong faith in a righteous cause. His own statement is that he is fighting to avenge the murder by Huerta of his friend Madero.

To say nothing of the machine guns spitting forth bullets as rapidly as a cinematograph operated at top speed, the doctrine that all is fair in war has been fulfilled by poisoning the water supply of the besiegers, the use of dynamite hand grenades, and fusillade of shells and bombs directed at buildings where women and children were cowering. It has been an indiscriminate, red-handed massacre, with no respect nor pity for aged or wounded, women or infants. Prisoners who have been unfortunate enough to fall into Villa's hands have been shot down like dogs because it was trouble to care for them. * * *

These are the fighting men to whom we are deliberately permitting huge consignments of the munitions of war to be sent, while we still maintain the fiction of "watchful waiting." Hundreds of thousands of rounds of rifle ammunition since the raising of the embargo have been shipped across the border at El Paso and elsewhere, and in machine guns a thriving trade is driven. **Under a pretense of benevolent aloofness in the name of humanity we are providing these fiends incarnate with everything they need to kill each other.** "Let them fight it out among themselves," we say, and then from the side lines we deliberately arm them with the means of protracting the most sanguinary struggle that Mexico has known. **It is hard to reconcile the course of the Administration with sincerity in the profession of the desire to see peace restored and vindictive passion allayed.** The war will not end as long as we send guns and bullets to continue it, nor will Europe believe that we mean what we say when we reiterate the hypocritical pretense of "watchful waiting."—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## THE FIGHTING IN MEXICO.

According to the advices from the scene of fighting in northern Mexico neither side has yet secured a decisive advantage. The revolutionists under Pancho Villa have invested Torreon, an important point on the direct railroad line to the City of Mexico, and severe fighting has occurred at Gomez, Palacio, the result of which has not yet been determined. It is known that large numbers of rebel wounded have reached points in northern Mexico, and it is reported from rebel sources that at least seven hundred Federal soldiers have been killed.

Torreon is an important strategic point on the direct road to Mexico City, but is still a long way from that objective. It is strongly garrisoned by the Federals, who are apparently determined to make a firm stand there. If they can be dislodged and forced to fall back, the rebels will continue their advance on the Mexican capital, but if the rebels are unable to capture Torreon they will

be in a bad way. Heretofore the revolutionists have been fighting in the northern states of Mexico close to the American border; they have now penetrated southward into Durango, and are, therefore, in a hostile country.

The brief telegraphic accounts claim that the revolutionists have at least twice as many men attacking Torreon as the Federals have defending it. From a military standpoint this is no serious handicap, as it is generallly recognized that any army attacking a fortified position must bring to the assault at least three men for every one of the defenders.

As Torreon is an important point, it is fair to assume that the Huerta government has provided a good garrison.

While the fall of Torreon would add the State of Durango to the list owning rebel authority, the distance from the City of Mexico would still be great. It is only reasonable to suppose that the further south the invaders penetrate the stronger will be the resistance they will encounter.

In the meantime our policy towards Mexico is being permitted to drift. Should the rebels under Villa take Torreon and be able to penetrate the country south of that place the danger to Americans and other foreigners would be greatly increased. The final success of the revolution placing the destinies of the neighboring republic in the hands of such men as Carranza and Villa would be infinitely more damaging to international interests than the continuance of Huerta in power.

The success of the revolutionists at Torreon would open up the possibility of their successful march on the Mexican capital. Such an eventuality would make American intervention more likely than ever, as control by a man like Villa in the Valley of Mexico could mean nothing else than anarchy.—New Orleans "Picayune."

## QUESTIONS ABOUT MEXICAN POLICY.

Introducing myself as a man who has for ten years or more been deeply interested in our neighbors to the south, who has lived with them, traveled about in their country, mingled with high and low, and has learned much about them, but who has no financial interest in Mexico either directly or indirectly, I want to congratulate you on your article in the December "Review," which I have only just now read. If more men of prominence, whose voices can be heard and whose writings cannot be ignored, had the courage of speaking out, no doubt public opinion, which means well, but is uninformed, would soon compel a change of policy.

I have for some weeks had lying in my desk a number of questions which I should like to propound to President Wilson, but, knowing from experience that letters from private, unknown citizens find no hearing or probably never reach their destination, I have refrained from sending them. They touch in part a phase which is not receiving much attention, and I take the liberty of intrusting them to you to use or not use, as you elect.

"Do you ever stop to think that the horrible butcheries which are now being enacted in a neighboring country are only made possible by the failure of our government to enforce the neutrality laws?"

"Do you ever consider that it is entirely by means of war material made in this country that hundreds of poor deluded men are being murdered?"

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

"Do you really believe that in a country where nine-tenths of the people cannot read a ballot a fair and free election by all the people is possible?"

"Do you think it fair to call a man guilty without trial, as done in the case of President Huerta?"

"Do you believe that the notions of a foreigner should decide who is to be at the head of a nation's government rather than the laws of that land?"

"Do you not know that Huerta is the legal President of the United States of Mexico according to the law of that land just as much as you are the legal President here?"

"Does your conscience absolve you from all responsibility in the untold misery brought about by your refusal to recognize the only government existing in Mexico?"

"Are the bandits and highwaymen devastating the sparsely settled portions of Mexico entitled to the sympathy and help of a people standing for law and order?"

G. H. HINRICHS in "North American Review."

## AFTER TORREON.

A victory by Huerta would strengthen him throughout the country. He already has pretty thorough control in the more populous districts, although he has been troubled by bandits and by the revolutionists under Zapata, particularly in the State of Morelos. It is noteworthy that few reports of attacks on foreigners and destruction of foreign property come from districts controlled by the Federals.

Huerta protects the alien. He doubtless does so because he thinks it good policy, but the point is, at least to the foreigners, that he does give this protection. If he wins at Torreon, Huerta will be stronger than at any time since he assumed the Presidency. People now on the fence will flock to his side. His army will become more loyal and more dependable, and he will be rid of the ever-present danger of disintegration of his troops in the face of defeat. Victory will make it more than ever clear that Huerta is not crumbling in the rapid fashion the administration in Washington has fondly hoped. His financial resources doubtless will be augmented.

There is good reason for saying that Villa will be unable to conduct a victorious campaign southward. After recuperating from Torreon, should he capture that place, and turning his attention to the south, he will be confronted by wholly different conditions from those with which he has had to contend during the last few months. He has been operating in Coahuila, Chihuahua and Durango. These are thinly populated states. In Coahuila there are only 2.19 persons to every square kilometre of territory; in Chihuahua, only 1.34, and in Durango, 3.98. So it is all through the northern tier of Mexican states, where the Constitutionalists have gained their greatest successes.

From Torreon Villa must enter the states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi. Here he will encounter more populous districts. Zacatecas has 8.12 persons to the square kilometre, and San Luis Potosi 10.11. In the northern sections of these states Villa has sympathizers, but as he proceeds southward he will find the people more in sympathy with the government in Mexico City, and they are by no means reluctant to fight the rebel invaders for their homes.

In a word, south of Torreon Villa will enter hostile country. The way south to Mexico City is further barred by the states of Guanajuato, Queretaro and Hidalgo. Guanajuato is thickly populated, there being 38.14 inhabitants to the square kilometre. The figures drops to 5 in Queretaro, but reaches 28.90 in Hidalgo. In these districts the populace will stand by Huerta as against Villa.—Philip H. Patchin, Special Correspondent, in New York "Tribune."

## SOMETHING LACKING.

With Villa still hammering at Torreon days after it was to have been taken, and with the aged Carranza entering Juarez tottering from the fatigue of a useless horseback journey, the fortunes of the Mexican revolution do not shine brilliantly at the moment. It still suffers conspicuously from a lack of leadership strong enough physically and aggressive enough in spirit to be present continuously at the main seat of action. Gen. Carranza has proved himself a tireless celebrator of victories, but what is more wanted in his place is a tireless inspirer of victories.—New York "World."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: It is hard to understand why the newspapers make so much of every wild, fantastic claim of victory or heroism advanced by the border agents of Villa concerning the fighting at Torreon. For one whole week now we have been told that Torreon has been taken or that its capture was a matter of minutes.

Notwithstanding the daily proof that such reports have, to say the least, been unwarranted by the facts, every irresponsible statement from interested sources at Juarez has been accepted without question, every misrepresentation headlined as a fact.

Notwithstanding the many revelations of the true character of Villa, the newspapers persist in their efforts to make him out a picturesque hero. The impression is given or intended to be conveyed that Villa's men are fighting for a great cause and whatever their faults are representative of deep popular movement. We have been told that the soldiers of the Federal Government are merely conscripts and are fighting against their principles because they are forced to. But still 6,000 of them have held off a vastly superior force with a determination and energy that are born only of a consciousness of right. Soldiers do not fight that way against a popular movement.

In time the truth will appear that the soldiers of Velasco have fought so valiantly because they are the ones who are fighting for a cause—that cause the preservation of their country from the control of its barbarous elements, and from the thinly disguised intervention of the United States.

It is a notorious fact that American adventurers are serving the big guns of the rebels, that Carothers, agent of our State Department, is as well an agent of Villa, that all the arms and ammunition of the rebels are supplied from the United States, that John Lind, received with every courtesy by the Mexican Government, is virtually a guest of the government at Vera Cruz, where he openly proposes measures against that government, that Carranza unfurled an American flag in Juarez to signify the perfect understanding between him and the Washington Administration.

They are fighting, are these Federals, in a great cause, a noble cause, the saving of their country from the dictatorship of Woodrow Wilson.

And I, as an American, wish them good luck, for I believe that an American President who hires and arms gunmen to do his dirty work is not entitled to patriotic support.

Yours very truly,

PUZZLED.

To the Editor of MEXICO.

The recent desperate fighting around Torreon has shown up several matters which heretofore have not been quite clear to the American public. In the first place, the valor of the Federal troops is unquestionable and although greatly outnumbered they still hold their position. News despatches in the American press have repeatedly recounted how these Federal soldiers could not be counted upon because they were recruited by press gangs, etc., but be this as it may, at any rate, it is clear that they can fight and fight desperately.

The actual conflict is one between civilization and anarchy, and the final result must surely be a triumph of government over chaos. Even though the forces of loot and murder, headed by the atrocious Villa, should succeed in taking the city and pillaging and ravishing as is their custom, it would not affect the final result. These bandits took Torreon a year ago, but they were driven out, as will happen should they succeed this time.

The actual possession of this city would not aid the rebellion materially, as the distance from there to the capital is entirely through Federal territory, and every step southward would be of greater difficulty for these so-called "constitutionalists."

I by no means think that Villa can take Torreon, or be able to hold it should by any chance General Velasco be overcome. The struggle between these forces will not permit the idea of surrender of the Federals because as their opponents are not subject to the rules of civilized warfare proper soldiers have learned that surrender means murder and torture, and thus prefer to fight to the last.

In my opinion the Mexican government position is much stronger every day, and the American public is not so enthusiastic over the cause of the savage barbarians who by an irony of fate have managed to appropriate the name of "constitutionalists." Perhaps now that events are being seen in their true light the American people will come to view the position of President Huerta with less prejudice and more justice, so that on sober second thought be will be accorded a fair deal and a better chance to restore the peace that he promised and that by outside handicaps he has been prevented from accomplishing.

Baltimore, Md., April 1, 1914. M. CUESTA.

## BOOK REVIEW.

### "THE CASE OF MEXICO AND THE POLICY OF PRESIDENT WILSON."

After all the "news" and speculations about Mexico by men who know nothing about the people or the conditions, it is good to read a book by a man who has lived through the events of the present decade and has observed them with the unbiased eyes of an historian. The book, which has just come off the press of Albert and Charles Boni, is "The Case of Mexico and the Policy of President Wilson," by Senator Rafael de Zayas Enriquez. De Zayas' first book of history was "The Rise and Fall of Porfirio Diaz," which stamped him immediately as a man of keen discernment, of clear political convictions, and a lover of liberty. He is a student of affairs and a statesman. He writes dispassionately, judicially, without heat. His book is not a case of special pleading; it is an unimpassioned analysis of political conditions in Mexico. It gives, practically for the first time, the real facts about those conditions. It shows very clearly that American public opinion has been misled by misrepresentation of facts—much of it inspired and intentional, and much of it the work of incompetent journalists, who lack a large perspective and are out of touch and sympathy with the peculiar Mexican character.

De Zayas states his position thus:

"In writing this book I have not been prompted by patriotic motives, however justifiable and reasonable such motives might appear, nor have I yielded to any partisan bias. My primary, perhaps my sole object, has been to acquaint the world with the real causes of the convulsion which is now shaking Mexico, my native country, its intensity and its significance, and with the actual principles which are at stake in this hour of agony. I also wish to show what a distorted conception the President of the United States has formed of the Mexican situation and what harmful consequences his attitude in the matter may have, not only for Mexico, but for the United States as well."

De Zayas does not believe that President Wilson is not acting in good faith but that he has been misled by the false reports of conditions in the newspapers and magazines.

"I believe, therefore, that President Wilson has been and is moved by perfectly honest motives; he has started, however, from erroneous premises and he has failed to foresee the consequences of the system he has endeavored to apply; he has failed to fathom the abyss towards which he is leading two neighboring countries which have nothing to gain from an international conflict.

"A war between the two nations would be an utter disgrace, and its baneful effects, which would be felt all over the American continent, would alienate the sympathy of all the nations south of the Rio Grande from the United States."

De Zayas then describes the events that have happened from the time of Madero to the present. He shows how erroneous are the ideas Americans entertain of these events. Madero he shows to have been very much of a demagogue. He does not declare that Madero was cruel or a tyrant or a thief; but he does show that Madero was surrounded by vicious and dishonest people, who blinded him to the true conditions of the people, and who robbed and pillaged to their heart's content. Madero knew nothing of what was going on, and secure in the legality of his position, refused to alleviate the truly horrible conditions of the lower classes. He followed the counsel of his clique, consisting of his brother and several friends known as the Maderists. It was notorious that his brother was one of the worst blackguards in history. This brother succeeded in emptying the treasury of seventy and some odd million pesos and in putting the country into debt for many millions more.

"In the few months during which Madero remained at the head of the administration, that is, from July 1, 1912, to February, 1913, he squandered (besides the current receipts and the seventy and some odd million pesos President Diaz had left in the treasury when he relinquished the presidency), $35,000,000 more than the budget called for."

This clique surrounding Madero made his overthrow inevitable.

"The whole country began anew to manifest its unrest. Revolutionary groups sprang up in the Northern, in the Southern, and in the Central States; they lacked coherence and leaders of prestige; the same desire, however, animated them all. They were all beot on overthrowing Madero."

A committee of the Senate called Huerta to the Presidency. He reluctantly consented.

Mexico's destiny has become the football of bandits. Industry is paralyzed. The nation's troubles are so complex that they seem insoluble. Whatever action is taken by this country—intervention or recognition of Huerta, or continued "watchful waiting"—a crop of problems arises that calls for the highest statesmanship. In this state of affairs, understanding of the problems is the first necessity. It is for this reason that de Zayas' book is practically indispensable to those who want to learn the rights and wrongs of our attitude toward Mexico.. (Albert and Charles Boni, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York. Illustrated.. $1.35 net. Postpaid, $1.45.)

## CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderland of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.

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## AN ENDLESS CHAIN.

The fight in the House against the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption for American coastwise ships had all the earmarks of real, spontaneous opposition to a humiliating surrender to England and the Canadian railroads. It failed because it did not have the sincerity to center on the Mexican attitude of the Administration, which is at the bottom of the President's pressing necessities in dealing with foreign affairs.

It need not be contended that the Administration has made a pact with England, made the tolls exemption a quid pro quo for England's non-interference with the Administration's course in Mexico, which is destructive of British as well as all other foreign interests. The President says there is no such pact. Sir Edward Grey says there is no such pact. Therefore, there is no such pact.

That does not alter the fact that the Mexican policy of the Administration has met with the outspoken condemnation of the European nations and aroused to a high pitch the suspicion and distrust of the countries of Central and South America. British interests in Mexico are more considerable than those of any other country, and it stands to reason that under ordinary circumstances England would not stand idly by and submit to the President's persistence in a policy that is universally condemned as destructive. But the repeal of the exemption of the Panama Canal tolls would certainly not be an ordinary circumstance. It remains to be seen whether Germany, France and Japan may not press for some extraordinary circumstance of a similar nature. That, of course, would make it good policy on this country's part to have already placated England and got her on our side.

But why have they started on this endless chain of placation?

Because the President of the United States has made a tragic blunder in Mexico and has persisted in it, whatever the cost, and has allied himself with the forces of destruction, against which the foreign interests in Mexico must, in self protection, protest. The Benton case is only one of many others and there will be more as long as the Administration encourages the Carranzas, Villas and Zapatas.

We are paying for the Administration's mistake already in our relations with other nations. If it is persisted in further we shall pay for it in thousands of American lives and a war bill for which even the taking of Mexico from its people will not compensate.

It is time to call a halt on this tremendously expensive personal prejudice and obduracy—right now.

## TOO AMATEURISH.

It is apparent that the suggestions that come out of Washington every now and then that the outcome of the Mexican situation will be the formation of an independent Republic of the Northern States of Mexico originated with those who want to grab Mexican territory and find they can not work up any popular sentiment that would countenance a war of grab.

These suggestions are seized on by the friends of the Administration—who can see no ultimate triumph for the rebels, but only further disorder and disaster ahead for the Administration—in the hope that the establishment of an independent Republic which could be recognized would open a "way out" from an untenable position.

These suggestions are secretly encouraged by the agents of the rebels to arouse the cupidity of their Washington friends and openly disclaimed because they are unpatriotic and would turn even Villa's followers against him. Carranza was certainly not well-advised when he unfurled the American flag beside the Mexican emblem when he entered Juarez.

As a matter of fact, we believe that the class of men who are responsible for the rebellion in Northern Mexico would barter their country, divide their country and destroy their country for profit.

President Huerta, in Mexico City, is not that kind of Mexican. Destiny has placed him in a position where, for good or ill, he is Mexico. He represents Mexican nationality, Mexican independence, Mexican autonomy. If he had yielded to the absurd demands of the Administration there would be today no Mexican nation. Mexico would not be independent. It would be governed by a—let us say—benevolent despot in Washington.

It is safe to prophecy that there will be no division of Mexican territory while a patriot is President, and there is a Mexican people to fight against it. It is a nice little amateur scheme, that looks good on paper, and seems plausible in the study under a library lamp.

That is all.

---

Mexico is and always has been dynamite—to be handled with care.

* * *

The Administration has handled it with the recklessness of ignorance.

* * *

If the thousands that have been slain at Torreon could speak from the other shore they would have something to say about horrors which no Administration theory of "Constitutional Government" can ever justify.

* * *

Secretary Bryan's conscience is still clear.

* * *

It is understood he still sleeps soundly o' nights.

* * *

Some poor sensitive souls might have their slumber disturbed by the cries of the dying and the ghosts of the dead.

* * *

Not so the genial Secretary of State.

* * *

He simply hypnotizes himself into the belief that he is an Apostle of Peace.

* * *

And prays that Villa and his barbarians may kill every Federal in Mexico.

* * *

The cries of the wounded, the curses of the dying reach him not.

* * *

Like John Lind, he sees in a vision Villa transformed and transfigured, the bandit a saint, his savage followers angels of light, and a bearded old man doling out Chautauquaisms in Mexico City.

* * *

Lind has been treated with the utmost courtesy in Mexico.

* * *

He is abusing the hospitality of the Mexican Government by working in the interests of Villa and Carranza.

* * *

In the history of international relations has there ever been anything so brazen and dishonorable?

* * *

He and Wilson and Bryan have simply put themselves in a position quite suggestive of that of conspirators, plotters against the constituted Government in Mexico.

* * *

And plotting against a Government is dangerous business.

* * *

It is playing with dynamite.

* * *

Sir Edward Grey agreeably announces that he has made no dicker with Wilson on the Panama Canal tolls.

* * *

How nice of him to say so. Of course he hasn't.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. II—No. 34. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1914. FIVE CENTS


THE PRICE PAID TO "GET HUERTA."

Surrender to England.
$25,000,000 and an apology to Colombia.
The responsibility for Villa.
The integrity of the Monroe Doctrine.
Dissension in the Democratic party.
Ammunition for its enemies.
Loss of prestige in the eyes of the world.
Universal questioning of our country's motives.

---

MANHANDLING MEXICO.

A college professor.
The same old Bill.
A Scandinavian dreamer whose idol is Villa.
An ex-Reverend biographer.
Another D. D., yclept Tupper.
A State Department agent who press-agents Villa.

Put that combination at work on any real man's proposition and they would muddle it beyond repair.

* * *

The Administration lifted the embargo on arms to aid the rebels.

* * *

It maintains a strict financial blockade to hamper the Mexican Government.

* * *

It sent John Lind to Mexico to ask the Mexican Government to swallow itself.

* * *

It has agents like Carothers to swallow everything from the rebels—lies and insults included.

* * *

Oh, yes, the Administration is neutral!

* * *

John Lind was finally a little bit too open-faced in his plotting against the Mexican Government.

* * *

John got the recall, but he should have got it months ago, if there was any self-respect in the State Department.

* * *

Carothers, a consular agent, draws money from the United States Treasury.

* * *

And his principal business is to act as press agent and white-washer-in-chief of the bandit, Villa.

# Builders

The avalanche of what, for temporary lack of a better defining term, we must call "reports" of military operations around Torreon and Tampico, has buried out of the reader's view information regarding most important measures taken by the Mexican Government to put Mexico's finances on an absolutely solid basis and tending to re-establish its credit abroad.

From the beginning the Huerta Government found itself handicapped by an empty treasury left by the Madero Administration. The loan of thirty million dollars obtained a year ago from French bankers served to pay various debts left by the preceding Government and practically all the money remained abroad. Later, owing to the financial blockade effectively established by the Wilson Administration, with the acquiescence of the French Government, French bankers were forced to forego the option they held on fifty million more of the loan authorized by the Mexican Congress in May, 1913.

Meanwhile the Mexican Government was compelled to make large expenditures, mainly to raise the army from a total of scarcely 20,000 men to 200,000. The usual revenues, which in spite of the revolution made a remarkable showing, thus demonstrating the great vitality of the country, were not sufficient to cover the expenditures and the Government was compelled in January last to declare a temporary suspension of payments of interest on the national debt.

During the absence of Finance Minister de la Lama, who had gone to Europe to confer with French bankers, various projects were presented to alleviate the financial stringency and the one that found momentary favor with a few friends of the Administration was that of establishing a Government federal bank with the right of issuing currency. The mere announcement that the establishment of such a bank was contemplated created great alarm among banking and commercial circles. However, upon his return to Mexico at the end of February, Minister de la Lama proceeded to study several reforms and to negotiate with local bankers the placing of an interior loan. Negotiations were carried to a successful end, and a few days ago several decrees were issued which insure the stability of the Government finances.

In the first place, the Department of Finance was authorized to issue Treasury notes against the bonds authorized by Congress in 1913, up to the completion of the authorized issue of one hundred million dollars.

The Department of Finance, by Presidential decree, was authorized to issue treasury notes bearing six per cent. interest against the fifty million dollars of the bonds authorized in 1913, but not taken by the French bankers. Mexican bankers agreed to take immediately one-half of the hundred million pesos issue of treasury notes (or fifty million gold at parity of exchange) and the other half as needed by the Government.

Another decree simultaneously promulgated authorized the resumption of payment of interest on the national debt. The usual amount of Custom House receipts will be deposited in the National Bank of Mexico for the purpose. Owing to the high rate of exchange, however, the money will be kept in Mexico until such time as the exchange will have returned to normal rates. This in itself will have the effect of normalizing the rate of exchange, not only because there will be no immediate exportation of large sums in gold, but also because the European bondholders will have a vital and direct interest in bringing to bear all possible influence in order that the ex-

BUILDERS—Continued.

change may make possible their receiving the interest money deposited in the National Bank of Mexico. At the same time the fact that the money is set aside for the payment of interest fully rehabilitates the government of Mexico and tends to re-establish its good credit abroad.

A third decree authorized the issue of treasury bonds up to thirty million pesos, with which all floating indebtedness on the local market will be paid. These bonds bear six per cent. interest and certain revenues will be set aside to insure the payment of this interest. The decree which had established an additional fifty per cent. on import duties was repealed and as a consequence imports which had been somewhat reduced by the increased duty will take new impulse as shown by great number of orders which were immediately sent abroad upon the publication of the new decree. Likewise, a decree published in February 12 putting an export duty on vanilla was repealed.

By these sweeping measures the Government was able at a stroke to obtain sufficient money for extraordinary war expenses for a long time; without mposing new taxes, it re-established its credit abroad, rehabilitated itself in the eyes of its creditors. It also paid its floating local debt and gave new stimulus to the somewhat paralyzed import trade. The good effects of all this are already apparent and a somewhat confused financial situation has been settled with advantage to the Government and to the people.

The most significant phase of the financial readjustment has been undoubtedly the confidence shown by the bankers of Mexico in the Huerta Government. If strong confidence and faith in its ability to control a difficult situation had not existed on the part of all the bankers they would not have taken a loan of one hundred million pesos. Bankers are not known to lend a hundred millions unless they feel absolutely sure that they will be repaid.

## KELLY'S PRIDE.

The reports of Villa's expulsion of the Spaniards, of the killing of prisoners "en route" and in Torreon, of confiscation of property and a few other patriotic exploits added to the now fogotten Benton murder, must have made Mayor Kelly, of El Paso, hold still dearer the photograph in which he and Villa appear together in brotherly and significant proximity. The photograph of the two supermen of the Mexican-American border undoubtedly will be preserved with jealous care by Kelly's proud posterity.

**Read "MEXICO"**

**ONCE A WEEK**

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT**

**BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.**

# ABOUT TORREON

Day after day for two weeks we were regaled by the press with columns of reports describing the fight around Torreon, the advance of the rebels, the crushing defeat of the Federals under General Velasco, and so on. Every night at the eleventh hour Juarez announced that a message just received from Villa stated that he would have the whole city in a few minutes, that he held the greater part of it, and that the Federals—who had six thousand men at Torreon—had lost ten thousand in dead and wounded. The capture of Torreon was announced by some newspapers with no dearth of detail and eye-witness description as early as March 24. Finally, on April 2, at midnight, Juarez announced that Villa had just taken Torreon by assault and that General Velasco had escaped with but a few men of his bodyguard, whatever that may be.

Now the truth is slowly coming to the surface. Even from rebel sources it is admitted that the Federals held the whole of Torreon after having inflicted severe losses on the Villa forces up to the time they evacuated the city of Torreon proper. That the whole of the Federal forces sought a more advantageous position on the outside, moving in perfect order, taking away even their wounded, and their arms, ammunitions and supplies. With them went also a large number of citizens who preferred the hardships of moving with a military column rather than to remain to await the arrival of the men who, in the opinion of the Wilson Administration, are going to save the people of Mexico. It has now become evident that the movement of the Federals was made with strategic purposes and that much more will have to be written and published about the "victory of Villa."

Newspaper correspondents with the Villa forces are now arriving at the border and are beginning to tell different stories from those sent out from Juarez as authentic. They say that a strict censorship prevented them from sending true reports; that Villa was beaten three times before he was allowed to enter Torreon, and that there he found what may be called an empty shell. Also that Gen. Velasco has effected a successful junction with the other Federal forces and the rebels were beaten badly between San Pedro and Sacramento, a railroad junction seventeen miles from Torreon.

Another great victory like that of Torreon and Villa will be no more. Meanwhile our readers must remember that it was not su..cient for the Federals to repulse Villa, even though inflicting severe losses as they did. To finish with Villa once for all, it is necessary to draw him away from his base of supplies and from territory where effective help from this side of the border can reach him.

Tighter and tighter a net of responsibilities and complications is drawing around Wilson and Bryan as a consequence of their Mexican policy.

The iron mesh, inexorable as fate, is beginning to sink into the flesh of the administration. That is it should begin to sink if the flesh were not covered by a corneous hide. Villa entered Torreon and, as he had done in Chihuahua, expelled all Spaniards and confiscated their property. There is no longer doubt as to the confiscation, for carloads of cotton belonging to the Spaniards have already arrived at Ciudad Juarez. The cotton will be sent to Europe—in bond through this country—to avoid attachment by the despoiled owners. Eight hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, have taken refuge in El Paso. Carranza, the supposed chief of the revolution, has supported and approved Villa's actions. Carranza could not do otherwise. He has to approve all of Villa's actions because it would not make any difference to Villa if he did not.

Because of the support given by the Administration to Villa and because European Powers look to this country for the protection of their citizens in Mexico, Wilson-Bryan have the full responsibility for the fate of those citizens. But the Spaniards failed to receive the protection they expected, and the acting Secretary of State in Washington went to the extent of trying to justify Villa's actions, stating that the expulsion had been probably for the Spaniards' good, "as they are so hated by Mexicans that their lives might have been in dangr had they remained in Torreon.' In other words, the Acting Secretary of State merely repeated the reason given by Carranza for the Spaniards' expulsion.

Spain will remonstrate and demand tha their citizens be protected, but it is too late—and what can Spain do? Undoubtedly Mr. Bryan does not think Spain will either go to war with this country or send an army into Mexico to protect her citizens and restore to them the lost property. So Mr. Bryan will say—mentally, "Well, Spain, what are you going to do about it?"

Commenting on this latest phase of the Administration-Villa alliance, the New York "Times" of April 10th says editorially:

**The expulsion from Torreon by the triumphant Mexican Revolutionists of all the Spanish residents is an incident likely to live long in history, as it may lead to serious complications. The expulsion is incompatible with the laws of civilized**

**(Continued on next page.)**

## ABOUT TORREON

warfare. The men among these Spaniards, many of whom were born in Mexico, have been non-combatants and are, therefore, entitled to protection from the conquerors. Many Mexicans have professed to hate the Spaniards since the expulsion of the Spanish rulers, and until comparatively recent years the phrase "Death to the Spaniards" was retained in the Grito de Dolores, solemnly uttered by the President on the balcony of the National Palace every year on the night of Sept. 15. But the Spaniards in Mexico in these days are a peaceful and provident part of the population, not numerous enough to exert any appreciable political influence, and there is no excuse whatever for Villa's ill-treatment of them except his knowledge that they disapprove of him and his methods. In this they differ very little from most of the foreign residents of the country. Suppose Villa should banish the English, French, or German residents and confiscate their property? Of course Spain will make formal protest against this treatment of her people, and it is not likely that the United States Government can avoid taking notice of the matter officially.

Meanwhile we are forced o provide shelter and the means of living to 700 newcomers in Southern Texas, where we are already caring for some thousands of Mexican refugees. Although Carranza denies that his Provisional Government will confiscate the property of the evicted Spaniards, they have been compelled to leave behind them in the Laguna district large quantities of cotton and all their other property not easily carried. They have lost their homes and their occupations. There is plenty of room for such people in Southern Texas and Arizona, to be sure, if they will set to work to make the best of their lot and become citizens of the country that has given them refuge.

We beg to differ with the "Times" in regard to opinions expressed in the last paragraphs. The thousands of Mexicans held at Fort Bliss are not refugees at all. They are prisoners held there against their will and in spite of demands made by the Mexican Government and by themselves that they be released and sent to their own country. They are held there because most of them are soldiers who, upon returning to Mexico, would again be incorporated by the Federal army. And that would be to Villa's disadvantage. Therefore they are held. They are prevented from joining the ranks of those who a e fighting Villa, while other refugees from rebel ranks who had crossed the border when too hard pressed by Federal forces were released at Nuevo Laredo and other points on orders from Washington.

This has been another example of American fairness as interpreted in these days by the Washington administration.

All that the "Times" has to offer to the Spaniards who have taken refuge in El Paso as a compensation for their losses is a kind invitation to remain in Southern Texas (sic) and Arizona and become citizens of the country that has given them refuge. We are inclined to think that the Spaniards will not be enthusiastic about the generous invitation to become citizens of a country to the government of which they owe the loss of all their property.

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The "World" has not yet called Villa "the Washington of Mexico," but give it time and this will come.—"Town Topics."

# LEST WE FORGET

The Administration has staked everything on the success of Villa and Carranza with its assistance.

* * *

But their success would only spread over a larger area the anarchy of the North.

* * *

Loot, destruction and death, "confiscation," murder and revenge!

* * *

For Wilson's special benefit they have cloaked the sordid truth in high-sounding words.

* * *

For Bryan's benefit, they have conjured a dream of peon government—and issued fiat money at sixteen to one—sixteen of plain theft to one of graft.

* * *

And the Administration has bitten—more than it can chew.

* * *

They say to Spain, England and the other nations: "Leave it to us!"

* * *

It is left to them. Benton is foully murdered. England gets a mass of lies. Hundreds of Spaniards are robbed, ruined and expelled from Mexico. Spain gets Carranza's statement that it was all for the Spaniards' good!

* * *

How long, think you, can this last?

* * *

Somehow or other an item favorable to the military movements of the Federal troops was quoted as coming from Admiral Fletcher.

* * *

The Washington correspondents immediately got a Presidential lecture on newspaper accuracy, and a correction of what Admiral Fletcher did wire, the correction making it less favorable for the Mexican Government.

* * *

There were no lectures on accuracy given during the two weeks in which the newspapers were describing daily in detail the fall of Torreon.

* * *

The Administration is prone to talk glibly of national honor.

* * *

There is more national honor soiled by the Administration in handling the Mexican situation than could result even from a broken treaty.

* * *

There are two things that are likely to bring about war with Mexico: The spread of anarchy and continued provocation to the Mexican Government.

The Administration is directly responsible for both.

* *

And yet the Administration protests that it wants to avoid war.

* * *

Carranza is not disposed to interfere with Villa's purpose to drive all the Spaniards out of Mexico.

* * *

Which shows just where Carranza stands with Villa.

* * *

They will go along in double harness just as long as Villa cares to tolerate Carranza.

* * *

Which will be as long as there is no dispute about the division of the loot.

The voters are going to ask some pertinent questions about Mexico this fall.

* * *

And they are going to be answered in a way that will prove mighty embarrassing to the Administration.

* * *

The real dictator in this country—the voice of the people—will be heard.

* * *

Here are some of the questions that they will ask:

* * *

What right had President Wilson to say who should or who should not be President of Mexico?

* * *

Why did he send John Lind to make demands on the Mexican Government that were absurdly impossible of performance?

* * *

Why has he let so much personal antagonism enter into the shaping of a foreign policy that may be responsible for an unnecessary and unjust war?

* * *

Why did he tell all Americans to get out of Mexico?

* * *

Why did he make it easy for the rebels and bandits to get arms and ammunition that may be turned against our own soldiers?

* * *

Why did he employ so many special agents without experience to gumshoe around and befuddle the whole situation, when not actively working for the Mexican rebels?

* * *

Why did he make an offer to the Mexican Government of a loan from bankers if President Huerta would kindly eliminate himself?

(Continued on next page.)

Why did he try to starve Mexico financially, despite the suffering such action brought to the mass of the Mexican people?

* * *

Why did he take the side of notorious bandits and outlaws against the fifteen million of decent, peaceable Mexican people?

* * *

Why did he overlook their atrocities and go out of his way to hold the Mexican President up to the scorn of the world?

* * *

Why did he find it so necessary to take England's side of the dispute as to the Panama Canal tolls exemption for American coastwise ships?

* * *

And a few others—equally pertinent.

## MONROEISM AND PAN-AMERICANISM.

Ethnologists have described a widespread custom of curing the sick among primitive peoples. This consists in changing the name by which the patient has always been known, on the theory that the evil spirits which are accustomed to enter into the sick man, having, so to speak, lost the proper post office address, will cease to haunt him. Something of the same attitude is revealed in a number of the speeches dealing with our Latin-American policies which were delivered at the recent meeting of the Academy of Political Science at Philadelphia. Assuming that something was radically wrong with that vague thing known as the Monroe Doctrine, learned speakers suggested that the cure might be found by substituting the phrase Pan-Americanism for Monroeism, or the words "concert of action" for the words Monroe Doctrine, or by speaking of Iberic-America instead of Latin-America.

If the problem were one entirely of Latin-American susceptibilities, it might be settled by conjuring with names. But if we are to believe much that is said and written about the subject, there are Latin-American fears to be taken into account. The people of South America are not only incensed by our bad manners; they are afraid. At an acute point in the discussion, the "Yankee peril" emerges. It is plain why it should be to the fore today. The reason is Mexico, of course. Washington's attitude towards Huerta has been received in some quarters as an act of attempted Yankee domination. There is every reason why South Americans should so characterize our policy in Mexico when there are so many people within the United States who find in President Wilson's anti-Huerta policy an act of unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of an independent nation. From this point of view it is the fashion to speak of the Monroe Doctrine as having been diverted from its original purpose. From being a policy for the protection of the liberties of the Latin-American republics, it is shaping into a policy looking towards their domination. It is only natural that nations like Argentina and Brazil, which have attained governmental stability and feel themselves in no danger of European aggression, should protest against a doctrine which is always an irritant to national pride and may become a positive menace.—New York "Evening Post."

# ANOTHER PROFESSOR

Uninfluenced by the almost unanimous opinion of sane and responsible publicists that the Administration has blundered in its attitude toward Mexico, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, rises in vigorous defence of President Wilson's refusal to recognize President Huerta. His apology was published in last Sunday's New York "Times," in the nature of a reply to Colonel George Harvey's appeal to President Wilson to save himself, his party and the country by recognizing the Mexican President.

Before pointing out the misstatements and misinformation about Mexico with which the Hart article fairly shrieks, on which he bases the conclusion that Huerta is not entitled to recognition, it is pertinent to note that not a single argument, statement or deduction that the Professor makes would, if true, in any measure justify the Administration's reprehensible conduct in trying to overthrow the Mexican Government and its open support of the Northern rebels. That is a matter entirely apart from recognition and is the crux of the whole Mexican situation.

Heaven only knows where Professor Hart got his Mexican ideas. Certainly not from any familiarity with Mexican history or the Mexican people. He is described as a professor of government, but he makes it clear that he writes from the viewpoint of the "plain, uninstructed American public." This is a libel on the American public. His flippant manner of discussion would indicate that he wrote from the viewpoint of a "plain, uninstructed, irresponsible dabbler." No other could so airily dismiss the sufferings of Mexico, the pitiful butchery of the Mexican people, as he does in the following set terms:

> This is the normal condition of Mexico which is likely to continue decades after Huerta is gathered to his victims.
>
> The plain uninstructed American public objects to the misconception on this point caused by the thirty years of apparent peace, order and good government under Diaz.

Concerning old Porfirio Diaz he has this to say:

> Diaz understood that a quiet, thriving country was best for those who handled its finances. But what did he do to raise the conditions or standards of his people? Did he raise as many millions for public schools as went into his private fortune? Did he teach ideas of economy and saving? Did he attack the inhuman system of peonage? Did he gradually lead the Mexican people to share in their own government? Did he encourage able men to take responsibility in public affairs?

What a terrible indictment of a man whose crime was to make his country quiet and thriving! Why, indeed, did not Porfirio Diaz in a generation work a metamorphosis of fifty-seven varieties of Indian tribes into nice, respectable Anglo-Saxon citizens with all the highly civilized qualities that Professor Hart could conscientiously approve?

As a matter of fact, Diaz did infinitely more to raise the conditions and standards of his people than this country ever did for the Indians who once owned it. As to public schools, Professor Hart is again talking in the terms of his own environment, thinking of Mexico in the terms of Cambridge, Massachusetts. But Porfirio Diaz did realize the necessity for educating a people indifferent to education and did in every practicable way provide for education. Did he teach ideas of economy and saving? No, he did not try to change the Mexican character overnight. Probably Professor Hart could do that, but it was too much for Diaz. Did he attack the inhuman system of peonage? How glibly the question can be asked, with all that it takes for granted! As well might we ask: "Did George Washington attack the inhuman system of negro slavery?" Did he gradually lead the Mexican people to share in their own Government? Not in the sense of Professor Hart, perhaps, but again, Mexico is not Cambridge, Mass., and democracy in that country will only come after long and patient evolution. Did he encourage able men to take responsibility in public affairs? He did, and he got and developed many of the ablest men that Mexico or any other country has known in modern times.

The Professor, searching for a reason for Wilson's recognizing President Huerta, asks:

> Recognize Huerta? What are the guarantees that if recognized Huerta will bear himself as a ruler? Has past experience prepared him? The uninstructed public believes that Gen. Huerta is too little of a General and too much of a cutthroat.

What has the "uninstructed American public" got to do with picking a President of Mexico? What has it got to say about the character or experience of a Mexican ruler? Ye gods! But any fair-minded American will admit that General Huerta has certainly born himself as a ruler. The patience and dignity with which he has met the nasty insults of Washington have certainly stamped him as not lacking in the qualities of a ruler.

After lightly dismissing President Huerta's military history, Professor Hart says:

> The next mark of surpassing greatness was the murder of his former friend and principal.

He does not say that he believes this, that he has been led to understand this, or that it is even a general conception—he states it as a fact. He makes a de-

(Continued on next page.)

## ANOTHER PROFESSOR---Continued

liberate charge of murder, without proof and entirely on biased hearsay. Ex-Ambassador Wilson, who was in Mexico City at the time that Madero was killed, says he is convinced that General Huerta had nothing to do with the death of Madero and did not even contemplate such a thing. But Professor Hart knows better.

Again the Professor in his irresponsible generalities:

Somehow the uninstructed American public looks upon Huerta as a legitimate descendant of twenty previous dictators of Mexico—false to his friends, cruel to his enemies, and cowering before the fear that his countrymen might be aroused to depose him.

Again, what has the "uninstructed American public" got to do with Mexico? In Mexico City President Huerta has the reputation of being more than loyal to his friends, a frank foe of treachery in his enemies, and absolutely without fear. Huerta cowering? The history of the last year refutes the falsity of such a statement.

Professor Hart says:

The personal character of Huerta or of Villa is a factor in forming a judgment as to the realities of the Mexican situation, but ought not to be a determining reason for refusing to recognize one or the other. Our Government has never been over-solicitous about the private character of the heads of other Governments.

But virtually every argument he advances against the recognition of President Huerta is based on his gratuitous judgment of President Huerta's personal character. No, it is not inconsistency on the Professor's part. It is just shameless tomfoolery.

But then the Professor adds:

The palpable and sufficient reason for not recognizing Huerta as President of the Mexican Republic is that he has never given evidence of being President of the Mexican Republic, or that he is the choice of the Mexican nation for any office or dignity. Who declared him to be "provisional President" on Feb. 19, 1913? Gen. Victoriano Huerta.

President Huerta became provisional ad interim President of Mexico in accordance with the provisions of the Mexican Constitution, his succession was approved by the Congress elected during the previous Administration, and by the Supreme Court of the republic. But nothing will convince Professor Hart that General Huerta is President of Mexico. He and Woodrow Wilson know better.

Again the Professor:

He makes the plea that all he needs to secure his power is recognition by the United States; what better proof could there be that his power is feeble, unstable, and temporary?

He does not make any such plea. He does contend that he is entitled to recognition by the United States according to international law and all precedents. He does contend that in refusing recognition the Administration has encouraged rebellion in his country. He does contend that the Administration has openly encouraged and assisted the enemies of the Mexican Government and that this is unwarranted, unjust, and destructive.

Getting quite warmed up to his subject, the Professor throws consideration of facts and truth to the winds and dashes off the following amazing generalization:

Hence the only question of international law and practice which the Department of State has been called upon to decide is whether the man who calls himself President of Mexico is either de jure or de facto the President of Mexico. Geographically he is plainly not the President of all Mexico, for at least a third of its area is outside of his authority. From a military point of view he is not the head of the Mexican Republic, because his forces have been defeated by rebel armies in every pitched battle for many months. Constitutionally he is not President of Mexico, for he should be flanked by a Congress chosen in an open election. As the wielder of supreme authority for the time being he is not entitled to recognition, because he is visibly afraid to leave his capital even to defend his Government against armed enemies.

Geographically a considerable portion of the United States was outside the authority of President Lincoln during the Civil War. Therefore he was not President of the United States. From a military point of view he was not President of the United States because the Union forces were beaten in every pitched battle for many months. Because he did not lead the Union armies he was "visibly afraid to leave his capital to defend his Government against armed enemies." How awfully absurd!

As to being "flanked by a Congress," President Huerta is "flanked" by a Congress chosen as constitutionally as any has ever been chosen in Mexico, which, we repeat, is not Cambridge, Mass.

Another "argument" of the Professor:

The most frequent plea for the recognition of Huerta is that he is "the strong man," who, if recognized by the United States, will bring about order and good government. Of course, if he is not strong enough to recover the north it is hard to believe that he will long hold the south.

Great Scott! We arm his foes, give them moral support, man their guns, let an American consular agent act as their press agent, weaken him financially, hamper him in every way possible, and then use any temporary weakness as an excuse for not recognizing him. Is that American fair play?

But when it comes to suggest doing something about it, the Professor is all at sea. He deprecates intervention and remarks naively:

For, strange as it may seem, the Mexicans, who have never learned how to develop the resources of their country, or to give it dignity among nations, have an inveterate love of their own land, a furious hatred of those who attempt to diminish their territory, and a willingness to die in its defense which, among more highly organized nations, might be called patriotism.

How strange! How patronizing you are, Professor!

Well, the Professor offers no solution of Mexico's woes, but says President Wilson was perfectly right in not recognizing Huerta. So there you are.

If the Professors, including the one in the White House, would stop their amateurish dabbling in a Mexico they do not know and never can understand, there might be a chance for Mexico.

But that would involve recognition for Huerta.

So Mexico must go to the dogs.

So say the Professors.

We shall see.

By the way, how can a man be "professor of government" at one of our great universities and write such arrant stuff and nonsense?

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### THE CIENTIFICOS.

We are still forced to wonder, by the weight of crushing evidence, whether it is absolutely indispensable to be an ass to write an editorial on Mexican affairs.

One of the latest exhibits of the mentioned crushing evidence was obtained in an editorial published by the N. Y. "Evenng Sun" a few days ago.

With the usual glibness, the democratic writer (democratic because of his unmistakable affinity to the braying quadruped symbolic of the Democratic Party) discoursed on some phases of the Mexican revolution and, taking his cue from the wily patriots, told us that the fight was still waged against the Cientificos. When they can't say anything else, the rebels say they are fighting the Cientificos. But everyone who knows anything about Mexican politicians knows that the Cientificos no longer exist as a political group.

The Cientificos so-called were several men that cultivated close friendship with Limantour and supported him politically. They were limited in number and in the last few years of the Diaz regime practically held the reins of power. But since the fall of Diaz the group has been broken up, many of the men forming it have died, others have been made poor by the revolution, others have taken residence in Europe—new allignments have taken place in the Mexican political field and the Cientificos may be said to have disappeared forever.

The first cry of the Madero rebellion was against the Cientificos and rebels of the present day have found it convenient for lack of better explanation to say that they are fighting the Cientificos. Their application of the term, however, is vague and indefinite. If Cientificos are those who were friendly with Limantour, then Madero himself and his uncle Ernesto and his cousin Rafael Hernadez are Cientificos. Madero requested Limantour to remain at the head of the Department of Finance, which Limantour refused to do and both Rafael Hernandez and Ernesto Madero were closely identified with the then existing Cientificos.

But it has become the rebels habit to call all who oppose them Cientificos, for the name still awakens the old hatred. None of the men surrounding Huerta belonged to the Cientifico group.

The name as now applied by the rebels is the qualificative of any one in Mexico who happens to own a cent of property or who is not in favor of the rebels.

# Government by Headline

By Major Cassius E. Gillette, in "Trend Magazine" for April.

So it comes about that any wealthy individual or corporation can, by skillful press-agent work, mould public opinion on almost any subject without much regard to the true situation. This is especially true if the matter concerns things with which few people are familiar. Publicity for the facts and arguments in favor of any propaganda can be purchased as readily as groceries, and the skillful publicity agent can so distribute the news that the unwary headliner, who of necessity works in haste, will give undue prominence to almost any facts or ideas the press agent wishes. When the owners of the paper, or those who manage its "policy," wish to develop public opinion along a particular line the possibilities are even more remarkable. * * *

Editors write glibly of the Huerta-Diaz conspiracy against Madero. Curiously enough there was a conspiracy fully justified, to arrest him by a coup d'etat, but neither Felix Diaz nor General Huerta knew anything about it. Both were brought into the resulting fight later and on opposide sides.

**From the time Madero started out on his career of colossal blunder, or colossal crime, he and his clique have maintained in the Hibbs Building, Washington, a junta of Mexicans and a press-agency of great ability and unlimited imagination, which has wholly misled American sentiment.**

That this misleading of public sentiment is at the behest of the Great American Oil Monopoly is strongly indicated. Whether the President was sub-consciously moved by this probability to skip with abnormal alacrity to the leadership must be left to the reader's own conclusion. Unpopular, powerful interests fought in public may sometimes be secretly friendly to a public official who aids them "unconsciously" in matters treated altruistically.

But the news of the day show the unfortunate plight in which the Wilson Administration has placed itself by acting suddenly on misinformation when it refused recognition to the Huerta Government. This has driven the Administration into the astounding position of encouraging, apparently with a view to recognition, the unspeakable Villa, whose recent statements and actions have satisfied the American people that he, personally, foully murdered William S. Benton, a very prominent subject of Great Britain, by thrusting a revolver into the pit of his stomach and pulling the trigger, Benton being undoubtedly unarmed at the time.

At the present time this headline principle is more than usually potent in national affairs. While Secretary Bryan pushes his own ideas with vigor, albeit most of those ideas seem based on gallery play, President Wilson works on a totally different plan. What his personal convictions really are nobody knows. He has written profusely on almost every known subject and a co-ordination of what he has said at different times puts him not on two sides of every question, but generally on three or more, the net result being a sort of nebulous straddle where it generally takes an analytical astronomical observer to distinguish the nebula from the halo of glittering generalities that surrounds it. But a critical examination of his acts as an executive and the verbiage with which he accompanies them will show that he never pushes his own ideas at all, but waits till he finds out what he thinks will "go" and then backs it to the limit, throwing consistency to the winds if necessary to land the proposition on which he has embarked. **Even if he mistakes public opinion, he never reverses the lever.** These ideas explain all his palpably inconsistent actions, and no other explanation will cover them.

**A striking example of almost unbelievable press-agenting, which started the Presidency marching with set visage in the wrong direction, is the present awful struggle in Mexico.**

Mexico has about 2,000,000 highly civilized people, a high grade Latin race, and something like 12,000,000 uncouth savages of about the grade and with no more political capacity than our reservation Apaches, and not so much as our Southern plantation negroes. These savages are at heart but little more civilized than they were when Cortez conquered the country. Their highest ideal is to ride a horse, carry a gun and live on corn and beans, earned by the "sweat of their squaws," and preferring looting and raping to other amusements. They are generally ignorant and superstitious, and when not under restraint are cruel and blood-thirsty. Millions of them have no home but a blanket. I have seen thousands of their habitations, never one with a chimney—the smoke gets out as best it can. Left to themselves, or put in control of the country, they would revert to banditism and savagery in a short time. They own no land, and a bad land system fastened upon the country by the early Spaniards has obstructed whatever little tendency they may ever have had to develop into something better than savages. From 1821 down to Diaz's time in 1876, the country was always in a state of semi-anarchy, rebellion, and destruction; any renegade man of wealth could start an uprising by simply promising free land to the peons, which would give the squaws a better chance to work. Hundreds of such rebellions were started on this same pretext, which was never carried out. The mentally unbalanced Madero lacked even the virtue of originality when he worked the time-honored scheme, and he made only one feeble effort to carry it out. This was made through his brother Gustav, who bought a large hacienda down in Morelos at $12 an hectara and sold it to his brother's Government at $36 for issue to the peons. The old fake had worked because in the long period of peace which Diaz started before Madero was born, people had forgotten the former history and Madero's revival of it fired a few minds beyond the peons.

Madero made no effective step to stop the conflagration he had begun. Every bandit he started on the warpath, and that means 90 per cent. of his followers, stayed right on in "rebellion" against Madero and on down to the present moment.

**That General Huerta is an honest old soldier, and not an assassin, traitor, bandit, or usurper in any sense of those words, is easily demonstrated. I have challenged all comers to a public debate on that subject and I can get no takers.**

A schedule of the Hopkins (Hibbs Building) type of news reports from Mexico with the explanation of the real facts would be very illuminating. The New York "Herald" some months ago published a map of the country "controlled" by the rebels in black and that by the Federals in white. All North Mexico was jet black with little white squares about the large cities; they omitted to explain that the white squares covered nine-tenths of the population and were protected by Federal garrisons; while the black rebel area was the semi-desert and mountain regions overrun by bandits, who have since more or less coalesced into a mob, called an army, under the atrocious Villa.

The rebels have never captured a seaport except in the Hopkins type of news. There we have seen Mazatlan captured at least a dozen times. The press-agent banks heavily on our small knowledge of Mexican geography and Mexican distances. A large picture showing troops "Guarding the Usurper in His Palace" turned out, on close examination, to be a part of a parade waiting in front of the Mutual Life Insurance Building about a mile from the Palace.

Mrs. Huerta gives a reception at Chapultepec, the President's summer home, their town house being too small. It is heralded, Hopkins-wise, as "Usurper Hides at Chapultepec."

All through, everything that can injure Huerta is published as a fact, though close reading generally shows it as a rumor.

Huerta's financial condition in the press is one of astonishing ups and downs; in fact, he seems to stay up, but in the news despatches he is constantly falling down; he has also stated positively several times that he will die before resigning.

The New York "World" has for its guiding principle "accuracy and terseness." The following are some excerpts from its headlines and editorials. Allowing for its extra attempts at accuracy, headlines of the less careful papers can be readily imagined. I take the "World" as an example because of its aim for accuracy; at the same time it does not indicate any strong antipathy to President Wilson and his policies. So it is not an exaggerating example of "Government by Headlines."

September 1st: "General Agramonte, Mr. Henry Diffenbach, C. A. Hamilton and Others Appear to Have Been Charged with Poisoning the Mind of W. B. Hale Against Huerta." On October 11th, the same people with others were charged in the "World" with being Benedict Arnolds working for Huerta against their own country.

September 12th: "Report That Huerta Will Resign Soon."

September 20th: "Huerta on Wednesday Arrived at a Determination to Eliminate Himself."

September 24th: "Senor Espinoza Said That Huerta's Overthrow Might Be Expected at Any Time."

October 20th: "Huerta Hid Plot to Sell Mexico by Arrest of Deputies."

This is worthy of reproducing in full: "Leak in private code messages reveals fact that dictator has offered the Presidency to the highest bidder and tried to kill Minister Reyes when the latter faced him with disclosures."

"Root said to be backing Calero with $2,000,000."

"Report says that Senator is representing American oil and railroad interests."

"Senator Call accused of aiding Carranza to form Northern Republic."

"English interests, it is asserted, offered millions for aid of Gamboa."

"Laredo, Texas, Oct. 19.—Advices received here by agents of the Constitu-

tionalists and made public today through a leak in the transmission despatches to New York and Washington—Rodolpho Reyes told Huerta that Diaz would accomplish his overthrow within ten days, whereupon Huerta in a frenzy attacked Reyes and tried to kill him. He was prevented, but the same night had the Minister of Justice thrown into prison where he remains."

It would be interesting to know what comment Senator Root would make on the above assertion. It is also interesting to note that Rodolpho Reyes resigned as Minister of Justice and returned to his seat in Congress. Some weeks later, he, with many others, was imprisoned by President Huerta, but certainly the Minister of Justice was not thrown into prison.

October 20th: "Huerta and Blanquet Will Be Declared Victors at the Presidential Election on Sunday."

October 24th: Despatch from Washington: "General Huerta Has Directed His Followers to Make Sure of His Election Next Sunday."

October 29th: "Reported Huerta Will Quit Office."

November 1st: "Huerta Reported in Need of Money."

November 4th: "Wilson Demands That Huerta Quit Office at Once. Final Ultimatum."

November 7th. "Huerta May Shift Power to Diplomatic Henchmen."

November 9th: "Huerta May Quit on November 15."

November 10th: "U. S. to Strike Huerta in 48 Hours."

November 11th: "President Gets Word That Dictator Will 'Save His Face' by Voluntarily Quitting."

November 12th: "President Believes Mexican Dictator Must Fall Within 30 Days."

November 15th: "President Huerta's Last Prop Fell Today."

November 15th: "It Is Understood That if Huerta Will Withdraw in a Belated Effort to Clear the Situation, the U. S. Will Approve of the Provisional Presidency of Pedro Lascurain."

November 18th: "President Wilson Believes Dictator's Funds Will Last Only About Two Weeks."

November 18th: "Rumors That Huerta Plans to Destroy Railroad Between Mexico City and Vera Cruz."

As this would have been committing military suicide, the ink used to print it might well have been saved.

November 19th: "Huerta Out Soon Is General Belief."

November 23rd: "Huerta Is Near End of Rope Financially."

November 24th: "Calderon for Presidency Is Wilson Plan."

November 24th: "Huerta Treasury Is Nearly Empty."

November 29th: "Financial Panic Indicates Crisis of Huerta Rule."

November 30th: 'Huerta Will Quit if Price Is Right, Declare Reports."

December 1st: "Huerta Has Lost the Support of All Classes of Mexicans."

December 4th: The "World" published a picture of stacked arms labeled, "Huerta's Soldiers Abandon Arms in Mexico Because They Have Not Been Paid or Fed." This is certainly a most remarkable way of abandoning arms. I have seen a large part of the army of the U. S. abandon its arms the same way; in fact, it is a military custom so universal that it is astonishing to think that the "World" should take its label seriously. The arms in the picture are regularly stacked and a sentinel walks in front of them, as is probably done every day by every company of infantry in the U. S.

# Scientists Assail Wilson

**At Meeting of the Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia.**

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., April 3.—Violent attacks on President Wilson's Mexican policy by Henry Lane Wilson, former Ambassador to Mexico, and Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming aroused prolonged applause at the meeting of the Academy of Political and Social Science held here tonight.

**Mr. Mondell charged that President Wilson had shown a personal prejudice and individual ill-will toward Huerta such as had never been equaled in the world's history. He prophesied that if the American Government persisted in weakening the Mexican Government in this way the point would be reached when we must use the strong arm to restore order.**

Ex-Ambassador Wilson contended that recognition of Huerta was the only feasible solution of the problem. If this was done, peace would be restored within ninety days, he said. He continued:

"Intervention might be tried, but the people are rightly opposed to this. We might also advocate and assist in the creation of a new republic in the troublesome district of North Mexico, but this will not relieve the situation permanently. **Huerta is as much 'President' among the Mexican people as Woodrow Wilson is possessor of the American title."**

Expressing his belief that the President was actuated only by the best of motives, Mr. Wilson added:

"He thinks he is right, but I know he is wrong. The Government expects to overthrow Huerta by means of **Villa, a bandit whom I had arrested, tried, and sent to prison for one year on charges of pillaging the homes of American residents.**

"Gen. Carranza is a man who turns his back while things are being done. These are the men with whom idealism must walk hand in hand to get Constitutionalism in Mexico. Such a success will result only in failure; the Government under Villa would stand just as long as we stay back of it, and when we decide to let Mexico assume her own Government we would have the task to do over again.

"In refusing to recognize the provisional Government of Gen. Huerta and by withholding moral assistance enabling it to restore peace and order in Mexico this Government contributed to the discredit of a Government which was endeavoring to restore peace and order to Mexico, and which had the support of 98 per cent. of Mexican public opinion and of American and all other foreign colonies as well as of European Governments.

**"Other errors of the Washington Administration," he said, "were the dispatch of the Lind mission; the attempt to discredit European nations accredited in Mexico, and to misrepresent their attitude with reference to recognition; attempting to destroy the financial credit and standing in Mexico; lifting the embargo on the importation of arms and ammunition into Mexico, and in the assumption that Constitutional elections could be held in Mexico."**

President Wilson's announcement of the new doctrine that Governments owing their origin to violence would not be recognized by this Government, he said, was also an error for the following reasons:

(a) It was announced before the President had access to the records of the Department of State and the history of our foreign relations, which should have served as his guidance.

(b) It was purely an expression of the President's personal views, being contrary to the traditions and precedents of this Government since its existence.

(c) It was uttered without foresight and without that comprehensive view of its effect in our foreign relations which should have obtained. This is made evident by the inconsistent attitude of the Administration in refusing to recognize the Administration of Huerta, and subsequently recognizing the new Government of Peru, where the President had been deposed by violence and was in jail, and the Minister of War had been assassinated, and by the recognition of the Government of Haiti. These inconsistencies subject the Administration to the charge of insincerity.

Regarding the murder of Madero, of which President Huerta has been accused, the ex-Ambassador said:

"The most that may be said of Huerta in connection with this crime, so repugnant to civilization, was that he did not take sufficient precautions to guard against it. Madero was killed in precisely the way it was related, namely, by his guards after an attack had been made upon the automobile, and it may be mentioned here that Madero was being transferred from the guard house in the palace to the penitentiary at the request of the American Embassy, which acted in the matter in response to Mrs. Madero's prayers that more comfortable quarters should be assigned to the ex-President.

"It is believed by a great many honest people that Huerta slew Madero for the purpose of succeeding him in the Presidency. This is a chronological error. Madero had resigned and Huerta had succeeded to the provisional Presidency before Madero was killed. Thus, while Madero was violently overthrown,

## SCIENTISTS ASSAIL WILSON---Continued

his death did not occur until after his successor had been chosen."

Major Gillette's vigorous description of the inadequacy of any Government under bandits like Carranza and Villa was loudly applauded. He said:

"If Villa were to be elected tomorrow, as President Wilson thinks he should be, he would have exactly the same problem on his hands that Huerta now has. We are the only nation in the world that permits the organization of armed forces within its borders to be used in warfare against a foreign nation. The great trouble in Mexico rests in the savagery of the rebels, their inability to handle the ballot and the fact that the rich lands are owned by a few people, while the peons starve. The rebellion is financed by capitalists seeking to destroy Mexican civilization, regardless of the effect this will have on our commerce from that country. The only solution is in a graduated tax on all lands and giving the peons an opportunity to purchase a few hectares."

Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, discussed what he termed the "idealism" of President Wilson. The President's policies, however, are inspiring, but untenable, and no solution of the Mexican problem can be expected so long as the President of Mexico is held up to the scorn and condemnation of the civilized world, Doctor Rowe thought. He added that he would not undertake making any psychological analysis of the President's motives and believed them to be of the utmost purity.

"President Wilson's constitutional standards mean either a prolonging of the state of anarchy in Mexico, the outcome of which must be the complete disappearance of every vestige of civilization, or armed intervention by the United States," said the educator. "The real solution is the elimination of demands for a Constitutional election, and this does not, of necessity, mean the formal recognition of President Huerta."

### Believes War Is Inevitable.

That war with Mexico is inevitable is the belief of Louis Livington Seaman, U. S. A., retired, who scored the President for lifting the embargo on arms. "It was the first step toward co-operation with vicious characters like Villa," he said. "President Wilson's attitude is not consistent. He refuses to recognize a Mexican dictator, yet he jumps across the border and dictates to the Mexican people what sort of Government it must have."

Economic and social aspects of the Mexican rebellion were discussed by Dr. Simon N. Patten, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Leslie C. Wells, of Clark College, Worcester, Mass. Both agreed that the United States had no right to interfere in the question, and suggested that America had plenty of work to do within its own borders, without fomenting trouble among 12,000,000 of Mexican savages.

"Freedom isn't worth anything to a starving man like the Mexican peon," commented Doctor Patten. "The economic principles of Mexico are the ones that need attention, rather than the development of a Constitutional Government."

He added that possibly United States capital had been instrumental in dislocating Mexican industry, and thus was responsible for the prevailing disorder. "At any rate, we are told that the fighting today is being carried on by American money," he added.

## MEXICO'S VITALITY INCREASE IN FOREIGN TRADE.

Washington, April 5.—Greatly increased exports of crude mineral oil, somewhat increased exports of cattle and coffee, and diminished exports of rubber and metallic minerals from Mexico during the last year are conspicuous features of reports on the declared exports from that republic, transmitted by American consular officers to the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce, Department of Commerce.

These reports are corroborated, in a general way, by the official statistics of that bureau, which indicate greatly increased arrivals of oil, coffee, sisal, and cattle, and smaller receipts of pig copper, lead ore, gold, and silver from Mexico.

Mexico's foreign trade in the fiscal year 1913, the latest year for which complete official data are at hand, amounted to $248,000,000, $150,000,000 of which represented exports and $98,000,000 imports. The United States took in that year 77 per cent. of the exports and supplied 50 per cent. of the imports.

Comparing the figures of the calendar year 1913, with those of the preceding year, increased exports to Mexico from the United States occurred in cotton, bituminous coal, structural iron and steel, and pipes and fittings; while decreased exports are noted in boots and shoes, farming tools and machinery, railway equipment, automobiles, sewing machines, wire, lumber, talking machines, corn, wheat and lard. Raw cotton amounted to 22,500,000 pounds, or treble the figures of 1912; structural iron and steel increased from 3,250 tons in 1912 to 11,250 tons in 1913; and pipes and fittings from 61,000,000 to 90,000,000 pounds; while steel rails decreased from 32,000 to 14,000 tons; passenger and freight cars, from $840,000 to $559,000 value; agricultural implements, from $767,000 to $369,000; wire, from 26,250,000 to 14,375,000 pounds; and boots and shoes, from 885,009 to 737,706 pairs.

### Mineral Oil Imports Advance.

Imports of crude mineral oil from Mexico scored a remarkable advance, from 273,000,000 gallons, valued at $4,000,000, in 1912, to 683,000,000 gallons, valued at $10,000,000, last year. Most of this oil is refined at Bayonne, N J.; partial refining operations are also carried on at Baltimore and in Texas. A large increase also occurred in imports of Mexican cattle, from $4,125,000 worth in 1912, to nearly $8,000,000 in 1913. Coffee rose from $5,000,000 to $6,000,000 and sisal from $5,250,000 to $17,000,000; but pig copper decreased from $18,000,000 to $14,000,000; lead in ore, from $3,500,000 to $2,500,000, and crude rubber, from $1,375,000 to $1,000,000. A slight falling off occurred in cattle hides. Other important articles imported from Mexico include goat skins, copper ore and mahogany, the figures in each case being slightly above those of 1912.

An interesting survey of Mexico's trade is obtained by analyzing consular reports on the value of exports declared for the United States during 1913, from leading points in that republic. Large increases in exports of oil are reported from Tampico and Tuxpam, on the lower gulf coast; the former from $3,500,000 to $7,000,000, and the latter from less than $1,000,000 to nearly $5,000,000 in the period from 1912 to 1913. Exports from Nuevo Laredo amounted to $3,250,000, or six times as much as in 1912, cattle, sheep, goats, corn and pecans contributing to the growth.

### Monterey Loses Export Trade.

Cananea a little more than held its own in exports of copper, gold, and silver, the total of these and other less important articles being $17,750,000, or $500,000 more than in the preceding year. Monterey, located in the heart of Mexico, sustained a considerable loss, $6,500,000, argentiferous lead and in export trade—from $11,750,000 to fine silver being the chief factors in the decline in shipments to the United States.

Calamine, rubber and istle also decreased, while cattle and cattle products, in common with the movements at most other districts, increased. Chihuahua and Juarez held their own, the former doubling its exports of gold-silver-lead bullion, slightly increasing those of copper-gold-silver bullion, decreasing by about 70 per cent. its exports of gold-silver bullion, and practically suspending shipments of copper bullion. At Juarez the notable feature was the large increase in exports of cattle and hides. Increased shipments of hides at that point and at Mazatlan are explained as being incidental to the large number of cattle slaughtered for army use. At San Luis Potosi base bullion and rubber were contributory factors in a loss of $700,000 compared with the preceding year, and rubber was a diminishing factor in exports from Saltillo. Nogales fell off about 50 per cent., chiefly in silver ore.

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## HUERTA AND RECOGNITION BY UNITED STATES.

Huerta was President of Mexico before Madero was killed. He was elected unanimously according to the most rigid requirements of the Constitution. The Government itself did not lapse, but retained its continuity. All departments acquiesced in the change. The responsible elements of the population, nine-tenths of those capable of comprehending what was going on, were in agreement. In fact, a week after the coup d'etat the Huerta Government was more generally recognized throughout the length and breadth of Mexico than the Madero Government had been. Potential revolutionists in Chihuahua and the North were vociferous, but hesitant in action. **Recognition of Huerta then would have discouraged any formidable armed revolt.**

The so-called Constitutionalist cause has now passed into the hands of bandits. Recruiting has been easy in a territory where brigandage is the principal means of livelihood. While Huerta has been harassed by all sorts of demands on our part, and especially by a financial blockade, these men, irresponsible and lawless, were able to make some progress. **They only became really formidable when our diplomacy opened to them an inexhaustible supply of war material.**

Whatever news has come from Torreon has come over the wires controlled by Constitutionalists, yet even the censored reports show that Federal resistance was valorous and determined, **not the kind of resistance usually offered by soldiers who have to be driven to battle by the swords of their officers.** Every town between Torreon and the capital is a Federal stronghold that will be defended heroically. It is improbable, therefore, that Villa will do no more than strive to capture Tampico. The resources of the North will be sufficient to satisfy him for a time. This means an interminable conflict.

Assuming, however, that Villa should reach the capital, there are a dozen bandit movements that do not recognize him. Zapata is for Zapata and General O. is for General O. Nor is it possible that this nation could recognize a Villa as President.

We have cried hands off to Europe. Torreon has been looted. From one to two billions of dollars in foreign investments are endangered. Our attitude practically guarantees to these foreigners redress, which means that a debt of millions of dollars is being loaded, by our "watchful waiting" on the Mexican people, present and future, as the price of the rapine and murder in which the combatants indulge.

If there is no Government in Mexico shall that condition continue indefinitely? Shall neither the de facto Government nor the chief revolutionary cause be held responsible for outrages?

Huerta stands for law and order as Diaz taught both. **He is the representative of Mexican civilization. Whether he lives or dies, is recognized or not recognized, the elements behind him are the elements which must eventually direct pacification of the country.** Without them Mexico will become a number of Balkan States, with less than Balkan civilization, and chaos there will be permanent instead of transitory.

Why then is Huerta not recognized? The main reason, says the Springfield "Republican" (answered elsewhere in this issue by Mr. Wilson), "is the evidence that our Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, in effect conspired with Huerta and Felix Diaz for the overthrow of President Madero, recognized by our Government only two or three days before his downfall as the Constitutional executive of Mexico, a friendly nation."

The fact is that on February 18, General Huerta reported to the diplomatic corps that he had arrested the President in the interest of humanity and wished the corps to arrange an interview with Diaz. This was four days after the Senate had requested Madero to resign. Diaz agreed to meet Huerta in the American Embassy only. There he did meet him in the presence of the American and German Ambassadors, and after several hours of negotiation an agreement for the restoration of peace was made. It is not true, therefore, that "Ambassador Wilson promoted a treasonable plot against the head of a friendly Government," as the logic and chronology of events shows. But if he had done so, should the error of our Ambassador be made by us the reason for a second and even graver injustice to a neighboring people?

It may be that the military success of Villa justifies lifting the embargo on arms, **but is there any good reason why the financial blockade of the Huerta Government should not also be lifted?** It is true that Huerta has survived a year of our baneful blundering and maintained order in the territory in his control. **Nothing better could happen for Mexico than our recognition of his Government even at this late date, and nothing would be so likely to assure permanent avoidance of intervention by us.**

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's answer to Colonel George Harvey's forceful argument in favor of recognition is published elsewhere in this issue of the "Public Ledger." Prof. Hart's conclusion is that the Mexican character is so unstable that it makes good government impossible, that Mexicans are worthless people anyhow, and the proper thing to do is to watch the common slaughter from afar, although our Government must be sure not to allow any other Government to interfere. The whole situation, however, as a matter of fact, is much more serious and is entitled to more serious consideration than Professor Hart gives it. Unless active measures to prevent intervention take the place of passive "watchful waiting" the tragedy of it will be the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives of American boys and the waste of millions of our public treasure, with no conceivable good but a perfect Pandora's box of calamitous ills.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

## ALLEGED NEWS.

Within an hour after the arrival in New York of the alleged news that Bryan, Villa & Co. had stormed and captured Torreon, some of our daily papers published columns of description of the titanic conflict and the unprecedented victory. Bryan, the peace piffler, was praised for his noble actions in blockading Mexican ports, holding thousands of Federal soldiers as prisoners in Texas and supplying Villa with arms and ammunition, but Villa was described and depicted as the grand hero, leaping his horse over battered buildings, brushing away cannon-balls as if they were mosquitoes, and lighting his cigarettes from the fuses of bursting bombs. His superiority to Napoleon as a stategist—for Napoleon never smoked cigarettes—and to Grant as a military mastiff—for Villa had continued his attack for thirteen days—were pointed out in detail. Everybody knew that all this stuff had been written up in advance; that there was no way of getting it from Mexico by telegraph, cable or wireless. But the editors thought that it might possibly be correct, and, anyhow, it would please the folks at Washington. Then they turned round and read the plain truth in the real telegrams in the "Herald" of Sunday. Torreon had not been stormed; for days Villa had been firing upon an empty town, evacuated by General Velasco because his ammunition was bad, and because he desired to put his army in a better strategical position. Since then Villa has not been playing with cannon-balls and lighting cigarettes by bomb explosions. He is resting—with a rope around his neck, for the Mexican and the British Governments will hang this murderer and utter scoundrel wherever he is caught. Meantime his newspaper eulogists cannot take back what they have said, but are inclined to believe that on the whole piffling Bryan is more of a hero than Villa, has a stronger imagination and works it harder. Besides, though Bryan has thousands of unnecessary Mexican murders upon his toughened conscience, he is in no danger of being hanged, except in effigy, while he crouches behind a seat in the Cabinet.—"Town Topics."

## THE OPENING GUNS.

The presiding officer at Maine's Republican State Convention was Congressman John A. Peters, who made an attack on President Wilson's Mexican and Panama Canal tolls policies. "I have great admiration and respect for President Wilson," said Mr. Peters. "But no one but the blindest partisan or one who has given the matter no thought can have the slightest respect for the foreign policy of his Administration, especially in Mexico. Indeed, it cannot properly be called a policy at all, because it is unintelligible and aimless." He **declared that by refusing to recognize Huerta, the President "lost his greatest opportunity to establish some kind of order in Mexico and save thousands of lives and countless treasure.** During this watchful waiting process of the Administration," Mr. Peters continued, "lives and

(Continued on next page.)

property of our own and other citizens are being destroyed. England and other countries have acted with extraordinary forbearance, but the limit must be reached some time. The Mexican policy of the Administration has excited the surprise and contempt of European countries. It looks in Washington as if England had our Administration in a hole. Apparently she has taken advantage of the situation and said to the President: 'Kindly have your Congress reverse its action in giving your coastwise vessels a right to go through the Panama Canal free, and we will keep out of Mexico.' To repeal the free tolls law under the present circumstances admits that we had not the right to pass it. It changes the whole result of the stupendous work, smashes the Monroe Doctrine and will change the history of this country."—Boston "Transcript."

### MR. LIND'S "VACATION."

It may be mere coincidence, but the announcement of Mr. Lind's return to the United States, coming as it does on the heels of his remarkable recommendation to Carranza to repudiate all loans negotiated by the Huerta Government, arouses suspicion that there is connection between the two events.

Having made such a recommendation, Mr. Lind could hardly remain persona grata wi h General Huerta. Nor could such a recommendation be overlooked by European Governments that have duly recognized the Huerta Government, with which their financiers, on the basis of such recognition, have negotiated loans.—New York "Herald."

### ATTACKS FOREIGN POLICY.

"President Wilson's foreign policy, in each of its exposed phases, is one which few heartily approve, many openly oppose and many more distrust, a situation is already produced that worries the country and is hardly to be solved by the reflection of any single mind.

For example, we do not escape our responsibility for the fearful conditions in Mexico by a shrug of the shoulders and the remark, 'Am I my brother's keeper'?

"We do not escape it by charging that a dagger and not a vote was the certificate of 'Huerta's title.' We do not escape it when every other nation has recognized Huerta, by claiming that we are holier than they, and, therefore, can pay no respect to their opinion. Huerta has stood up for a year and a half against our refusal to recognize his title, and although things now look difficult for him, who doubts that thousands of live would have been saved, including those of at least 200 Americans, and millions of property would have been preserved, millions also of our own, if Woodrow Wilson had said to Huerta, as England, France, Germany, Japan and the states of South America, all said: 'You seem to be de facto President. As such you may have arms and ammunition from our markets, and we will not aid or abet the rebels who contend against you.'"—From Chicago speech of Dist. Attorney Whitman of N. Y

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### VILLA MORALLY GUILTY.

Far from exonerating General Francisco Villa, the report of the Carranza commission that William S. Benton was shot on a train between Juarez and Chihuahua by Major Rodolfo Fierro puts General Villa on the defensive again. At the time of the tragedy Fierro, a favorite of Villa, was acting as superintendent of railways on the strength of having formerly been a brakeman on the Mexican National. The two men were intimate and were often seen together in public. There should be an explanation of how Benton came to his death while in the personal custody of Fierro with orders to take the Englishman to the Chihuahua penitentiary on the charge of threatening and abusing General Villa at his headquarters.

The ley de fuga is usually associated with the fiction of a prisoner's attempt to escape from his captors in the open. They deliberately murder him after telling the victim to make a run for his life; sometimes he is shot in the back without warning, which is the more merciful way of despatching him. It is Fierro's defence that William S. Benton tried to escape from the train on which they were proceeding to Chihuahua and was shot down. The story is made out of the whole cloth; as an example of the ley de fuga it is a sorry invention.

Benton knew his Mexican guard too well, a notorious ruffian, to take any chances with him. The Englishman must have been killed like a dog, and Fierro was rendering a service to his leader and friend by ridding him of an enemy, dead men telling no tales. It may not be the fact that General Villa gave his lieutenant a sign to kill Benton, but why was the prisoner confided to a man killer like Fierro when an honest and trustworthy agent could have been selected?

Francisco Villa is not exonerated by the report; on the contrary, he is shown to be morally responsible for the murder of William S. Benton. The infamous deceit practised upon the State Department by General Villa, first by publishing the forged court-martial rescript and then by promising to let a commission examine the body, proves the case against him. At this late day exhumation would be futile. General Villa and Governor Carranza have triumphed over the United States Government. It ought to be a lesson in misplaced confidence to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. —New York "Evening Sun."

### MEXICAN OUTRAGES.

**Our Own Government Held Responsible by Foreigners.**

The London "Times" declines to believe that the Washington Government will accept Villa's "explanation" of the murder and expect Great Britain to be satisfied with it. The "Graphic" declares that President Wilson must be held responsible. All the influential papers express substantially the same sentiment.

In France, the expression is even more outspoken. "Le Temps," understood to clearly reflect Government opinion, says:

"President Wilson's compass is erratic. In the midst of the turmoil in Southern and Central American countries he stands, a majestic pedagogue, upholding puritanical and idealistic views, although he varies them, as shown by his recognition of the new Peruvian Government. We do not think his policy is likely to bring the golden age in Latin-America. His different adaptations of the Monroe doctrine are involving him in endless difficulties and still the revolution continues.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

Our complications with Mexico have made it necessary to have the support of the foreign powers. We have requested them to acquiesce in our policy of "waiting and watching." If this were done, we pledged ourselves to protect the lives and property of foreign residents in Mexico. When we offered this pledge Great Britain charged us with a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, in the matter of the exemption of our coastwise vessels from the payment of tolls at the Panama Canal. Confronted by this challenge, nothing was left for President Wilson to do but to reverse himself and his party. It was not so much a question of courage as of expediency.—"Leslie's Weekly."

### "I AM INDIAN."

Without any moral support, with every resource for borrowing money crippled—because the United States blocked the way—Huerta has gone on without making unreasonable demands from the resources of the government. During this time General Huerta has several times refused money from capitalists. This money stands ready for him to-day for the asking—which would not be the fact if the capitalists had not faith that President Huerta can take care of the present situation, and of the future, also.

All of these stories about the characteristics and habits of General Huerta are attacks of the enemy. General Huerta says: "I am Indian." I don't suppose for one minute that this President Huerta is a saint. No saint could work the government of Mexico. This country needs the Indian, the nerve, the decision, the acts of something way beyond the understanding of either saints or old-school orthodoxy. But with the unnecessary need of the saint and old schools there must be the judgment that works to the minute, hour, day, week and month, and the never letting down of iron rule. No one understands this better than General Huerta. Could a man who was himself controlled by intoxicants hold these people in subjection? These days of "disappearing," these days of "dissipation" that the enemy, the sensationalist, continually heralds would upset the whole regime of government here. The facts refute the libel. Men who have known Huerta intimately and long say they have never seen him intoxicated. They speak of him as a wonderful man, a wonderful general, and whether or not the recognition of Huerta as President and Mexico as government would settle for all time these revolutions, they all say for the present the recognition should come. Whether it comes or not, the government here will continue and General Huerta must stand to protect it. There could be no greater disaster than his resignation.

And right here is where the flippant laugh and comic opera suggestion get in their work. For President Huerta to resign because President Wilson does not like him would be a treachery to duty exactly the same as if the request were reversed; that President Wilson be asked to resign because the outlaws, anarchists and rioters in our country were trying to overthrow law and order.—"The Widow" in "Town Topics."

### TO-MORROW AND TO-MORROW AND TO-MORROW.

"In the event of any disturbance at Tampico," Spanish subjects there will be protected by the commander of the British cruiser in that port. Spain is a country of enduring patience, but even

she has grown weary of depending upon the United States for protection of her subjects in Mexico. Those subjects have been treated more severely and cruelly than those of any other Power. Many Spanish lives have been taken; many Spaniards have been deported; the Spanish loss by blackmail and confiscation has been great.

It doesn't appear that the United States has been of any aid or that it has given any protection. In northern Mexico it has humbly and futilely interceded with Carranza in behalf of Spanish subjects. From the shadowy and impotent "protection" of the United States Spain turns where she can, as at Tampico, to Great Britain. She is tired of watching and waiting for the reality behind the high purposes and fine sentiments of the Administration at Washington; for the fact, the certainty and the power not discernible in the long welter of a timid and irresolute opportunism that never finds an opportunity.

The interminable Wilson-Bryan "manana" has worn out at last even the waiting capacities of Spain.—New York "Sun."

### "DO NOT INVADE MEXICO."

The question of intervention with the Republic of Mexico is a greater and more serious question than is generally supposed. It, of course, as we all know, would mean war, and a war that would be a great crime, committed by us, the most boasted civilized nation in the world, upon an innocent and helpless nation of people who court our friendship and good will—a people who are not to blame for the destruction of life and property committed by bands of robbers and outlaws in their midst any more than our people should be held accountable for crimes committed throughout our country by the same class of lawbreakers.

But above all other reasons that may be brought against our making war upon Mexico is this (and I want to emphasize this statement and ask anyone who doubts the ground upon which I make it to look back over the files of our different daily papers for the last three and one-half years to satisfy themselves that this statement is based upon a good and sound foundation and one that would hold good in any civilized court in the world): Of all the crimes committed in Mexico on account of the so-called revolution, the United States is equally guilty with those who committed them.

Because the crimes—murder and destruction of property—were committed by the lawbreakers of Mexico, but with guns and ammunition furnished them by the lawbreakers of our country, for these arms were sold to them not only in violation of the laws of our country but against all international laws as well as our treaty laws with Mexico in force during that time.

A French paper, published in Mexico City, in answer to an item in an American journal, saying "if Mexico did not soon set her house in order some other country would do it for her," tersely replied that "If the United States would keep her own house in order by preventing her lawbreakers from unlawfully supplying the Mexican lawbreakers with arms and ammunition, Mexico would soon have her house in order also and would keep it so."

I wish to say right here that I, as well as thousands of other Americans who have left our homes and farms in Mexico, know that intervention would be a great calamity to all of us instead of the blessing that many suppose, and we therefore hope and pray that President Wilson will stand firm upon his policy of non-intervention, as he has been doing, for we feel certain that an invasion of the country would cause a general uprising of the whole people of that nation, and the destruction of thousands of Americans' homes there, besides other properties worth millions of dollars.

The only Americans I ever met in Mexico who wanted intervention I found in hotel lobbies of the cities; their only interests in Mexico usually were in undeveloped and unpaying oil or mining companies with large stock issues, but unsaleable. They calculate that, in case of war, they could claim they were driven out of the country and file claim for indemnity and in that manner get pay for property that has little, if any, real value.

I wish to state that it was the continual fear of intervention more than any other thing that caused so many of us to leave our homes there during the past year.

I have made my home for the last seven years on my farm in Mexico with my family, and I wish to say emphatically that I never resided in a more peaceful and friendly community. I found the Mexican people with whom I had dealings to be always pleasant and agreeable—both the merchants and business class as well as the lower, or Indian class, whom I employed on my farm, and a great part of this time I have had as many as 150 Mexican men working for me, many with their families, and have never had any trouble of any kind whatever. I would therefore consider it a great crime and a disgrace for our powerful nation to make war upon a people who should not be held responsible or suffer for crimes committed by outlaws over whom they have no control.—P. W. WARNER, in Houston "Chronicle."

### A BLIND ALLEY.

To the Editor of the New York "World":

In company with several hundred thousand others of your readers I was greatly interested in your editorial entitled "Vindicating the Wilson Policy."

Your statement that Gen. Villa is "not alone a military chieftain of high capacity," but also "discloses qualities of statesmanship," is an especially engrossing discovery, and if you will permit I should like to place a question or two before you.

What will you do if Gen. Villa's "military capacity" and "statesmanship" are rewarded by conferring upon him the Presidency of Mexico?

As the Washington Government has announced its refusal to recognize a Mexican Government "founded on blood," and as "The World" has indorsed this exalted ethical censorship, where do you expect to discover a gentleman in Mexico sufficiently eligible and free from bloodstains to merit your approbation?

What divine mission has the Washington Administration and "The World" performed that has enabled them to pose as ethical arbiters of nations more remote from the Almighty than we are?

What government in all the world's history was ever established on anything else save "blood" and "treason"?

In placing our refusal to recognize Huerta on the basis that he is a "traitor," are we not casting sad discredit upon Gen. Washington, who was also a "traitor" and upon whose head England placed a price for many years?

When both "The World" and President Wilson discover that they are walking up a blind alley, will they retrace their steps, or will they go on to the wall and jeopardize the world's peace rather than admit their hasty acceptance of an untenable and preposterous doctrine?

Are you sufficiently generous and liberal minded to answer these serious and candid queries from a friend who believes "The World" is usually on the side of right and consistency?—JAMES ARTHUR NOBLE, in New York "World."

### CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderland of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.

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## WITH THE AID OF A GUNMAN.

Again we repeat that those Senators and Congressmen who are opposed to the President's proposed repeal of the Canal tolls exemption have not struck with sufficient vigor at the very center and the weakest point of the President's position.

All their efforts to find out why the President demands surrender to Great Britain's contention have revealed nothing except that the President wants to give to the world a distinct evidence of our fairness and generosity so that he will not be handicapped in dealing with foreign matters of near import.

This is very vague and it is not at all informing.

It is more than possible that the Senate and House would somehow get more information from the White House if either adopted a resolution asking the President directly whether he had urged the repeal of the tolls exemption so as to hold off England while he works through a notorious gunman toward the destruction of Mexico?

## WHAT IS PRESIDENT WILSON GOING TO DO ABOUT THIS?

"The police brutality shown yesterday in Union Square was equal to that shown in Russia. The police and Mayor Mitchel, working through fakirs who represented themselves as representatives of labor organizations, gathered a crowd for yesterday's meeting. When the police saw there was no riot or bloodshed they created riot and caused bloodshed themselves. They rode into the throng on horseback, trampling down women and children.

"But if the police think they can stop this movement by splitting our heads, they have another thought coming to them. The movement will go on until there are no more parasites—no more capitalists. They can kill, hang, jail, or club us, but can't kill our spirits, and the harder they fight the harder we'll fight back.

"If the American police think they can silence us by beating, then we will have to carry on our propaganda in secret, as is done in Russia. Conditions here are becoming as bad as in Russia, and the same measures to remedy them as are in vogue in Russia will have to be adopted, for where free speech is not allowed, other modes of expression must be resorted to."—Statement by Reba Edelson, I. W. W. leader, in New York "Times."

Is the President going to see that those who talk and act this way are well supplied with arms and ammunition? Is he going to interfere in their favor with the difficult task of the New York authorities in maintaining order? It is interesting to read what the New York "World," champion of Villa, has to say about these violent members of the I. W. W., who are infinitely more intelligent than that bandit's followers and certainly, if mistakenly, inspired with some ideas, rather than a barbaric instinct to loot and destroy:

Because of the encouragement they have received, leaders of the I. W. W. for several days have openly been preaching disorder and urging their followers to defy all city authority.

At one meeting, O'Carroll, an agitator who has been in this country only a few months and for whose arrest last Saturday Magistrate Freschi scored the police, told an east side audience: "We are the predatory powers. We intend to get the goods—the plunder, if you want to call it that." Another speaker, Alexander Berkman, the Anarchist, said: "I believe in resistance. * * * I claim the right to preach riot if I want to."

There has been a good deal of this kind of talk the last few days. Behind it is the deliberate purpose to provoke trouble with the police tomorrow. Certain muddled sentimantalists have treated he I. W. W. and their fellow-workers, the Anarchists, as persons having rights superior to those of ordinary citizens. They are largely responsible for the O'Carrols and Berkmans.—New York "World."

## FALL GUYS.

It is common knowledge in Washington that Bryan has been the easiest kind of a "fall guy," the victim of the "constitutionalist" con men, operating under the clever direction of their oily Washington attorney. They have sized up his character and limitations better than he knows himself and have fed him with the kind of "dope" for which he has an amiable failing. Certainly they must have very little respect for his brains and judgment. Imagine a child in arms who could be fooled by the following obvious play on Bryan's well-known prohibition leanings:

It is rather interesting that the ground upon which the Constitutionalists place Villa's enmity to the Spaniards is his strong temperance inclination. Villa, they say, has an almost fanatical opposition to alcoholic liquors, and these Spaniards are engaged chiefly in the liquor traffic. A statement given out by the Constitutionalists here emphasizes the steps which Villa has taken to prevent the sale of alcoholic liquor to his soldiers. On April 2, say Villa's press representatives here, he ordered the destruction of every receptacle for liquor in Torreon, which caused the Spaniards heavy losses.

The Constitutionalist statement says:

"These Spaniards are the keepers of saloons, low dance halls, pawnshops and disreputable resorts in Torreon. As Gen. Villa is almost fanatically opposed to the use or sale of liquors in any form, he entertains a particular enmity towards those who engage in this traffic.—Press despatch from Washington.

These "constitutional" liars are clever, there is no question. They have learned that the leaders of the Administration will swallow anything, no matter how ridiculous, that will seem to bolster up their position. But it is certainly humiliating to Americans to know that a bunch of unprincipled Mexicans can make fools of those who guide the destinies of our country.

## THE REAL INSPIRATION.

El Paso, Texas, April 3.—The effect of the rebel victory at Torreon was felt here in a stiffening of the market for Constitutionalist money, and the beginning of a movement to organize foreigners owning property in Mexico to appeal to Washington to recognize the Carranza Government.

"The fall of Torreon puts the dollar mark on Villa and Monclova money," said J. S. Curtis, of this city. "The value of paper money lies in the promise to pay, and the fall of Torreon has marked the culmination of a long series of events which promise to establish and make good Villa's and Carranza's written guarantee, which is signed at the bottom of all paper money they have issued.

"To date the Mexican Constitutionalist Government for their joint account have issued $60-000.000 of paper fiat currency and for eight months the merchants along the United States border and Northern Mexico have gambled on the promises of Villa and Carranza to pay."

The Constitution or the $60,000,000? Which do you think they are fighting for? No wonder the rebels have "sympathizers" on the border. Scratch the sympathizers and you'll find a holder of fiat money.

## THE CLOAK OF CONSTITUTIONALISM.

**Any one who pricks the bubble of millenium-promising adventurers is a Bourbon.**

* * *

**Who picks the latest slogan—"Constitutionalism," "uplift," or what not—gets the crowd.**

* * *

**At least in the old U. S. A.**

* * *

**Revolution in Mexico is simply a matter of money and organization.**

* * *

**Money to hire mercenaries and equip them, organization to draw up and advertise a high-sounding program.**

* * *

**Porfirio Diaz gave Mexico a quarter of a century of peace and material progress.**

* * *

**Madero has given Mexico more than three years of ruination.**

* * *

**All the fine-sounding programs in the world will not change that fact.**

* * *

**There is nothing for which the rebel agents profess they are fighting that is not contemplated by the Mexican Government or already put in practice.**

* * *

**Then what are they fighting for?**

* * *

**For loot and power and offices.**

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

VOL. II—No. 35. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1914. FIVE CENTS

# WAR?

As we go to press ominous black clouds are gathering on the national horizon. One of the most powerful fleets ever assembled by any nation has been ordered to Mexican ports, to ports which have no sufficient means of defense against the attack of one battleship, much less against a formidable array of twenty modern dreadnoughts.

It was not necessary to be a political meteorologist to have prognosticated the coming of these storm clouds. When President Wilson in December told Congress that no clouds appeared on our horizon but that a dark one hung over Mexico he evidently forgot that clouds move.

If we are to judge the first impulse of the people by newspaper opinions, what is considered as the first move toward an inevitable war has aroused the enthusiasm of young blood, always ready for a "scrap," regardless of its cost or its justice. And at the risk of ours being the only dissenting voice at the moment, but firm in our conviction that the sanest elements in this country will presently concur in our opinion if, indeed, they do not already do so, we shall raise a voice of protest.

Let no one mistake our protest for lack of patriotism. We yield in this to no one but we feel that real patriotism must be founded on fairness, justice and truth. If the flag of the United States has been insulted, repair for the insult must be forthcoming, whatever the cost may be to us or to Mexico.

But we have failed so far to discover any evidence that the inadvertent arrest of several bluejackets in Tampico constituted an insult to the flag of the United States. No authentic statement regarding the incident at Tampico has been made. The Administration has kept absolutely silent and this strange silence has been interpreted as indicating lack of justification for the demand made by Admiral Mayo. Inspired Washington dispatches have harped on the "necessity of defending the national honor," but before the people arrive at the conclusion that the national honor has been attacked a thorough investigation should be made and the full facts given to the public. If they reveal that no insult was either intended or offered to the flag and that the arrest of the sailors who landed within established firing lines was due to the unintentional error of a subordinate Mexican officer, or was justified by international law, the prompt apology offered by the Federal commander and by President Huerta himself should be sufficient redress.

It may be true that, according to prevailing ideas, the Administration must support the admiral's demand, even though unjust, at the cost of war, in order to uphold its prestige, but in this case President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are acting contrary to their oft-repeated profession of peaceful faith.

No man can know other men's secret thoughts, but for well-nigh eight months we have been pointing out to our readers the fact that, whether intentionally or not, the Administration was courting war. We do not know whether the black clouds now gathering will dissolve themselves into a harmless drizzle or whether they are the forerunners of a storm—but we do know that war with Mexico is dangerously near.

We say dangerously advisedly. Not a dangerous war, as far as the success of American arms is concerned, but dangerous because of its incalculable consequences; dangerous to the cause of humanity and justice, and dangerous to our reputation as a nation of good faith.

Whatever the merits of the Tampico incident, the events of the past year will clearly demonstrate that if war ensues from this late phase of our relations with Mexico, the full responsibility will rest with the Administration.

Whatever the efforts made by a biased press, history will record that the Huerta Government has conducted itself with equanimity and has not only respected the rights of this country, but has offered, wherever it has been in control, full protection to Americans and other foreigners. Both the American Charge d'Affaires and the Consul in Mexico City will bear testimony to the fact that their demands have always been promptly met by the Huerta Government, that in fact President Huerta himself has often done more than he had been asked to do, in order to show his good will and respect toward the people of this country.

To say that Huerta has refused to comply with the demands of this country is to misrepresent the facts wilfully. The only demands to which President Huerta refused to accede were those of Lind, which concerned political matters in his own country. No fair-minded man, no court of arbitration, could ever find a justification for such demands made by the Administration upon the Government of another sovereign State, even though it had not recognized that Government.

Representative Mondell told Congress only a few days ago that the Government of the United States would never have made the same unwarranted demands upon a stronger nation than Mexico.

As far back as October 18 we published an article showing how the peace-

(Continued on next page.)

## WAR---Continued

professing Administration was courting war. Exactly six months have elapsed since then and never so much as at the present moment have our arguments been so supported by the evidence of facts.

We reproduce that article here, but we are compelled to preface it with the statement that our belief has been modified and that if six months ago we were convinced that the Administration was courting war, now we are convinced that the Administration has been provoking war.

Strengthening this conviction is a report made to us by one of our correspondents, who has just returned from Mexico. He has assured us that the opinion prevailed both in Mexico City and in Vera Cruz that the American Government was seeking to provoke war and that it would seize the first pretext to bring about a conflict.

Mexicans and foreigners, he said, cannot interpret but as a desire to provoke a conflict the impossible demands frequently made on the Huerta Government and the pernicious activities of John Lind, who while in Vera Cruz corresponded with rebel leaders and advised the Washington Administration to take measures which would tend to discredit the Huerta Government.

John Lind, the gaunt, sinister figure of the Mexican imbroglio, whose rancor and animosity against Huerta knows no bounds, because Huerta refused to accept him as an all-powerful adviser, refused to kow-tow before his august presence and to commit hara-kari at his behest.

John Lind, "the Swede," who despises Mexicans because they are Catholics and has injected into the Mexican question a fanaticism of hatred against the Catholic Church, suggesting as a remedy the invasion of Mexico by an army of missionaries. John Lind, upon whose return from Mexico the entire Atlantic fleet was ordered to Mexican ports!

We have but to review the incidents of the past year to understand why in Mexico there prevails the opinion that the Wilson Administration has been seeking to provoke a conflict. We have but to analyze public opinion in this country to become convinced that the opinion prevailing in Mexico is well founded. For we know, and everyone knows that no sentiment exists in this country favorable to intervention in poor beset Mexico and that if the Government had declared war with no other excuse than that of restoring order or establishing a "Government by the people" in Mexico there would have been no response from the people here. For the people would have known, whatever the excuse, that war was declared merely to satisfy the animosity of one man against another man.

But if the Administration can convince the people that war is necessary to uphold the national honor, attacked by the MEXICANS themselves, then the Administration is sure of all the support it needs, of all the men it wants.

The logic of events and the logic of actions cannot be destroyed by any statement to the contrary.

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### ARTICLE FROM "MEXICO" OF OCTOBER 18, 1913 — UNITED STATES COURTING WAR.

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Viewed in the light of past historical events the present status of relations between the United States and Mexico must be regarded as foreshadowing war.

Ever since the first appearance of MEXICO we have been showing that the situation as created by the policy of our Administration was fraught with great dangers. That non-recognition of the Huerta Government, meddling in the politics of Mexico with the consequent encouragement to the lawless elements of that Republic, were bringing about such conditions as would draw this country into a war which the people do not want and which could not be justified in the eyes of the world.

Before us and with us hundreds of men familiar with Mexican affairs have voiced these views.

We have now arrived at the breaking-point and responsibilities must be fixed. It is with gravest concern that the people of this country are viewing the present situation, because there exists a profound conviction that the danger could have been honorably and justly avoided.

The truth is that the Administration has been courting war while professing a policy of peace.

That this has been done unintentionally and in good faith is generally believed, but it must be admitted that the Administration has refused to take into consideration any evidence which would have proved its course wrong and has rejected the advice of men who knew.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Americans who have lived in Mexico and know its people and conditions have either personally or in writing made representations to the State Department advising recognition of the Huerta Government as the only step that could assist in the re-establishment of peace in Mexico and eventually make possible the elections of new magistrates representing the popular will as much as popular will can be expressed in Mexico.

Not one of those men received a satisfactory hearing. They were considered unscrupulous persons who had no thought for high moral principles, but only for their own selfish interests.

Demands were made upon the Huerta Government which no Government in the world, bad or good, could have accepted. They constituted the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of another country and an unwarranted affront to the man who was at the head of the Government of that country.

The newspapers supporting the Administration have emptied their vocabulary of insults on the Mexican Government and have encouraged the forces of rebellion and brigandage.

Neither tact nor consideration for the feelings of Mexicans nor again even the most elementary proprieties which are usually observed by civilized peoples in dealing with other nations, have been observed even by high officials of the Administration.

Whatever the opinion of the Administration in regard to the legality of the Huerta Government this has been acknowledged as the Constitutional Provisional Government of Mexico by the great majority of Mexicans. Therefore the affronts piled on that Government have been resented by those who have supported it. There has been hardly a foreigner in Mexico who has not asserted of late that if the Huerta Government had been recognized peace would now reign in Mexico. There is not one foreigner in Mexico, whether in sympathy or not with the Government, who will not admit that no revolutions would long exist in Mexico if it were not for the moral and material help which they receive from the American side of the Rio Grande.

Moral and material help has been openly given to rebels and bandits and their cause has been espoused even by members of the United States Senate.

Is it not natural that in view of all this Mexicans are becoming convinced that this country has sinister designs upon their independent life and territory? They—and with them all foreigners who know Mexico—cannot believe that such support is given to rebels and bandits because of a desire on the part of this country to encourage democracy in Mexico. Rebel leaders of today were the Government officials of yesterday and as such they gave ample proof of their self-seeking ambitions and of their ability to make a travesty of democracy.

General Huerta had set upon his Government the task of restoring peace in Mexico. Had hoped to receive at least the moral support of this country in doing so.

Every step that the Administration has taken in regard to Mexico has been one to goad President Huerta into doing what he had not intended to do. A situation has been brought about that has compelled him to take the reins into his own hands or let Mexico perish in the throes of anarchy.

Secretary Bryan in a recent article on peace published in the "Independent" says that history will show us that trivial causes have been responsible for some of our bitterest wars.

(Continued on next page.)

WAR—Continued

How can he be blind to the dangers lurking in the present situation brought about by his own policy?

Ignorance of Mexican conditions and Mexican character is the most charitable interpretation which can be put on the Administration's attitude toward Mexico.

But it was just such ignorance that finally determined the war of 1848. Lockhardt Rives, in his admirable book just published, "The United States and Mexico," interprets the policy of the Polk Administration as due to ignorance. Referring to the demands made upon the Mexican Government shortly before the war broke out and just after the Oregon question had been settled with England, he says:

"That this display of force provoked the Mexicans, and induced them to fight rather than to bargain, proves nothing as to the intentions of the American cabinet. It shows, perhaps, nothing more than their ignorance of Mexican nature. John Bull might be looked straight in the eye, and spoken to firmly and boldly to some advantage; but John Bull had a good deal to lose, while Mexico had nothing except her dignity. But she valued dignity above money or land. 'The Mexican,' said Henry Addington, who was Under-Secretary in the British Foreign Office, and knew the Spanish character well, 'the Mexican is like a mule—if you spur him too much he will back off the precipice with you'; and Polk and his advisers had yet a good deal to learn both of mules and men."

These words fit the present situation perfectly.

It must be remarked, however, that President Polk's policy was frankly and avowedly one of expansion to the Pacific Coast. That it was probably his intention of acquiring the Western territory by purchase and not by a war of conquest. That viewed in the light of practical events some justification may perhaps be found for the war of 1848 in the fact that the territory then acquired was occupied by a far larger number of Americans than Mexicans.

But President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have declared themselves in favor of peace; have made it clear that the United States is not seeking acquisition of new territory and have protested their great friendship for the Mexican people. Secretary Bryan has gone to the extent of saying at the banquet of the Pan-American Society a few months ago that there will not be war during the Wilson Administration. However, we repeat, he has been courting war. Only a man completely blind to the real situation could deny this. And Secretary Bryan at least could not even plead ignorance of the Latin-American characteristics, for he has traveled extensively in all Latin-America and he has come into personal contact with many Latin-Americans.

Friends of the Administration state that it is justified in the course it has taken because it does not consider that the Huerta Government has the support of the people. Here is where the most dangerous mistake is made. As another mistake is made when it is asserted that the majority of Mexicans would welcome American intervention.

It is sufficient to look back only a few years in Mexican history to the time of the French intervention in Mexico to understand the import of these mistakes.

The support enjoyed by Benito Juarez at that time was limited to a few Liberals and the masses were, in fact, against him because he had against him the Catholic Party, then the most numerous.

Before and during the period of intervention the French authorities issued numerous proclamations declaring that their presence in Mexico was solely for the purpose of helping the establishment of a strong Government acceptable to the people. Also that they were not seeking territorial aggrandizement and would withdraw as soon as the Government was established.

Benito Juarez headed the armed resistance against the French and the people flocked to his ranks.

In this connection, the "Imparcial" of Mexico City said editorially some time ago:

"The truth is that President Wilson has shown himself to be as weak politically as he is psychologically in dealing with national sentiments.

"Facing a foreign demand, any people will rally to the support of their Government. This is in the heart of every people of the earth, and explains why a Government or party becomes converted into a national cause when menaced by destruction or overthrow from beyond the boundaries of the homeland. The banner of Juarez spread until it covered the whole territory when a European monarch attempted to pull down the hands that sustained it, and from that moment it ceased to be the banner of a party, becoming, instead, that of a nation.

"But the President of the United States is not familiar with these solidarities of peoples; he has no precise knowledge of international relations, and is not aware that he cannot touch the highest personality of a State without touching also each unit of which that State is composed. The distinction which he makes between the Mexican Government and Mexicans is humiliating. That is the reason why acceptance was impossible. Before the menace of a violation of our sovereignty, the Government of Mexico is Mexico; we are all Mexicans.

"How could this sentiment have escaped the men at Washington? Why is it that they did not understand that the greatest support they could have given this Government, which they would not recognize, was to turn to its assistance those who, heretofore, have been its most vehement and active opponents, but who, nevertheless, have not lost the desire to pass for good Mexicans?"

We do not want war with Mexico. But to him with eyes to see it is more than a possibility that we shall be forced into one by a peace-loving Administration.

# LEST WE FORGET

The Administration's conception of national honor: Surrender to a big and powerful nation, dictation to a smaller one.

* * *

That is not the American people's brand of national honor.

* * *

England expresses her displeasure at the exemption of American coastwise ships from payment of Canal tolls.

* * *

The Administration says: "Why, of course, John, anything you say, old top." And orders Congress to reverse itself. And splinters a plank of the sacrosanct Baltimore platform.

* * *

Mexico's Government refuses to be the plaything of the personal prejudices and theories of Wilson, Bryan, Hale, Lind, Tupper, et al.

* * *

What does the brave Administration do?

Cuts off all foreign aid from the Mexican Government, brings ruination to thousands of Americans in Mexico, encourages rebellion costing thousands of lives, forms an alliance with the most villainous of the Mexican bandits, harries and goads the Mexican President—and hasn't finished yet.

* * *

They used to call Roosevelt a bully.

* * *

If he were, he would bully the whole world if necessary.

* * *

But as a real American he wouldn't pick on a little fellow.

* * *

He believed in a square deal.

* * *

And never nagged, old-ladylike.

* * *

Villa and Carranza could flout, deceive and lie—break their promises—commit damnable outrages against all laws of civilization.

(Continued on next page.)

LEST WE FORGET—Continued

They were helped—they were the dear friends of the Administration.

* * *

But a technical mistake made by one subordinate officer of the Mexican Government, involving no loss of life, no loss of property, for which the Mexican Government freely gave a frank and full apology, is sufficient to cause the sending of the entire Atlantic fleet to force a national humiliation from Huerta.

* * *

Of course every American will back up his country, right or wrong, but even now there is the last alternative to war, the swift recognition by the American public of the Administration's shameful unfairness, and the solution of the unfortunate situation by peaceable methods.

* * *

The Administration's course has been so untenable all along that every inevitable complication is seized upon as ammunition by the enemies of the Administration, for partisan, political and personal purposes.

* * *

But the fault is all the Administration's own.

* * *

It has set its personal prejudices and theories up against the unbiased opinion of the whole world.

* * *

By provoking crises and meeting them pusillanimously it stirs up the jingoes who would force this country into war.

* * *

It gives them opportunities and arguments for their clamor.

* * *

Its actions are so opposed to its professions that it arouses the distrust of all Latin-American countries, who can see nothing but cheap hypocrisy trying to cover base motives.

* * *

In Mexico it has taken an isolated position among the nations, and by implication impugned the judgment and honesty of all countries that have recognized the Mexican Government.

* * *

When its political opponents urge action, it cries that they are trying to drive it into war.

* * *

When they point out that it is provoking war, by creating intolerable conditions in Mexico and encouraging anarchy, it says: "Huerta must go!"

**Read "MEXICO"**

**ONCE A WEEK**

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT**

**BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.**

# A PRETEXT—WHY?

The flurry of excitement caused by the announcement that the whole Atlantic fleet had been ordered to Tampico has not entirely subsided, when already from many quarters comes the question: "Why this warlike movement at this time?"

The question is prompted by suspicion. A suspicion that the move is a pretext either to provoke war with Mexico in order to save the Wilson Democrats from a downfall, or to weaken the power of the Huerta Government.

A well-founded suspicion if various recent incidents are considered in their true light.

The inadvertent arrest of some bluejackets by a Mexican officer in Tampico does not constitute sufficient reason for exacting a national salute to the flag unless an affront was offered to the flag. Scarcely a line has been printed as to the actual facts involved in the Tampico incident. The Navy Department must have a full report, but nothing has been given out. Why? If the flag had been insulted, what better opportunity was afforded to the Administration than that of publishing the full details and thus receive the unanimous support of the people in its warlike movement?

On the other hand, if the movement merely signifies the abandonment of the "watchful waiting" policy, why did not the Administration abandon such policy when offered ample reasons by the refusal of rebel leaders to accede to its just demands?

Why did it not stop to wait watchfully when Villa knowingly made an absolutely false report of the Benton murder, thus putting the Washington Administration in a ridiculous position before the whole world? Why did not the Administration abandon its watchful waiting when Villa and Carranza deliberately refused to comply with the request that Spaniards and other foreigners which this country had undertaken to protect be properly safeguarded in their human rights?

Why did not the Administration give up waiting when in spite of the fact that it maintained a representative near Villa to advise and guide him, the bandit wilfully and wantonly killed two Spaniards, the Gonzales brothers, in Chihuahua?

Why did not the Administration change its policy when American citizens, men and women, were killed, robbed and outraged by the rebels?

Why wait watchfully until there occurs an incident the details of which are purposely kept shrouded in mystery, but which from all meagre accounts appears to have been due entirely to an error of judgment on the part of a subordinate Federal officer?

Why make a movement directed against the Huerta Government, giving to understand that the national dignity must be upheld, when the Administration had been repeatedly flouted by the rebels?

Is it because the Huerta Government has shown wonderful endurance and power in the face of all the obstacles put in its way by the Administration, or is it because the tottering Wilson Democrats had to make a desperate move to maintain themselves in power, even though Mexico and the people of this country have to pay the price?

Presently we shall have the answer. Meanwhile, whichever the reason, it must be evident to all thinking persons that the fairness of which the American people have always been so justly proud has not guided the Administration in its dealings with Mexico.

While on one hand the rebels have destroyed American lives and property and have flouted in every possible way a Government to which, however, they owe their strength, on the other the Mexican Government has afforded ample protection to the citizens of a country the government of which has been its avowed enemy.

Is it a wonder that from all quarters comes the question: Why this warlike move against the Huerta Government at this time?

## THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE MEXICAN IMBROGLIO.

Not the least interesting phase of the present tense situation is the rush of the Wilson Democrats to wave the American flag as the only salvation of a party politically doomed.

Their destructive pounding and nagging of the business interests, on whose success in the last analysis depends the prosperity of the country; the widespread depression of industry; the army of unemployed; the unpopular surrender to England, the inefficiency of many of the Cabinet officers; the shameless extravagance of a Democratic Congress that had promised economy; the awful muddle in which the Administration has brought our foreign relations—all in unanswerable combination have pointed to inevitable defeat of the party at the polls in November. The contemplation of the mess they have made of things has caused a panic among the leaders of the party, and they see the rugged figure of Roosevelt looming out of the jungle seeking whom he may devour.

The Wilson Democrats are doomed—in fact, they are already lost—they have read the handwriting on the wall.

(Continued on next page)

The black night of self-conceit in which they have dwelt has been pierced by ominous flashes. They hear the approaching thunder of popular disapproval.

What are they to do? Ah, they can stir up a storm of their own. It may outroar this storm that is threatening them. "Rule or ruin" is their motto.

Mark the following from the Washington correspondence of the New York "Herald," the day following the ordering of the Atlantic fleet to Tampico:

Another phase which makes strong appeal to the Democratic leaders is the complete answer the President's action furnishes to the charge of his Democratic opponents that in the tolls question he has failed to demonstrate a true Americanism. In the light of the effect his sending the Atlantic fleet to Mexico will have upon the public, the cry that he has "surrendered" on the tolls question can have no other result than to bring down upon those who raise it a storm of ridicule.

That shows how deep is the Americanism of the Wilson type of Democrat. Is it American to bully a weaker nation? Not in a thousand years.

The following from the pen of William R. Hearst, in the New York "American," is also significant. He says:

Last week, after the New Jersey election, one of President Wilson's most intimate friends and advisors told me that he and others had warned the President that his policy of the repeal of free tolls for American coastwise traffic through the Panama Canal was regarded as unpatriotic.

My informant said that the President was unwilling to abandon his Canal policy, but had decided to make a notable patriotic move in some other direction. In this way the President hoped to regain his prestige and at the same time to carry through his free tolls repeal bill. This demonstration at Tampico is probably the move which the President has decided to make.

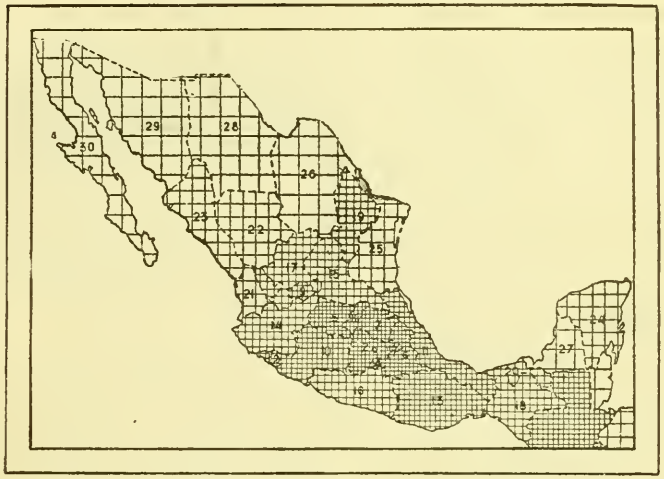
Mexico, then, is to pay the price for the Administration's blunders. Mexico may pay the price, but the Wilson Democrats who are now waving the American flag to distract the wrath of the people will also pay the price.

It will be remembered that in the beginning of the Mexican imbroglio the Republicans were shouting for intervention, because they wanted to embarrass the Administration and hold up the tariff and currency reforms. Now it is the Wilson Democrats who want intervention, because they hope to stay the avalanche of opposition to the Administration which has started rolling and promises to sweep them out of power.

Since intervention in Mexico means war—and a brutal, unjust and unnecessary war—it is appalling to what extremes politicians will go to hold their jobs.

And they will not be the ones who will be the food for guns. Oh, no, it will be the flower of the young men of the country.

## Map Showing the Distribution of the Population of Mexico




KEY:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Federal District | 11. Vera Cruz | 21. Tepic |
| 2. State of Mexico | 12. Colima | 22. Durango |
| 3. Tlaxcala | 13. Oaxaca | 23. Sinaloa |
| 4. Morelos | 14. Jalisco | 24. Yucatan |
| 5. Guanajuato | 15. San Luis Potosi | 25. Tamaulipas |
| 6. Puebla | 16. Guerrero | 26. Coahuila |
| 7. Hidalgo | 17. Zacatecas | 27. Campeche |
| 8. Queretaro | 18. Chiapas | 28. Chihuahua |
| 9. Aguascalientes | 19. Nuevo Leon | 29. Sonora |
| 10. Michoacan | 20. Tabasco | 30. Lower California |

The above drawing offers the most striking evidence of the fact that the rebellion in Mexico is not supported by the bulk of the Mexican people, as has been contended by the rebel agents.

The above drawing shows the density of population in the various Mexican States, closely ruled parts representing those in which the population is densest.

These States are precisely those controlled by the Federal Government, and contain a population of more than fourteen million inhabitants, while the States held or partly held by the rebels contain a little more than a million. These are Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Sinaloa and Tamaulipas—marked respectively with the numbers 29, 28, 26, 22, 23 and 25. Exceptions are the States of Yucatan and the Territory of Lower California, held by the Federals although with sparse population, and part of the State of Tamaulipas, which is controlled by the Federals.

It will be thus seen at a glance that the rebels, after more than one year of fighting and despite the tremendous support received from this side of the Rio Grande, have succeeded in gaining control only of those States where the population is widely scattered and the means of communication few and difficult.

## NAILING THEM

Washington's protest against the expulsion of the Spaniards from Torreon by General Villa is another illustration of locking the stable door after the equine has been removed therefrom. General Villa gave ample notice of what he intended to do in this respect before the city of Torreon was taken, and if Washington intended to make any protest against such action it should have been done at that time, and not when these people were virtually across the border.—El Paso "Times."

The success of General Villa's rebel forces in acquiring control of northern Mexico and confiscating millions of dollars' worth of live stock has thrown a condition of uncertainty over the annual spring movement of cattle from the south through the Denver gateway to the feeding grounds which threatens to upset all calculations as to prices and the extent of the movement.—Denver "Times."

Millions of dollars' worth of stolen livestock—and they call them Constitutionalists! And there are some Americans who do not mind buying stolen goods—at a profitable discount!

# WHO SAID FAIRNESS?

As I lived in Mexico 11 years, knew Gen. Don Porfirio Diaz and many of his political advisers personally and interviewed them often on matters of national importance; traveled repeatedly from the Rio Grande to the Central American border; had business dealings with natives of all classes and feel a lively interest in and sympathy for the future of the distracted country, I may, perhaps, in a small way add to the facts which Col. Harvey has so brilliantly, so judiciously and with such gentle but convincing irony brought to the dulled senses of our statesmen at Washington.

It should be significant to these men that all and sundry who know Mexico intimately and refuse to be influenced by hysterical screechers and surface indications (always misleading in Spanish countries), think just as Col. Harvey does and entertain very cogent reasons for the recognition of the de facto Government. * * *

The strongest reason why Victoriano Huerta deserves recognition is that he is making almost superhuman efforts to restore peace and progress to Mexico. He is fighting in defence of law and order, and for the safeguarding of human lives against anarchy and savagery. His enemies to a man are out for murder, loot and rapine. For a full year Huerta has kept the bloodthirsty Emiliano Zapata and his murderous hordes out of Mexico City, protected southern Mexico against the north, and maintained a workable semblance of that fine Government which Porfirio Diaz established.

Patriotism must be his ruling passion, for since Madero and his greedy minions sacked the treasury and left it empty, he surely can have no views in this direction. The complexity and responsibility of his self-appointed task are enough to crave a man of lesser steadfastness, yet out of pity for his country he pursues his herculean labors in the full knowledge that when his work is done he will be accorded the same measure of gratitude meted out to Gen. Diaz after he had devoted his life and energies to the conversion of a retrogressive synonym for assassinations and revolutions into a peaceful, respected and progressive land.

The traditional selfishness of nations pales into insignificance before the heartlessness shown by Spanish Americans to their patriots, yet Huerta—who has been aptly described by one who knows as a plain soldier of the U. S. Grant type—pursues the tenor of his way, risks his life daily in doing his duty, receives philosophically the unmerited execrations of the prejudiced and misinformed and works steadily at one of the most hopeless tasks that ever confronted soldier or layman. His arch enemy in the open, Francisco Villa, is a loathsome scoundrel **who would throttle society tomorrow if it were in his power to do it. He knows about as much about piloting the unsteady Mexican ship of state as Mr. Breezy Bryan would know about governing Cambodia**—provided that he could not find a nice, tongue-tied, one-armed Swedish gentleman to do it for him. Villa's overlord, the contemptuous Venustiano Carranza (at whose door must be placed many of the crimes committed against Mexico during the last year), is fighting, not for love of country, but to avenge his friend Madero, once a citizen of the State where Carranza governed. His chatter about patriotism nauseates those who know him well. **If he or Villa rose to power, neither could restrain the horde of bandits which Madero's conceited utopianism liberated on the country, and Mexico inevitably would go from bad to worse.** Their henchmen don't want democracy or Constitutionalism; they want loot and to dabble in blood. If I mistake not, Carranza will soon taste the wormwood in his cup of momentary victory, for just as soon as the unlettered brute Villa gains a little more power we shall have the edifying spectacle of two thieves disproving the ancient dictum about there being honor among them.

The attainment of the supreme power by either of these blackguards would not settle the Mexican trouble, for neither would be allowed to retain it. Right now almost every half-breed in the republic wants to be presidente, and stands ready to knife any dissenter from that view. As fast as one so-called general gains supremacy, others will rise to defame or despoil him. After they had thrown off the Spanish yoke in 1821, the Mexicans fought among themselves almost continuously till Porfirio Diaz took a hand in the struggle in 1870. And unless some strong hand holds the Mexicans in place, history is going to repeat itself with meticulous consistency. **Huerta seems to be able to do it, and why not give him a chance? Are we so pure that we can criticise his moral code? Shall history record that we crushed Mexico to the dust, and crippled her in her march toward civilization because one schoolmaster thought Huerta did not attain his position in a lady-like way?** And, after all, would the superintendent of a young ladies' seminary be a fit President for Mexico, when it is a proven fact that pedagogues don't make good Presidents anywhere? Our contention that Huerta is not the head of the nation by the will of the people (something that has not yet come to pass in Mexico) and, therefore, is undeserving of recognition, is a nice point in punctiliousness, but is it world politics? And is it consistent with some of our recent actions? Haven't we chosen a very unpropitious occasion for teaching Mexico a lesson in morality. **Madero's fathomless conceit started the Mexican revolution; shall ours prolong it?** Is it not calamitous that our misguided efforts to make men of Spanish birth conform to American ways of thinking has only resulted in the death of scores of Americans, of thousands of Mexicans, and in the loss of $500,000,000 worth of American property—three times the cost of our war with Mexico? **Is it not to our eternal shame that all of this needless less can be traced directly to our destructive meddlesomeness?** If the spectres of those Americans martyred at the south of the Rio Bravo do not stand at a certain speechifier's elbow while he delivers his wearisome lectures—hearkening with one ear to the "empty plaudits of the crowd," and with the other to the clicking of the cash register announcing gate receipts—then retributive justice has departed from this world, and the law of compensation has ceased to operate!

The two greatest Presidents Mexico ever had, Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz, were of Indian blood, like Victoriano Huerta. Like Diaz, Huerta is a military commander, and every person who knows Mexico knows that it must be ruled by the sword. Whosoever holds the illusion that the people are ripe for democracy or Constitutionalism fools a careless thinker. Mexico needs "the iron hand in the velvet glove." It is happier thus, and more progressive. History shows that in the life of the nation, with the sole exception of Benito Juarez, no civilian executive ever succeeded in maintaining his hold on the supreme power. One also deducts that had not Juarez died suddenly in 1872 he must inevitably have been ousted, for a formidable revolution headed by the invincible Porfirio Diaz was in motion at the time. To have ruled the country so admirably for 30 years Diaz must have known its people. Despite the fact that his was the wisest old head that ever studied the Spanish-Mexican-Indian-polyglot-half-breed problem from within, Washington in its supreme conceit seems strangely deaf to his last prophetic words when he embarked for Europe at Vera Cruz—"Mexico can be ruled only by the military!"

Talk as one may about the Diaz Administration it was the only real Government the country ever had and the only one under which the people prospered. Diaz tried the Constitution modeled after that of the United States and so flamboyantly adopted in 1857, but he found it utterly unfitted to Mexico's needs, so he quietly shelved it and substituted a mild despotism. Can any one familiar with the history of Mexico truthfully gainsay his action? By the construction of 20,000 miles of railways, the opening of scores of mines and oil wells, the establishment of hundreds of schools of all kinds from parochial to polytechnical, the introduction of 50,000 foreigners and two thousand million gold dollars from Europe and America, he raised the status of the people higher than it ever had been. The daily wage of the much discussed peon increased gradually from 12 cents to a peso and a half a day, and the peon had the chance of graduating from the slavery in which his own habits had placed him, but he spurned the offer.

He is of a class which refuses to be uplifted. With 300 years of training back of him, his regeneration is painfully slow. But Diaz was none the less slowly and patiently elevating him when destiny wrenched his hand from the wheel. The leavening crowd of foreigners in Mexico, by their very presence, were teaching the peon an object lesson in thrift and duty and enterprise which was benefitting him more than anything else could do. The strong hand of Diaz repressed his inherited murderous instinct so relentlessly that in time he grew to be like a seething volcano, and when the thoughtless Madero gave him the opportunity of expression he grasped it in such a whirlwind way that the world stands sickened and appalled at the carnage of blood and lust and pillage.

**It is nothing short of heatrending to think of our siding with these people in their frantic efforts to ruin Mexico and overturn its organized Government. If we continue our blind course our present frayed prestige will be entirely shattered; our well-earned reputation for humanitarianism will be nullified wherever we are known; the friendly nations at the south will forever be alienated, and the deplorable result will be a tangle which will take something stronger than academic rhetoric or diluted grape juice to straighten out.**—T. Philip Terry, in Boston "Herald."

# NONE SO BLIND

Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, speaking before a Philadelphia church congregation, said:

**"President Wilson wrote in one of his books that constitutional government was not a thing which could be given to a people. A very great part of the difficulties of our present situation with Mexico is due to his attempts to give constitutional government, not even to a people, but to a collection of Indian tribes whose racial characteristics are still painfully in evidence.**

"When the homes of American citizens are raided by bandits, and American men bound to trees in the good old Indian way of binding the victim to the stake, and the daughters of the house are assaulted, it is hard to restrain our human instincts as men and brothers, and subordinate them to the political expediency which is demanded to uphold a course avowedly based on the highest principles of political morality.

**Long Score of Barbarities.**

"This is no composite picture, no exaggeration, of merely disagreeable incidents. I have referred to an actual case in the terms in which it actually occurred, and in which it is actually on record with the Government at Washington. There is a long score of barbarities of this and other kinds, some of which cannot be even mentioned in this presence —most of them fully recorded in reports in Washington; and it seems to me that not only the expediency, but also the morality which it has been announced is to be the basis of our policy toward our neighbors to the south, has not only failed to demonstrate its expediency, but what the ordinary citizen understands as morality, both of object and of procedure, has been more distorted than one should expect from such high professions. A policy which requires constant suppression of fact in order to retain even the possibility of public support is not conducive to the spread of ideas of public morality.

"An incidental feature of our Government's policy, which finds it necessary to furnish weapons and ammunition to a bandit chieftain who has been clever enough to label himself a 'Constitutionalist,' is the loss and personal peril incurred by the faithful missionaries who have been laboring in the field of Mexico.

"It is a curious commentary on the morality of our policy that it has been vigorously protested against by these very missionaries and ministers of the gospel as contrary to humanity and subversive of order and civilization.

"These men, who have lived in that country, know that the pretensions of bandits and the political spoilsmen masquerading together as prophets of a new freedom for the down-trodden Mexican, by which the President has been misled, are nothing but the veriest farce.

**Exhibitions of Cunning.**

"In the recent campaign the outward manifestation of these habits has been largely checked by the constant admonitions of the authorized representatives of this Government who have accompanied the leaders of the Constitutionalists in their campaign about Torreon. Constant reiteration of 'Don't do this,' 'Don't do that,' 'Washington will not approve of this,' 'Washington will not stand for that,' has produced a modification of the outward usual demonstrations of native instinct. With the cunning which we have also come to know is a racial characteristic the lesson has been easily learned that professions of love and devotion to the principles of justice, morality and freedom are absolutlely necessary to retain the support of the great neighbor to the north.

"Promises to reform and be good are the payment for rifles and ammunition with which to be brutal. It seems to me that our heroes of the Indian wars—Crook, Miles and others—could furnish us with some parallels from the history of their own Indian campaigns. There is something that would be humorous, if the whole situation were not so fraught with danger, in the picture of the head of this nation, who has possibly never seen an Indian except on full-dress exhibition, lecturing a nation which has ruled some 14,000,000 of them with at least sufficient success to keep them alive and most of them doing some little useful agricultural work.

"As a matter of fact, it is not seemly for us to give many instructions to the Mexicans on the theory and practice of handling Indians, unless it be considered of greater morality to exterminate them than it is to subjugate them and mold them into some participation, however imperfect, in the machinery of social and industrial life.

**Most Pressing Problem.**

**.."I have referred to the danger of the situation. I am not referring to the suffering or loss of American citizens in Mexico, nor to the danger of incidental complications on our southern frontier. I have in mind the fact that Mexico is not the only troublesome question in our foreign relations. There is a serious question confronting us on the Pacific Ocean. There are other questions confronting us on the south, though none so pressing as those of Mexico.**

"It is a maxim of ordinary common sense that if a man or a nation has a difficult and delicate problem to handle with a neighbor he can give it more intelligent attention and secure better results in his negotiations if he is free to devote his attention to the matter in hand. If he is embarrassed at the same time by complications in other directions, he is not in as good a position. If complications can be tangled up with the first question, so that he is encompassed on all sides with difficulties, the prospect of a satisfactory result are considerably diminished.

"If we were to be forced into intervention in Mexico, it is perfectly clear that other countries who had any questions at issue with us, whether in Europe or Asia, would find it an opportune time to press their claims. It is only a step further to the conclusion that some one of these countries might undertake to assist Providence to modify the course of events to such an extent that we would be driven into intervention, notwithstanding our reluctance.

"It is because we want to eliminate this danger and alter a course which is so likely to drag us into a costly intervention and possible war that the real facts about Mexican problems should have the greatest publicity. True constructive statesmanship will seek for a way to restore order in a country in which its own mistaken policy has fostered anarchy and bloodshed.

"The imposition of inapplicable standards of government to a people who have not even the word 'government' in the language of a large number of them is so preposterous an error that common intellectual honesty demands its acknowledgment and retraction.

**"The theory that the chiefs of the Constitutionalists are a saving remnant in Israel to lead their people out of the wilderness of oppression and barbarism and that Villa is the prophet, is about as true as that the gunmen of the East Side of New York are the bulwarks of law and order.**

"There has been much land allotted to the Indian and sold for a mess of pottage. And the land problem in Mexico does exist. But if all the great estates were wiped out today, and the land divided at the rate of three acres and a mule to every patriot who has fought in the Constitutionalists' army, the problem would be no nearer solution by that act than it is today. On the contrary, it would be setting back progress for half a generation, for the land, inside of five or ten years, would all be in the hands of a new group of harpies and speculators, and in the meantime such organization of the forces of production as there is in the country would have utterly disappeared.

"This is no place nor time to enter into a discussion of the extremely difficult and complex problem presented by land tenures in Mexico. But the vital and pressing feature of the situation today is the restoration of order and the re-establishment of a condition which

(Continued on next page)

## NONE SO BLIND---Continued

will permit these problems to be dealt with with some intelligence, instead of great passion.

**"An assertion frequently made by the President is that the clamor for intervention comes from the 'interests' which have large investments in Mexico. This is wholly untrue. The large corporations would prefer to deal with a less highly organized Government than that of the United States and with one also that displays a livelier appreciation of efforts for the development of an enormously rich and industrially backward country.**

"The Administration involves itself in a contradiction on this point. In one breath it charges that the Governments of these countries to the south of us are weak and unsophisticated in their dealings with the wily representatives of large foreign investors, and it alleges that these foreign interests make large and improper profits out of this condition. Then when a clamor arises at the ineffective and badly conceived policy of the Administration in Mexico, and many calls are heard for intervention, the Administration promptly accuses the interests just referred to of being responsible for this agitation.

"Both charges cannot be true, although they are both as true and as consistent as most of the positions taken by the Administration about Mexico. If it is true that the Mexican Government is granting improper favors to capitalists, certainly the capitalists who are profiting by them are not clamoring for intervention to put an end to this satisfactory condition. On the other hand, if this charge is not true, the alternative is that the Mexicans are intelligently administering their own affairs and our dictation to them and interference with them is an unwarranted piece of intrusion in the affairs of a neighbor.

### Call for Intervention.

**"Where the call for intervention really comes from, when it comes at all, is from the individual American citizen whose little all is at stake.**

"If the big interests suffer in Mexico they can recoup in South Africa or other mining countries, or in Canada on power plants, as is actually happening to two of the principal so-called 'interests' in Mexico. But take the specific cases of one or two American citizens that have come to my knowledge.

"One was a dentist, a man of perhaps 45, who had lived in Mexico long enough to build up an excellent practice. Severe illness and expensive surgical treatment had encroached heavily on his savings. On his recovery, just as he was about to get back his losses from his practice, this Administration warned all Americans to leave Mexico and emphasized it by sending Government transportation for them. This man left in obedience to the orders of his Government. When he went he left his all. You cannot carry a professional practice with you from one country to another. It is hard to have to start in at middle life to build up a new practice in a community from which one has been absent for many years. This would be hard under any circumstances, even were the cause the act of God. It is doubly hard when the cause is the weakness and lack of wisdom of high officials of one's own Government.

"I cite this case because it is typical. There are hundreds of Americans who have lost their all in the same way, doctors, professional men, planters, farmers, electricians with small repair shops, miners with promising and paying little mines, tie contractors, engineers, mechanics—these are the great body of Americans in Mexico.

"Many of these have been ruined at one blow by the action of their own home government. Who will pay them indemnity? Not Mexico. She has no responsibility. She did not turn them out. Does this Administration expect to reimburse all these Americans that it has ordered out of Mexico?

"Take the case of a small planter in the State of Vera Cruz. After working for other people as employe and manager for some years, he got hold of a piece of land. It was not clear of debt, but he got enough out of his first crop on it to increase his area under cultivation, and this present crop would have put him fairly out of debt on his land. The attitude of this Administration has forced him to abandon his place, and unless he can make some apparently impossible arrangement he loses all he had put in.

### Plain Citizens Ruined.

"These are the people who are suffering by the policy of this Administration —not the interests. For every American hurt who is working for the big financial corporations in Mexico there are scores of plain citizens who have been almost quite ruined. This condition breeds resentment.

**"This resentment extends to foreign Powers. Great Britain may remain quiet during one Benton affair. Will she during four or five? And the result of the present policy of the Administration is to foster conditions which tend daily more and more to increase the danger and the probability of more Benton affairs.**

"And there will be German Bentons and French Bentons. The Spaniards are being treated more tenderly. They are sent out of the country.

**"This condition is what makes forced intervention loom up as a probable result. The only way to insure its not happening is to change the conditions.**

"Anything that can be done to hasten this change is a patriotic step, as it removes by just so much the danger of costly and maybe bloody intervention.

**"An unprejudiced review of the situation warrants the conclusion that there would today be no organized revolution, at least outside the Pacific States of Sonora and Sinaloa in the extreme northwestern corner of Mexico, across the mountains, had Huerta been recognized.**

"There are sound reasons for this opinion. Consider what Huerta did in four months of last year, after taking possession. Starting with half the States of the country in the hands of hostile Governors and Administrations, he had established order in more than half of those and put his military provisional governments in nearly all the rest. His Generals had marched straight through the middle of North Mexico and rolled the revolutionary forces back against the Chihuahua Mountains in the west, and scattered them entirely in the east.

"Had it not been for the moral support given the revolutionists by this Administration and the hope of material support in arms and munitions (which they afterward actually got), is there any reason to suppose they could have kept up an important organized military force?

### Huerta's Task.

**"Is it not a reasonable conclusion that there would have been a fair measure of peace and order in the country if Huerta had been given the support which was given to Mr. Villa, inasmuch as Huerta has been able to maintain himself for over a year, not only without such support, but actually in the face of, just the moral disapproval of our Administration; then the active and successful financial boycott, which has prevented it from raising any money abroad; and lastly, an open source of supply of arms and ammunition for his enemies.**

"The mistake was made doubtless from high motives. But it is fairly obvious now, even to a partisan supporter, that the man most likely to secure peace in Mexico was the one who was rejected.

"And it also seems clear that the price we are forcing Mexico to pay in bloodshed, rapine, pillage and anarchy is not warranted by the reasonable expectation of the establishment of social justice and free government through the instrumentality of the man who has lied brazenly and officially to the Government of the United States in the matter of the Benton murder, flouting not only our Government, but ordinary human honesty, and illustrates his sense of economic justice by the wholesale deportation of hundreds of residents of Mexico without a fair hearing or any trial, even a farce, simply because they are members of a given race."

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# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

## CAN THEY READ?

May it be permitted to an ardent lover of peace, to a man grown gray in the service of his country, once more to beg our President to abandon his Mexican policy, to recognize Huerta before it is too late?

His recent treatment at the hands of Carranza, Villa and Company affords him ample grounds for any action that he may take in abandoning his chosen allies in favor of a man of whom he may disapprove but who has scrupulously safeguarded the lives and property of all foreigners since his accession to power.

Should long suffering Spain now take the course that a self-respecting Power would naturally pursue she will have the sympathy, more or less active, of every Power in Europe, and alas! that it should be so, of every right thinking man in the United States.

For who has committed this monumental, this insane, this in modern times unheard of outrage on international rights? Why, our allies. Carranza, Villa and Company, the active agent of which combination Villa is, and is by Mr. Wilson known to be, an ex-convict, a wholesale dishonorer of women, a butcher of prisoners, a vulgar thief. These are our allies.

Are we going to cleave to them? Are we going to be forced into a war through their actions, on their account, their filthy account? Or will the President acknowledge his error before it is too late, thereby saving his face, his Administration and his party?

The President has reversed himself and is seeking to reverse his party, his platform, his constituency, the nation, in the matter of the Panama Canal. Let him reverse himself in this case also. It would be wise to do so.

There is handwriting on the wall. It would be gravely unpleasant for this Administration should the American people begin to cry aloud what they are now whispering to one another: "We will not have a war in order to vindicate the policy of one man, be his intentions never so good."—Junius, in New York "Sun."

## THE TAMPICO INCIDENT.

**While the President's course is thus thoroughly admirable, it is significant that the initiative was taken at the front, and not in Washington. It is incidentally regrettable that the affair arises over one of the least serious affronts of the entire Mexican situation. The arrest of marines by an officer of low rank, promptly followed by the explanation from headquarters that it was all a mistake, is surely less of an offence than the murder of Benton and Villa's point-blank refusal to hand over the body for autopsy. The incident is surely less of an offence than Carranza's and Villa's utter disregard of our efforts in behalf of the Spaniards, exiled in spite of the promise to treat all foreigners alike.**—Boston "Herald."

## GLORIFICATION OF INCOMPETENCE.

One of the strange phenomena of the day is the unusual strength of the prevalent tendency to be content with impressionistic conclusions and to turn away with contempt and distrust from any one possessing exact knowledge or practical ideas. Ignorance and emotionalism have always been prone to follow the demagogue rather than the statesman, but the ease with which the four-flusher gathers in his victims in these days indicates that the public is just now suffering from an acute madness. The trouble was probably begun by the muckraker, who laid down the dictum that all responsible men of affairs are per se crooks, and he in turn was ably seconded, particularly in the business world, by that strange creature the "efficiency expert," who in his full flower is often everything except what his name indicates.

The impulse to grab up anything that sounds well or that is labeled "reform" is evident in every activity of life. It has even invaded philosophy, but nowhere is it more obtrusive than in governmental matters. In dealing with the Mexican and Philippine questions the Administration has been particularly its victim. It has almost uniformly turned a deaf ear to American men familiar with the countries affected and with their peoples—sometimes it seems for no other reason than that they are reliable authorities on the subjects in hand—and it has preferred to listen to novices, to irresponsibles or to those who are obviously prejudiced and partisan.

Because he was a Republican and because he stood for what he believed right, Henry Lane Wilson was thrown out of the diplomatic service in favor of John Lind, an ignoramus in diplomacy, who went to Mexico with his verdict already mapped out for him. Americans in Mexico who knew the situation in that country and were in position where they could speak authoritatively were passed over, presumably for that very reason, their advice was discounted because they had "dirty dollars" at stake, and men like William Bayard Hale and wholly untrustworthy and prejudiced witnesses like Mrs. Madero were received gladly in Washington, while reputable citizens of the United States, who had only the general good at heart, cooled their heels on the White House steps. They were under suspicion because they were "interested" in bringing order out of chaos, cared nothing about theories and political axes and had no pet theories to put forward. * * *

The same tendency to discount and despise the words of knowledge is in evidence practically every time there is a congressional hearing in Washington. Matters have reached such a pass that business men are loath to go to the national capital and submit to gross insult because they are honest enough to answer questions according to their best knowledge. They are wearied of being accused of trickery because they know their subjects, and tell the truth rather than that which is pleasant to their interrogators. It is only the blind partisan, or the wild-eyed idealist, or the ignorant dreamer, who is really welcomed in Washington today. The wisdom and probity of genuine experts are almost invariably questioned because they are experts, and perhaps personally interested in the subject in hand. To be a fully competent advisor in national affairs one must be badly informed, a sycophant and a pauper. The man of knowledge and affairs is ipso facto a crook.—Detroit "Free Press."

## MEXICAN REVOLT FOSTERED BY UNITED STATES.

### How an American Business Man in the Troubled Republic Views the Deposition of Madero and the Policy of Wilson.

To the Editor of the "Public Ledger:"

Sir—Notwithstanding the beliefs of the American Governments, past and present, foreigners in Mexico believed that Madero was a failure, and his personal ideas not practicable with Mexicans, and that his Government came to be rotten to the core; and they could see nothing but ill results to come out of it.

We had been living under a constant fear of intervention; we had been warned to leave the country by President Taft. There was constant turmoil throughout the country. The inevitable thing happened and the Federals turned against Madero. Almost all of his former lieutenants when he himself was in the field against Diaz had been turned against him for some time, and they now united with the Federals. Was it not proof enough that the country at large was tired of revolution, and a feeling generally existent that they should all pull together when every revolutionary chief that had ever acquired a name—except Zapata, the irrepressible—came in and joined with the Federals? But when the American Government began its policy of opposition to Huerta and so embarrassed the new Government, a new crop of rebels sprang up like weeds, and this time they were pure bandits, except the secessionists of Sonora and Coahuila.

That secessionist movement up north has been fostered by Americans, to our personal knowledge, for years. We lived in Chihuahua three years, and in northern Sonora three years, and we know that the Americans in general that live along the border and that live in the belt of northern States have looked forward to and have talked and urged the secession of those four or five States. It really is the only "foreign policy" that we know of having been consistently followed by any part of the American people.

At first everybody thought that the moral effect would cause Huerta to step down and out; that he ought to for the good of his country; then, when he did not do so, he lost sympathy for quite a while; but when he stuck on, chased the whole Diaz crowd out of the country and maintained himself in spite of the efforts of the American Government to oust him, and has continued to do so in

(Continued on next page)

spite of oft-repeated declarations of President Wilson that he has good reasons to believe that Huerta will soon get out, most foreigners have been compelled to admire his nerve, his strength, and to concede to him the possession of most of the faculties necessary to govern this illogical Mexican people.

We all have had the feeling that if Americans had given Huerta recognition without question at the start, the United States would have had the best chance it will ever have to get a closer, friendlier feeling from Mexicans. We have been trying for years to overcome the antipathy the Mexicans have for us, and that was the chance of a lifetime to get it. We have lost it now, and a lifetime will not suffice in which to win it. Mexicans favorable to Huerta now have a contempt for us that will not die out during their lives, and considerable hatred goes with it. Mexicans living in Federal territory, but not favorable to Huerta nor to the Northern rebels, detest us for having presumed to meddle in their sovereign affairs. Rebels up north—like Villa, saying that he loves the Americans now that they have raised the embargo on arms—detest the American body and soul. And President Wilson might just as well go around the corner and beat on a tin can as to try to convince one solitary Mexican that the American Government meant well by Mexico by trying to exercise a voice in her internal affairs.—Phila. "Ledger."

## THE MUDDLE.

There is no question that the situation is at the moment more serious than at any time in recent months. Not only has the Tampico incident served to bring the whole problem sha ply to the front, but the persistent refusal of the Constitutionalists in the north to meet American demands concerning the treatment of Spaniards and other foreigners has emphasized the hopelessness of the United States relying on that faction to adjust matters.

**The Administration's hopes of finding a solution of the Mexican problem in rebel victory have been practically blasted.**

The Administration is beginning to see that the rebels are not likely to establish a satisfactory Government, even should General Villa take his forces down to Mexico City, which most people consider highly improbable.

There is the added complication that even should Genreal Villa take his forces southward on a triumphant campaign, ending with the complete overthrow of Huerta, any Government which is established will not meet with the satisfaction of Europe so long as Villa is connected with it. It is certain that England will not approve a Government in which Villa, who is held personally responsible for the death of the Englishman Benton, takes a prominent part.

**The impossibility of General Carranza or any other revolutionary leader putting up a Government in which Villa will not demand and take a leading part is recognized.** It is equally certain that Spain will never recognize the Constitutionalists of Mexico. Spain's attitude is not regarded as of so much importance as that of England, but it is felt that Spain has a good case against the Constitutionalists and could enlist the sympathy and support of other European countries.—Washington correspondence, New York "Tribune."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

## HAS HE NO HEART?

**"Woodrow Wilson is morally responsible for every drop of blood that is being shed and every dollar that is being lost today in looted and devastated Mexico."**

A little, gray-haired, bearded man, sitting in a downtown office Saturday, spoke in firm and deliberate tones, born of suffering in the revolutionary country. After 25 years of peace and prosperity in the central part of Mexico, he is in Detroit, robbed of nearly $250,000 and without a home—the victim of the ravages of war and, he believes, of the dilatory policy of the American Government.

"If my name will not appear I will tell what I can.

"When I say that Woodrow Wilson is morally responsible for the loss of life in Mexico and for the pillage, I mean not only that which affects American property, but all of the country. Had Huerta been recognized by the United States, we should be peacefully running our ranches, and the country would be prosperous.

"Carranza, friend of Madero, did not move until he saw that the United States was not going to recognize Huerta. Then he decided to dabble in the pie and try for the plum. The result has been more bloodshed and a condition in the country that bids fair to ruin not only the American citizens who have spent their lives and money in trying to develop the country and bring commerce to their native land, but also the lives of thousands of natives.

### Mexico Cropless This Year.

"It is doubtful whether conditions will permit the people of Mexico to plant crops this spring. Their seeds and their money have been taken by the Constitutionalists and they have little resources. **No crops in Mexico will mean starvation to the masses. It will mean that a famine comparable to those of India and Egypt will sweep over the country, and that men, women and children will die like flies. For every one of these deaths, the school teacher President is responsible. You can not feed a nation on grape juice and ultimatums.**

"I went to Mexico 25 years ago and I own a big ranch down there, as well as a lot of other property. The American Government says to me that I ought to lose my property because I risked my money in an unsettled and revolutionary land, yet I lived there for 22 years without trouble and in prosperous times.

"The argument that investment in Mexico by Americans is a big gamble is faulty, because as long as Diaz was in power, and it is the fault of the United States that his follower Huerta is not in complete rule, Mexico was quiet. I had built up a good business and was realizing on the years of hard work I put in to get my ranch going. Then came the revolution.

"Two years ago I spent six weeks in a barricaded schoolhouse along with 40 other Americans, while the rebels plundered our ranches. Last spring my son went through the same experience, only he was in the home of the American Consul. What happened?

"Villa and his gang of cut-throats burned the town and riddled the Consul's home with bullets, sending shot after shot through the American flag that hung above the house. Then they dynamited the doors and robbed the Americans, who had taken refuge there. Two people were wounded in this affair —and not an American shot was fired.

### Denied Money; Bandits Shoot.

"The foreman of my own ranch was murdered by a party of Constitutionalists who demanded money from him. They robbed the ranch of its cattle and horses and they wanted $500. My man sent 20 miles for $200 and gave it to the bandits. Three hours later, they came back for more and when he told them that he did not have it, they shot him down.—Detroit "Free Press."

## THE LITTLE "GLOBE."

Editor of "The Globe," Sir—In your editorial of April 4 you wrote by way of assailing the character and utterances of Henry L. Wilson as follows: "Former Ambassador Wilson, whose mistakes aggravated, if they did not cause, Mexico's troubles, again has the impudence to assail the Administration's refusal to recognize Huerta. Mr. Wilson totally lacks sympathy with democratic ideals." Further: "The success of the Constitutionalist campaign against Torreon destroys the possibility of getting peace through Huerta or any one of his kind. Though we recognized Huerta the contest would go on. Without money or soldiers or organization a year ago, the Constitutionalists now hold a third of the republic. If Huerta has not been able to suppress the revolt in the past he is not likely to suppress it in the future."

Will you kindly explain what you mean by former Ambassador Wilson's mistakes? What were they and how did they aggravate Mexico's troubles? Does not an American ambassador act under orders from the State Department? And were not H. L. Wilson's actions during February, 1913, commended by the then President Taft and Secretary of State Knox? If so, why not lay the blame of Mexico's troubles at the door of W. H. Taft and Philander Knox?

About a week ago there appeared in "The Globe" an editorial in which the "Bandits of Mexico" were exalted and placed on a pedestal by the versatile pen of one of "The Globe" editors.

In view of the fact that "the full story of Torreon has not been written" do you not think "the success of the Constitutionalists' campaign against Torreon" is somewhat previous?

But presuming the successful campaign against Torreon, how does that destroy the possibility of getting peace through Huerta or any one of his kind?

"The Globe" seems to entertain prophetic pretensions when remarking that though we recognized Huerta the contest would go on. It is a very safe remark to make, as the recognition of Huerta at the present time could hardly be done without sacrificing the national dignity. Could we imagine our magnanimous President to confess having withheld recognition owing to a misunderstanding?

Without knowing the facts it does seem wonderful that "the Constitutionalists who a year ago had neither money, soldiers, nor organization should now hold a third of the republic." Have you ever stopped to consider how the Constitutionalists raise money and enlist

troops? The troops are enlisted, through promises of privilege to loot. It is on this basis the "army" is maintained. You cannot promise your Mexican soldiers anything as intangible or little alluring as democracy, free elections, or honest government. Whatever other money is needed for maintaining the Constitutional organization is raised by confiscating the property of wealthy Mexicans, forcing bribes from foreign residents and mine owners, and receiving help from sympathizers on the American side of the border, who are willing to take a chance on the ultimate success of the Constitutionalists that they might reap future benefits. There are also a number of Americans fighting with the Constitutionalist forces. Why?

"The Globe" takes for granted that because Huerta has not been able to suppress the revolt in the past he is not likely to suppress it in the future. The wonder is that he has been able to hold his place as long as he has. You must remember that Huerta has been fighting against overwhelming odds. The United States Government has opposed him from the very beginning and every obstacle has been laid in his path. He was doomed to crumble by last June or July. It is now April. The American press has taken sides with the Administration at Washington in favor of the Constitutionalists without knowing, or wilfully withholding, all the facts. It seems as if the American press, like many members of the House of Representatives, fear to oppose any measure taken by the Chief Executive and Secretary of State; and the Congressmen for fear of withheld patronage and party politics, but why the press? If the press has been unwittingly deceived, should it then in turn unwittingly deceive the people, and persistingly do so? There should be such a thing as "press ethics," the golden rule of which should be to present the reading public the contentions of any two opposing sides.—Einar R. Stolpe, in New York "Globe."

## YET TO BE FOUND.

To the American it seems that Diaz moved slowly in the improvement of his people, but I personally am not sufficiently familiar with conditions when he first became President to criticise. These people do not move rapidly at best. To induce the people to accept these changes and to accomplish what Diaz did, all without revolt, must have required marvellous executive ability.

The trouble with Prof. Hart is that he brings no solution. He admits the loss of American lives and property, and he appears to be willing that this should continue indefinitely. Only three weeks ago an engineer who had lived in Mexico for years told in Boston the story of the loss of all his property, of his appeal to the department of state, and the reply that it would be years before he could hope to recover anything He could find no work and was actually suffering for food. Meanwhile a German neighbor who lost his property at the same time had entered claim through the German consul and had been paid. I have yet to meet the man who has lived in Mexico and is familiar with Mexican conditions who does not believe a great mistake was made in the failure to recognize Huerta.—GEO. A. PACKARD in Boston "Herald."

## HEROES IN MEXICO.

To the Editor of the "Evening Sun":—Sir: To a letter published April 7 in your columns signed by F. C. Locke you give the title "His Hero." He has a mighty poor one in Villa, bandit, horse thief and a creature of unspeakable horror, who during the time of the Diaz government had a price upon his head.

He describes in one long, pathetic sentence the bravery of Villa's followers, those human derelicts who love excitement and the chance of a little plunder; a sombrero, a pair of shoes and a suit of overalls is their ambition.

Villa no doubt is a master of men, but any one who has had experience handling Mexican workmen will admit that by nature they are the most polite and meek of men, but rouse them, give them a leader with a flag and they become the most ferocious and depraved beings on earth. Villa promises each of his army an acre of land —maybe it is five—I am not quite sure—a cow and a little money. The bait is dangling in front of them and they are there to get it, providing, of course, Villa keeps his word.

If we had not a professor President, a grape juice loving Secretary of State, things might be different. The Mexican President is good enough for the great Powers of Europe, why then is he not good enough for the American people? There are over $1,500,000,000 of foreign capital invested in Mexico to-day and at the present time hardly any return. Its credit is now gone and in a few months Mexico will be in financial chaos.

Huerta while under Madero was successful in dealing with the Zapatista bandits and would have annihilated them but for Madero's mysterious intervention. A despatch told of Zapata holding a bishop for $25,000 and if not forthcoming by Good Friday he was to be crucified. Imagine in the twentieth century a next door neighbor being crucified while a big man who sits in Washington watches and waits.—JAMES T. FORD in New York "Evening Sun."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

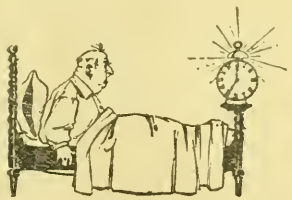
Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: If the American flag was outraged by the Mexicans who arrested our marines at Tampico, it is certainly in order for President Huerta to comply with Admiral Mayo's demand for a salute to that flag, no matter how humiliating this action may be. Of course the incident should first be thoroughly investigated to establish the facts of the matter, especially whether there really was any outrage to our flag. A Mexican officer's arrest of marines who had without notification entered within definitely established military lines, innocent though their purposes may have been, should not in itself be the basis of a demand for a national humiliation. The prompt and full apology of President Huerta for the over-zealousness of the Tampico officials would seem to be sufficient redress. If under these circumstances a demand for a flag salute is persisted in it will be taken to indicate one of two things, either that the Administration in its enmity for Huerta is still determined to go to extremes to embarrass him while daily swallowing insults and defiances from its bandit allies, which is unfair, unAmerican, or that it is trying deliberately to provoke war with Mexico, which the people of this country do not want. It will indicate, besides, that the Administration is prepared to act the bully toward a smaller nation while disposed to yield with amazing "generosity" to the representatives of a powerful nation, Great Britain, for instance.

Yours very truly,
Richmond Hill, L. I. OLIVER H. THOMAS.

## CARSON'S MEXICO REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Mexico as it was and Mexico as it is is ably pictured in the new edition of W. E. Carson's Mexico: The Wonderland of the South, which is published this week. To his previous narrative of his wanderings in Mexico, to his descriptions of the Mexican capital and other old cities, of the great haciendas, of the gold and silver mines, of the quaint health resorts and of his experiences in mountain climbing, tarpon fishing and ranching, the author now adds chapters dealing with events since the retirement of General Diaz to the present day and with existing conditions. The volume is handsomely bound and contains forty-eight full-page half-tone illustrations.

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## APOLOGIZING ALREADY.

The New York "World" apologist-in-chief for the Administration's mistakes, inspired by past experience and a troubled conscience, begins its apologies even before the action of the Administration is challenged, as follows:

The Administration's real reasons for ordering the Atlantic fleet to Mexico have not been officially made public.

They never will be!

In the light of the President's policy, record and character, it may be taken for granted that he is not seeking to force intervention or to bully Mexico into war. It may be taken for granted, likewise, that a display of all the naval strength of the United States is not necessary to convince Huerta that this Nation is able to enforce its demands.

The President's policy, record and character show that he would arm the Villa gunmen to "get Huerta."

It is fair to assume that the whole Atlantic fleet has not been sent to Tampico to compel a recalcitrant Mexican commander to fire a salute of twenty-one guns to the American flag. There are already enough warships in those waters to blow Tampico off the map.

But it has been sent.

Like everybody else, "The World" is in the dark, but it assumes that the President has important information as to conditions in the City of Mexico and that he is taking intelligent precautions. What is going on in the Mexican capital the world at large does not know. The censorship, which was established by Huerta April 11, is strict and no news is leaking out.

The "World" is not as much in the dark as it professes to be, and it knows beyond the shadow of a doubt that conditions in the capital are perfectly normal.

But this much is certain: With the whole American fleet in Mexican waters, the United States could send 10,000 marines and sailors instantly to the City of Mexico if they should be needed to protect the lives and property of foreigners and the foreign legations. The fleet is the best possible insurance against anarchy in the Mexican capital, no matter what may happen there. It is the best possible assurance to other nations that the United States is master of the situation.

The schoolmaster of the situation.

There has never been the suspicion of jingoism in President Wilson's political writings or record. He is not the kind of President who is likely to be careless about firearms. It is inconceivable that he is playing politics with so momentous an issue, or that he is making a demonstration in force to silence our vociferous jingoes. Therefore, the weight of evidence is all on the side of the theory that in ordering the fleet to Tampico the President has sent it on an errand of civilization, not on an errand of bluff and aggression.

The weight of evidence is just the other way, and that is why the "World" tries to discount it.

## MORE EXPLANATIONS.

The New York "Tribune's" Washington correspondent enumerates certain well-defined elements which have served to bring about action by the Administration. They are:

1. The growing intolerability of the whole Mexican situation, including the prospect that neither Huerta nor the Constitutionalists can completely triumph.

Any fair-minded observer will admit that this "growing intolerability" had its inception in the Administration's dictatorial meddling in Mexico's affairs and its encouragement of anarchy to "get Huerta."

2. The unsatisfactory attitude of the Constitutionalists regarding the deportation of Spaniards after the battle of Torreon and in the face of American protests, indicating that the rebels of the North are not inclined to meet America's demands, which fact has led to a disbelief in their ability to establish a satisfactory government in the event of their victory.

This which should be a reason for admitting a mistake in supporting the so-called "constitutionalists" is used as an excuse for attacking Huerta.

3. The fact that Huerta has recently obtained from local bankers a loan of $45,000,000 Mexican, to be paid in five instalments of $9,000,000 Mexican every twenty days.

All the more reason why he should be supported, if this money, procured despite the unwarranted financial blockade, should enable Huerta to pacify Mexico!

4. News received to-day of an impending rebel victory on the outskirts of Torreon, which would open an easy road to the capture of Saltillo and Monterey, where the Spanish subjects would suffer just as at Torreon.

But the action of the Administration, then, is directed at Huerta for the crimes of the rebels!

5. Huerta's refusal to fire the salute which Rear-Admiral Mayo demanded.

Was the demand justified? Is the refusal warranted in international law? Those points should be determined before committing this country to warlike measures—over a possibly petty incident.

6. The belief that Huerta has reached the conclusion that in its every threat the United States is merely "bluffing" and the necessity of convincing the Mexican President that President Wilson is in deadly earnest regarding his elimination.

By what right does President Wilson demand the elimination of President Huerta? How, as a Mexican President, could Huerta yield to such a demand without surrendering the independence of Mexico as a nation?

7. John Lind's counsel for action.

John Lind is not a sworn official of the American people. In Mexico they consider him a spy. Here he is known simply as a nice old gentleman.

8. The prospect of increasing European irritation over the continuation of conditions, particularly the resentment aroused in Europe by the maltreatment of Spaniards.

Again, this is due to conditions which the Administration has directly fostered.

8. Reports from Mr. O'Shaughnessy that anarchy would reign in Mexico City if the Constitutionalists approached the capital.

Therefore Huerta, a bulwark against anarchy, must go!

9. The growing conviction that action is ultimately inevitable, and that intervention, if necessary, would be far more difficult during the rainy season, which begins soon, than now.

Simply silly.

10. The fact that the Tampico incident affords an opportunity for action. The President can now go before the country and give justification for action. A month ago, before the battle of Torreon and on top of a long period of "watchful waiting," such action as has now been taken would have been gratuitous on its face.

It may be gratuitous, but it must not be gratuitous on its face.

## An Interesting Parallel from "The United States and Mexico," by George Lockhardt Rives.

"The order directing Taylor to advance to the Rio Grande was not then known to the American public, but at a later day Polk and his Administration were bitterly blamed for giving it. Their purpose, it was said, was to bring about a collision, to try to bring on a war, and the Administration was accused of wishing to provoke the Mexicans to attack the American forces, so that it might appear to the world—and especially to so much of it as sat in Congress—that the war, if war ensued—was one of defense and not aggression. No direct contemporaneous evidence was then produced in support of this assertion, and none seems to be now available. All the public utterances of the party in power were in favor of peace; and to the inquiry whether the executive officers of the United States were secretly trying to bring about a war, no positive answer can be given. Conclusions more or less plausible may be reached from a consideration of the general situation in the winter of 1846-1847, and of the character and the wishes and policy, at that time, of Polk and his Cabinet.

"The President himself was a man without wide culture or knowledge, wholly devoid of imagination, untravelled, unacquainted with either the Spanish or the Mexican character and with little experience in the conduct of foreign affairs. To a strong intelligence he added a dogged strength of will, such as few of his contemporaries possessed; and with all the obstinacy and persistence of his nature he desired to acquire California."

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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# ONE MAN

Commenting upon the sending of the entire Atlantic fleet to Mexico—the first war move made by our peace-loving Administration—we said in our last number:

> And at the risk of ours being the only dissenting voice at the moment, but firm in our conviction that the sanest elements in this country will presently concur in our opinion if, indeed, they do not already do so, we shall raise a voice of protest.

Little MEXICO had no sooner left the printing-press than the mighty roar of surging public opinion, condemning the Administration, could be heard rolling on from all sides and drowning the piping voices of puny adherents that tried to work on their readers the old cant: "We shall stand by the President."

Not all opinions reach the same conclusions, it is true, but invariably all are against the Mexican policy of the President. We must except, however, those expressed by Bryan, Marshall and Daniels. Were we to reproduce here all editorials published in the last ten days sustaining the contentions we have emphasized for well-nigh nine months, we should have to publish a five-hundred-page volume. Public sentiment as forcibly and unmistakably expressed since the obvious, although disclaimed, warlike attitude of the Administration may be analyzed thus:

1. Unanimous opposition to a war with Mexico.

2. If there MUST be armed action as a consequence of the blundering policy of the Administration, it must be based on justifiable grounds—those of humanity—and action must be directed against all factions in Mexico, but in the interest of all Mexico. The American people will never consent to send their soldiers to be killed in order that the pet friends of Bryan, the Northern rebels, may be forced upon the Mexican people. The American people will never consent to send the flower of its youth to be killed in Mexico to satisfy the personal animosity, the relentless hatred of President Wilson, Lind and Hale, directed against one man: Huerta.

President Wilson left no doubt in any one's mind as to the inner motive of his actions when he declared before Congress that the war was directed against one man, and he confirmed thus all that we have been repeating for months.

That President Wilson has been sadly misinformed is now generally accepted and we shall produce more evidence of this further on, when reference will be made to the pernicious activities of Hale and Lind in Mexico and to their attitude toward the Mexican situation.

There can be little extenuation, however, for President Wilson in the fact that he has been sorrily and wilfully misinformed, since it is well known that information which would tend to disprove the Wilson-Bryan theories was steadily and persistently refused by Wilson, Lind, Bryan and Hale.

We do not need to review in detail the events of the past fourteen months that have led to the present situation. They are known to most of our readers. We must refer again, however, to the circumstances which precipitated the landing of American forces on Mexican soil.

Although the praiseworthy efforts of Senators Root and Lodge to justify before the world an aggressive move by the United States on broad grounds of humanity failed because opposed by a narrow, partisan majority in the Senate, the people have raised their voice protesting in shame against a policy that makes them the allies of Mexicans who, in the name of liberty, have committed the most horrible crimes that humankind has registered in many a day.

Let us try in this period of passion, to brush away the thin shroud clumsily hung around the disastrous Mexican policy by the Bryan crowd and let us look at the naked, miserable truth.

It is now apparent to every one that the Tampico incident was but a pretext lacking even solid basis to be a plausible one.

What were the hidden motives?

Simply that upon information furnished by Lind, the Administration became convinced that Huerta, IN SPITE OF ALL, was more firmly planted in his place than he had been at any previous time since his ascent to power. That only the armed intervention of the United States could dislodge him. That the Huerta Government, in the face of a financial blockade, had been able to readjust its finances on a solid basis, through obtaining a loan of one hundred million pesos and resuming the payment of interest on the national debt. That the loss of Torreon was not as significant as it might have been and would in no way make possible the final overthrow of the Huerta Government by Villa, whose Pyrrhic victories had cost him enormous losses in men and munitions of war and weakened him more than the Federals. That the moral effect produced by the failure of the Federals to gain a decisive victory around Torreon had been to the detriment of the Huerta Government undoubtedly, but not sufficiently so to shake it to its roots. Finally, that the enormous advantage gained by the rebels in obtaining large quantities of arms and ammunition from this side of the Rio

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## ONE MAN---Continued

Grande would soon have been offset by the receipt on the part of the Huerta Government of a large shipment of more than two hundred cannons and fifteen million rounds of ammunition from Europe.

On the strength of all this and the evident fact that the rebels could not forge their way south through hostile territory, once out of the Northern States, it was clear that all of Lind's efforts had come to nought and that if Huerta was to be overthrown it had to be done by American guns.

The Tampico incident was seized upon by the cunning Lind, who convinced President Wilson that the shipment of arms had to be stopped at all costs and the financial power of Huerta broken down by a seizure of Mexican Custom Houses.

Lind assured the President that this could be done without any loss of life and Bryan assured him that the taking of Vera Cruz would not constitute an act of war. So the President, by telephone. said: "Tell Fletcher to take Vera Cruz." That's all.

The taking of Vera Cruz cost seventeen American lives and seventy-seven men were wounded, mainly by Mexican citizens who resisted the invasion.

More than one hundred and fifty Mexicans were killed by the American forces and a larger number wounded. President Wilson said he was terribly sorry and that we were the friends of the Mexican people. Secretary Daniels said the taking of Vera Cruz was not an act of war, but that the defence of their homes by the Mexicans WAS therefore, Mexico had practically declared war on the United States!

Then he sent messages of condolence to the families of the dead bluejackets and quoted Lincoln's words to the effect that they had died to save the Republic!

To Lind we shall presently devote special attention. Lind is a man who should be thoroughly known to the people of this country, to the families of the men who have sacrificed and who will sacrifice their lives because of Lind's prejudices, of Lind's hatreds and of Lind's counsel.

Meanwhile, let us continue to examine the policy of the Administration, viewed in the light of actual and pretended motives and point out a'so the unavoidable results, considering Mexican conditions and Mexican character.

Wherefrom has Huerta derived the remarkable power which President Wilson for many months has endeavored to batter down, first with indirect means and now with the use of American arms and forfeiture of American lives?

Could Huerta have made the wonderful show of endurance in the face of our Administration's hostility, combined with armed rebellion, were he the tyrant that he has been called or were the Northern rebellion "a fight for constitutional government by the people of Mexico," as the egregious Mr. Daniels has stated in behalf of the still more egregious Mr. Bryan? We, and with us all those who really know Mexico, shall answer an emphatic No! Huerta's power has been derived mainly from two sources: First, the people's fear of the rebel leaders and what they truly represent; second, the hostility of the United States against Huerta.

Although Huerta may not be a Wilson type of man and some of his traits are to be condemned, he represents, at least in the eyes of Mexicans and foreigners in Mexico, organized government, order and Mexican national integrity as against disorder, rapine, loot and wanton murder. It is not a question for Mexicans of selecting between "very good" and "very bad," but a question of selecting an infinitely lesser evil of the two with which they have been confronted.

When we say Mexicans we refer to those who can make any selection at all, to the middle class, unfortunately in a minority. The middle class in which are included workingmen, clerks, professionals and merchants. The middle class which, in the final analysis, will have to solve Mexico's problem.

We exclude most of those belonging to the upper class, which, as in every other country, but to a greater degree in Mexico, enjoys special privilege. Also the overwhelming masses of passive, ignorant peons and Indians who patiently bear all burdens. who have been the victims of Governments, but infinitely more so of revolutions. The rich landowner, the capitalist, is against Huerta almost as much as he is against Villa and he will be against any Government that will deprive him of the privileges which he has considered rightfully his from time immemorial.

An extra tax legally imposed by the Government is as distasteful to him as a contribution forced by a bandit chief at the muzzle of a gun.

But the class of landowners or capitalists will have to reconcile itself to the loss of special privilege forever, no matter what the Government may be. It is absurd to say that Huerta has been supported by reactionary elements of Mexico, or by the Cientificos, the name now applied by the rebels to all property owners.

Huerta has been supported by the middle class, desirous, it is true, that the government should have at least the appearance of a republican government but more desirous for the present to work in peace and not become the victim of brigands and rebels, desirous to save their women from dishonor and their children from starvation, desirous to save themselves and their homes from destruction, rape, loot and wanton murder.

Huerta could not have resisted so long against the combined attack of rebel arms and tremendous American pressure if he had not received support from the middle class of nine-tenths of the population. Support given not so much because of love for Huerta, perhaps, as because of dread of Villa and all he represents. But President Wilson has declared that Huerta must go and because he could not make him go, either by closing all avenues of financial support or by arming the rebels, he has employed the armed force of the United States to make him go.

From the moment that President Wilson appointed himself the arbiter of Mexican politics, from the moment he espoused the cause of one against the other in Mexican internecine strife, President Wilson committed himself to war. If not war, President Wilson committed Mexico to prolonged distress, to continued tragedy. For the reason that the rebel leaders have lost and will lose political strength in proportion to the military strength they have acquired and will acquire as a result of the indirect and direct assistance given to them by President Wilson.

Witness, if you doubt this, Carranza's haste in making public a demand upon the Administration that American forces be withdrawn from Vera Cruz. Villa's personal, savage hatred for Huerta, coupled with the yet unexplained but soon to be revealed influence of Carothers, Bryan's agent, have blinded him to the results of Wilson's armed intervention. But the more cultured Carranza has realized fully that from the moment that national territory has been invaded by American forces and that Mexican blood has been spilled by Americans sent there to help his cause, this cause was lost. And he has made frantic efforts to demonstrate to Mexicans that he considered the movement as much against himself as against Huerta—but too late.

Personal ambition, lust for power and revenge, are prompting some of Carranza's advisers to disclaim the action of their leader. Carranza, however, is wisest. President Wilson and the never properly qualified Bryan may or may not succeed in their plan of forcibly overthrowing Huerta to hoist the rebel leaders to power on the point of American bayonets. Carranza and Villa will remain there just as long as American bayonets hold them up and no longer.

Even supposing that they represented the aspiration of a majority of the Mexican people—which they did not—from now on they represent a power imposed by the hated forces of the United States at the cost of Mexican lives.

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## ONE MAN---Continued

Is it possible that this should not be as clear as the light of day to President Wilson? Can President Wilson be so ignorant of Mexican history, of Mexican character, of Mexican conditions as not to perceive clearly the result of the policy on which he has embarked at the behest of Lind?

We can well understand how the befogged brains of Bryan and the limp logic of Lind could have failed to sense and guage the elements with which they were dealing—but President Wilson—?

And, mind you, in considering the bound-to-fail project of the Administration we have assumed that the character of the revolution is what the Administration has professed to believe it is. But here again we ask: Is it possible that President Wilson could be so thoroughly deceived as to believe that "the bulk of rebels are fighting for the re-establishment of constitutional government," as solemnly stated by Daniels?

Has President Wilson, or Bryan or Lind or Hale made a study of past and present Mexican revolutions? Have they investigated or caused to be investigated the political and personal career of the men who are leading the various factions against the Huerta Government?

Has President Wilson full knowledge of the motives animating some of the leaders and of all the horrors perpetrated by their followers?

Extenuation for the crimes committed has been sought by the Administration in the belief that they are inherent to all revolutions, that they find their justification in a supposed struggle for constitutional government. But this only goes to show the ignorance existing or that appears to exist in Administration circles as to the true character and significance of the Mexican revolution.

Read the articles of Polly Pry written for the "Denver Times" and reproduced in other columns of this publication and you will have a clearer conception of this revolution. Constitutional government! There is not one rebel out of a thousand who knows what constitutional government is.

If it were said on the other hand that the rebels are fighting to gain better economical conditions, including division of lands, that would hit a little nearer the mark. But then that would show the futility of the revolution, because all factions, all parties in Mexico have acknowledged the necessity of economical reforms and the Huerta Government has asked only a fair chance to bring about such reforms.' It would further show grounds for doubting the good faith of certain rebel leaders who are large landowners, as Madero was and the Madero family, backing the revolution, is now. Neither the Maderos nor the present apparent leaders have divided or encouraged the division of land. On the other hand, the Huerta Government has already done more to solve the agrarian problem than Madero did during his longer and much more propitious term of office.

One more phase must be considered, at bottom the most important of all, because it comprises the determinant cause—although not frankly acknowledged—of President Wilson's attitude toward General Huerta.

We refer to the murders of which the Huerta Government has been accused.

Assassination can never find justification in the eyes of a civilized community. Viewed, however, in the light of Mexican standards, Mexican customs and Mexican moral sense, one is forced to acknowledge that there exists if not justification at least an enormous difference between political murders committed because of what is thought to be political necessity and the murders for which there is no political reason but that are committed with the object of robbing or merely satisfying a savage lust for blood.

We repeat, no civilized community can find justification for assassination, even though political. But consider, on the other hand, the existence in Mexico of a struggle to the death and the fact that on the rebel side not only political assassinations have been committed, but wanton murders of inoffensive men, women and children.

If President Wilson justly condemned reported barbaric deeds of a government, how can he espouse the cause of savage rebels who have killed their political enemies, their prisoners and wantonly murdered and tortured at random on an appalling scale?

Can President Wilson, or Bryan, or Lind, or Hale find any justification for the unleashed savagery and unspeakable bloody deeds of the men they are trying by all means to force upon the people of Mexico?

One may understand the reluctance of President Wilson to lend his moral support to the Huerta Government if one considers that from President Wilson's point of view and standards that Government has been guilty of evil deeds. But can any one understand how President Wilson could have become the ally of the savage brigand-rebels to the extent of sacrificing American lives to strengthen their hands?

Here again, we can hear the Hon. Daniels discourse on constitutional government, but can President Wilson or any one of his advisers, if hey have ever given any thought to actual Mexican conditions, believe for one moment that constitutional government, as they and we understand it here, can be established in Mexico and that this can be accomplished by Villa and his men?

In considering all this and much more that lack of space prevents, we fail to find a justification for the policy of the Administration. Again we are forced to conclude that the national crime of plunging the country into war is being committed because of the animosity of President Wilson, of Lind, of Bryan and Hale against one man: Huerta.

By diplomatic pressure and powerful weapons "short of war," President Wilson may finally succeed in forcing Huerta out. We doubt it. But with Huerta out, this country makes itself responsible for the anarchy and rebellion that will ensue, as sure as night follows day, more widespread than ever. That responsibility will necessarily lead to armed intervention and armed intervention is war. So we always come back to the inescapable fact which we have maintained, that the failure to recognize Huerta and the fanning of the flames of anarchy would inevitably lead to war with Mexico.

## LIND AND HALE

In conclusion we must perform the unpleasant duty of referring again to the men upon whom the American public is placing the responsibility of plunging the country into a war with Mexico, if war should come: William Bayard Hale and John Lind.

The belief generally prevails at this date that President Wilson has been grossly and wilfully misinformed by his two emissaries, Hale and Lind, having closed his ears and mind to all other sources of information. We concur in the prevailing belief, more strongly now than ever after having obtained first-hand evidence.

About two months ago one of our staff left New York for Mexico City. Before leaving he had occasion to hear vague reports as to Lind's attitude toward Mexico's problems. These reports were more or less to the effect that John Lind disagreed with the Administration policy of "Watchful Waiting" and believed that it should either recognize Huerta or intervene Upon reaching Havana, our representative met an old friend who had recently left Mexico. The conversation turned on Lind. Here is what the friend related:

"A short time before my departure from Mexico I was talking about the situation with an American consul whom I have known for many years. Suddenly the consul suggested that I go to see Lind. "X....." he said, looking rather worried, "you know Villa and what he is—won't you tell Lind?" I was somewhat surprised at the request, but after thinking that, being neither a Mexican nor an American, although educated in

(Continued on next page)

## LIND AND HALE---Continued

the United States, Lind might not consider me a biassed party, I agreed. agreed.

"The Consul's request had naturally led me to believe that Lind favored Villa. I went to see him and before long I became convinced that Lind did not wish to hear what I had to say about Villa and moreover that he thought the latter was the only salvation for Mexico! I have lived in Mexico twenty years, as you know. I asked Lind if he had talked to honest, neutral Mexicans, to representative men who did not take part in the struggle and had no political ambition. Lind answered that he had. I inquired specifically, mentioning more than fifteen names, and in each case he answered, "No, not that one." I soon perceived that he had not talked to the men whose opinions and views were really worth while.

"Then I made him an offer to put at his disposal my own house so that he could see the men whose names I had mentioned, without the fact becoming known to any one and I told him I would see personally these men and arrange for them to meet him. 'Thank you,'—said Lind very indifferently,—'sometime, perhaps, you may do that.' I left Lind convinced that his mind on the subject had been made up before he had gone to Mexico and that no one could change it and I said to myself, 'Poor Mexico!'"

Our representative made the journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico City accompanied by a Mexican newspaper man, correspondent for American newspapers and news agencies, a man who speaks English and Spanish with equal facility, thoroughly reliable and honest. Our representative asked him about Lind, and related the conflicting reports he had heard in New York and in Havana. The Mexican replied: "Lind has the reputation of never expressing his opinion. It is true he talks little for publication, but I see him every day and have heard him express plenty of opinions. I am afraid your friend in Havana was much nearer the truth than the New York men. Lind hates Huerta. There is much of personal grudge, I think, in his attitude on account of Huerta's refusal to accede to his demands. I know that Lind has done everything in his power to hamper Huerta at every turn.

"The newspaper men in Vera Cruz are convinced that Lind has given instructions to the Consuls to give useful information to the rebels whenever they can do so without raising too much suspicion. We all believe that Lind is seeking a pretext to bring about a conflict between the United States and Huerta.

"The trouble is he won't listen to anything that is in favor of Huerta and against the rebels. His mind is absolutely closed on the subject."

In Mexico City our representative pursued his investigation as to Lind's attitude and Lind's doings. An American newspaper man related to him a disagreeable incident which had taken place in the presence of the American Charge d'Affairs O'Shaughnessy, after which he had deemed it his duty to send to his New York office a statement that he could not vouch for the accuracy of anything Lind might say for publication.

Everywhere our correspondent heard the same opinion expressed:

"Lind has listened to no one but Maderists.

"Lind is doing all he can to bring about a conflict and provoke Huerta."

In the light of recent events we are forced to the conclusion that the opinions heard by our representative while in Mexico must have been well founded.

Our representative endeavered to ascertain also the methods pursued by William Bayard Hale in gathering the information which he transmitted to President Wilson and which had so much influence on the latter's attitude toward Mexico.

He found that Hale, like his successor, Lind, had arrived in Mexico with preconceived opinions and with an absolutely closed mind. One instance will suffice to demonstrate this. An American newspaper man, who had been in Mexico for several years and had been through the Morelos campaign and reported the ten days' fight in Mexico City and subsequent events, went to interview Hale. The ex-reverend would not talk for publication, but expressed himself freely in regard to his estimation of General Huerta and other leaders in the events which led to his ascension to power. Hale proceeded to relate with abundance of details supposed happenings concerning the assassination of Madero and the responsibility of General Huerta. The newspaper man, who had previously endeavored by all means at his disposal to ascertain on the spot the truth in regard to Madero's death and had failed despite his knowledge of the language and of men, was amazed at the cocksureness with which Hale was proceeding in his narrative. When Hale finished the newspaper man inquired: "Will you tell me where you obtained your information and how you know all about Madero's death?"

"Why," replied Hale, with a tone of finality, "the Maderos themselves have told me!"

The newspaper man did not trust himself to say anything more and left.

These incidents concerning the visits of Hale and Lind to Mexico, small as they may be in themselves, are most significant because of the light they thow upon the attitude of mind adopted by the men who are responsible for the disastrous policy of our Administration.

Bryan, Lind, Hale! Verily the ways of Providence in choosing its agents are queer and inscrutable!

### VILLA AS POLLY PRY SEES HIM.

His head is extraordinary. It is not exactly deformed, but it gives you an impression of something more mishappen than it really is, due perhaps to the fact that his huge jaw, broad face and high forehead, recedes into a queer domelike crown and flat back head, which even his crisp, curling thatch of jetty hair cannot round out to normal proportions. His cheek bones are high, his wide mouth, coarse and sensual, is filled with strong yellow teeth, which his short upper lip leaves perpetually bared. His nose is thick, short, a bit tip-tilted and pugnacious to a degree, but it is his eyes that are truly remarkable. They are large and well shaped, dark and luminous, eyes which should be beautiful if they were not so terrible. Once I saw a coiled adder in the desert, its head reared to spring. I remembered it as our eyes met and clashed, and some way I felt a little cold, as if a drop of ice water had fallen on my naked heart.—"Denver Times."

### AND BRYAN BELIEVES IN HIM.

Later, when I asked him if it were true that he was to be financed by the oil companies in case he took San Pedro, Saltillo and Monterey, his face flushed and his eyes almost popped from his head in rage as he thundered:

"You Americans are crazy to meddle in things which do not concern you—" Then simply, not as a boast, but as the statement of a fact, "The day may yet come when I shall have to fight all foreigners!"—Polly Pry in "Denver Times."

### THE BLAND ONE.

Secretary Daniels blandly stated that the landing of American forces at Vera Cruz and the seizure of the city was not an act of war. He added that the Mexicans had committed an act of war by firing upon the invading forces. We wish merely to ask the learned Secretary:

If an overwhelming European force should seize New York would he consider that an act of war? And if the citizens of New York should open fire upon the landing European forces would he say that the United States had been the one to commit an act of war?

**Read "MEXICO"**

**ONCE A WEEK**

**AND LEARN WHAT'S WHAT**

**BELOW THE RIO GRANDE.**

# WILSON'S BARBARIAN ANGELS

By Polly Pry, in Denver "Times."

Less than four years ago the traveler who entered Mexico from Juarez found a train service that equaled any in the United States; he saw at the border a prosperous little city that might have been picked up anywhere in our own American-Mexican country, and from his luxurious car window he saw running away toward the South the shifting deserts that lie opal-tinted and forbidding for sixty miles between the long lines of jagged mountains that stand like sentinels on either side of the wide valleys; and then he began to catch glimpses of low mud houses hidden behind tall cottonwoods and to see dotted across the rich plains thousands and thousands of cattle; little villages flashed into view, with naked children and gay-clad women squatted in serene content about the low doors, picturesque vaqueros in wide hats and flapping trousers rode up out of the distant haze and swinging their serapes above their heads in gay salute to the train, disappeared, leaving a mental picture as alluring as it was foreign and unusual.

Vast haciendas reared their cream-colored walls afar off and herds of burros disputed the land with the ever-increasing thousands of cattle. On every hand was an air of prosperity, of growth, of power and plenty. Miles of alfalfa fields lay like emerald carpets on the gray landscape. Everything was on a gigantic scale. There were no small places; everything loomed like the mountains, vast and overgrown.

At Chihuahua, 210 miles from the border, the cracked old bell in the 240-year-old cathedral still called the faithful to worship in the old, old way, but a constantly decreasing few responded. There was no time; the spirit of labor had begun to smile above the quaint old town and the people were too busy in the huge factories, breweries, smelters, stores, warehouses and shops to pay heed to the padre's gentle calls.

A modern city, full of modern beauties, palatial homes, great buildings and all the evidence of taste and culture had come to replace the sleepy old town that had slumbered in the shadow of the mountains for more than three hundred years. There was work for every pair of hands, at unheard of wages. There was luxury even in the sun-baked huts of the poorest. There were schools in every quarter of the city, and there was big talk of compulsory education—every one must learn to read and write—and, most amazing change of all, it was no longer allowed that people should walk naked in the streets of the cities! Clothes had become a necessity; decency was commanded.

And what was true of Chihuahua was true of all the other towns and states of northern Mexico; of Coahuila, where the rich laguna country produces $40,000,000 worth of cotton each year, and where the greatest grape vineyards of the new world are just beginning to bear a fruit of surpassing excellence; of Durango, the granary of Mexico, where the corn and beans that form the staple food of the people is grown by the hundreds of thousands of bushels.

### Men Without Fear and Full of Evil Spread Deadly Blight Over Fair Land.

All this was yesterday. To-day you cross the Rio Grande between armed guards, you walk between lines of sullen soldiers, you approach an official across the intervening barrel of a rifle, you only move with a military pass in your hand, you ride, if you are permitted to ride at all, over a hastily constructed railway which has taken the place of the costly road which was ruthlessly destroyed three years ago during the Madero revolution, a road that is minus culverts and bridges, that shooflies its trains into and out of deep gullies and dry creeks, and which gives you no guarantee that you will ever reach your destination. You travel at your own risk, by jerks and starts, long pauses and reckless runs, in vile military trains made up principally of freight and flat cars, through a country which in this past three years has slipped back into a medieval barbarism that astounds.

The soft-voiced pacifico is swept aside, and out of the northern mountains has come the Salazars, the Gomezes, the Carranzas, the Urbinas and the Villas, copper-colored Indians and their blood brothers, the half-breeds, men without fear and filled with evil, wolves lusting for prey. From El Paso to Torreon they have swept their victorious way, and where they have passed a deadly blight has fallen on the land.

### Civilization Helpless in the Grip of an Ex-Convict, Slayer and Thief.

The plow lies idle in the field, the irrigation ditches are choked with sand, the fertile fields have slipped back to join the weed-grown desert, factories are closed, business suspended, schools shut up, food has climbed to prohibitive prices, the men of affairs who controlled the government, the finances and the business of the country have been driven out of the land, and desolation and ruin confront you at every step.

The money of the country has fallen to 10 per cent. of its face value, and the counterfeiter is working overtime.

**Civilization lies helpless and bound beneath the upward rush of this undreamed-of ferocity, above which towers the threatening figure of Gen. Francisco Villa, ex-convict, murderer and thief. A Geronimo of cruelty, a soldier of parts, a leader of men, a man to fear, who in three short years has by sheer brute courage and audacity stepped from the position of a hunted outlaw, a bandit chief, with a following of two dozen men, into the supreme command of more than 20,000 soldiers and the complete control of a full third of his country.**

"Pancho" Villa, illiterate, ignorant, arrogant, blodthirsty and cruel, but a man who laughs at death, who knows no fear, who meets you with narrowed eyes of hatred and wide smile of friendliness, and who must be reckoned with before peace is even thought of in this stricken land.

### Agony and Death of a Patriot is But a Joke to General Villa.

It was the day after the evacuation of Torreon by General Velasco and his command that I first saw General Villa. It was at Gomez Palacio, where the streets were rank with dead horses and putrid with vile odors. The roar of the last cannon had died away across the wide white plain upon which a dazzling sunlight beat in shimmering waves of light. For some reason that long reverberating roar had been succeeded by a strange, quivering quiet, a silence that seem freighted with an appalling significance. I stood near the open door of the house in which I had passed the night, wondering what it meant, when suddenly, quite near me, I heard a cry of agony, a scream, agonized and hideous, and turned in time to see a dog bound away from what I had thought a heap of vile refuse and rags, above which a million flies buzzed indignantly, as a ghastly figure rose from under a dirt-colored blanket, disclosing a face upon which the reaper had set his gray seal. A cloud of insects clung to a great jagged wound above the right temple, he held out his hand, where the hungry dog had torn the flesh from the bone and looked at it with a curious intentness, as though wondering to whom it belonged. When I spoke to him he raised a pair of such wide and luminous eyes in which lay a horror so profound and terrible that I ran screaming for aid. When I came back I saw General Villa. He was laughing, a loud and raucous laugh, his arm across the shoulders of an officer, who with several others walked with him past the dying soldier, who still held out his stump of a hand with a curious, grotesque gesture, as though protesting against its mutilation. Villa's eyes fell upon him, narrowed quickly and were withdrawn, as still laughing loudly he passed on. Then the arm fell, the figure swayed, the eyes rolled upward, and without a sound the soldier fell back upon his heap of refuse—dead. And all at once I felt my first and last qualm of fear and stood shaking as with a chill. A tumult rose in every direction. There were shouts and cries and running feet, and far across the sandy plain I saw a bunch of cavalry detach itself from the dry river bed and come galloping toward us, and without words I knew that the end that had been proclaimed for twenty-four hours had at last come—Torreon had fallen. The end for which the soldier had fought and died—it had come too late for him to know.

### Ten Thousand Lured by Fool's Tales to Feed Wheeling Carrion Birds.

The men who had run with me to the aid of the dying man had already disappeared in the direction of the coming soldiers as with a throb of pity I reached down and drew the dreadful blanket up over the dead face, and when I turned away the dog was peering about a near-by corner and a cloud of flies were buzzing above the still warm body.

I had seen a patriot die!
I had watched a soul take flight!

I had seen the man who is responsible for 10,000 deaths go by with a shout of laughter and I no longer wondered at the fearful panorama which had unrolled itself between Jimenez and Gomez

(Continued on next page)

## Wilson's Barbarian Angels---Continued

Palacio, where the vultures gorge themselves upon the unburied and forgotten dead, and a stench that pollutes high heaven hurtles through the filthy trains, where curious, staring eyes and high, shrill voices keep tab on the slinking coyotes and slow, wheeling carrion birds that hover over the pitiful heaps of rags and bones that alone remain of the men who have gone forth to die for—they know not what, stirred by the fools' tales of lands without price, gold without work.

In Torreon I saw 600 Spanish citizens who had been taken under the protection of our vice-consul, I. M. Ulmer, and an assistant vice-consul, A. Perelli Minette, an Italian-American, and placed in the basement of a bank building, where, without conveniences or decencies, they were detained for six days under the flag of our country, guarded by our representatives, daily subjected to vile insults and threats, their lives only saved by the gallant attitude of the men who guarded them, and eventually, like slaves, they were led from their foul prison to a train and banished, under guard, from the country where a great majority of them were born, and where all they possessed on earth was confiscated by Gen. Francisco Villa.

Nor is it a false promise. When the battles are over the doors to hitherto forbidden luxuries are flung wide and Villa redeems his word. The banks, the money, belong to the cause, but the palaces, the women and girls, the rich stores, the gorgeous flubdubbery with which the color-loving southrons like to surround themselves—that is public property, to be grabbed by the first pair of hands, Villa himself being first to shout: "Come, my children, help yourselves—you've earned it!"

Nor does he stop there. He loots the warehouse, but he takes care to see that every officer gets his share, that every man has a look-in—and his army grows apace.

**One year ago he stood in El Paso, a revolver in his belt, penniless, an ex-convict, a bandit with a price on his head, and looked across at the land of his birth—outcast and alone.**

**With an army of this character, thus held together, a free hand throughout the north and $50,000,000 in gold, Gen. Francisco Villa would have only to rid himself of his timid chief, Gen. Venustiano Carranza, declare himself president and move on to certain victory.**

But who is so foolish as to believe that the platitudinous Carranza, with his itching palm and craven heart, is ever going to share in that vast gift of gold—which means so much to Villa and so much more to the men who put it up?

No, intervention would not be better for these big interests. With the Constitutionalists friendly—and they are; with Villa dragging their chariot, headed for Mexico City, and victory in sight; with the rich landowners permanently banished and the prospects of a new deal all around—what, after all, is $50,000,000?

It would be no more than the price of a breakfast in Torreon compared with what they would stand to make.

The people who are clamorous for intervention are the cientificos, the banished millionaires, the deported Spaniards, the unprotected foreigners, the small miners and lumber dealers, planters and manufacturers, and the humiliated and outraged Americans, who look toward home for the support that is their due.

But no thoughtful person who has seen the conditions that prevail and realized the forces at work in Mexico, could view the prospect of intervention with anything except the most profound concern.

There are gigantic forces at work down there on the border, forces that will stop at nothing so only they attain their ends, and the solution must rest with men in Washington, who are conversant with these facts and conditions although the public is not, and who are in intimate touch with the international complications that play so big a part in this imbroglio.

This much I realized before I left the Paso del Norte hotel.

### HOW VILLA TREATS HIS PRISONERS.

I visited the hospitals and saw the fifty-five Federal wounded, all that survived out of the 118 who were found, after General Velasco's retreat, in the handsome Camara Nacional de Commerco, opposite the Plaza, in a condition the mere recital of which turned me sick with horror. It was significant that the fifty-five survivors were all Federals, not a single volunteer, or "red flagger," nor an officer had been taken to the Camara Nacional de Commerco.

After General Villa's demand upon General Velasco for the surrender of Torreon, when it was made clear that the "red flaggers" could expect no mercy, all the wounded of that branch of the service who could be moved were sent with the advance retreat out through the Canon de Huarache, but there are believed to have been many others who were left behind and who met the fate that had been promised them.

In the confusion that followed the occupation of the city and the clearing away of the street barricades and barbed wire entanglements, which were everywhere on the outskirts of the town, the rebels made a house to house tour, and rumor was rife over the summary disposition of the helpless volunteers wherever found, as well as of those who protected them.

What were a few more bodies added to the enormous funeral pyres, which illumined the city in every direction, or flung into the shallow trenches to be found in every arroyo?

Among the prisoners, of whom I saw three different squads, aggregating 218 men, on their way to the trains for transportation to Chihuahua and Juarez, there were also no signs of the volunteers. I was talking of this to an American who has a large business in Torreon, when he suddenly gave me a queer look and said:

"Do you mind taking a little ride with me?"

"Delighted!" I answered, and in a few minutes we were rattling along behind two starved and emaciated horses with huge, raw sores on their backs, into which the human brute who drove them flicked his whip every few seconds, until, unable to endure it, I insisted on walking, and with a reassuring pat on the arm and shake of the head the American listened to my indignant protest to the grinning driver who drove away, still beating his half dead animals, while we walked out past the electric light and power plant, to where the land slopes towards the great dry river, and my companion said:

### Still Breathing Bodies Heaved Into Graves and Earth Stamped Over Them.

"I had some business that took me to that house," pointing to a low abode building, "a little after 5 in the morning, three days ago. I was in that corner room talking with the man I came to see when we heard a noise and looked out of that side window. Down below, where you see that ridge, there was a shallow trench, and standing on the other side of it was a group of soldiers, some thirty or forty, an officer and a bugler, with a lot of yellow tassels hanging from his sleeve. Directly a column of men came into view beyond the end of that wall," pointing to a long mud wall just beyond us. "The men in the centre had their hands tied behind them and stumbled as they walked, and were proddled by the rifles of those on the outside. They stopped by that wall and groups of twelve of the bound men were taken down there, some fell down and had to be lifted up, and were kicked and beaten. Then the officer waved his hand, the bugle sounded, there was a crashing volley; before the smoke rolled away, another, and another line was thrust into position with ferocious brutality; then we saw the armed soldiers heave the still breathing bodies into the trench and shovel the sand in on them, stamping it down with their sandaled feet and pounding it with the butts of their rifles—laughing and talking."

**I looked at him, his tanned face was pale and his gray eyes had the glint of steel when the sun strikes it. "Yes," he answered in response to my unasked question, "they were volunteers, all right. No, I haven't been telling it promiscuously. You see, my life wouldn't be worth that," snapping his fingers, "if they knew that I had seen it, but I'm telling you because you seemed so cock-sure that all the rumors you had heard were exaggerations. I tell you, madam, you couldn't exaggerate anything that has been done here."**

"How many? About thirty-six, as near as we could count. I have heard," he added, "that they privately boast that they have 'put away' more than three hundred, just like that."

I went on down to the edge of that road and looked at the narrow ridge, which heaved and worked and moved under the crawling army of monstrous red ants.

# AS OTHERS SEE US

By Count Ernst Reventlow.

(Famous German authority on military subjects and acknowledged expert on political problems of world interest.)

BERLIN, April 18.—In responding to the kind invitation of the New York "American" to present my view of the Mexican situation I do so with a certain hesitation. For I can see things only from a German standpoint, while the United States of America can judge them only from the standpoint of their own interest, especially as those interests are extraordinarily large. Nor can I judge the American interest except with German eyes.

The chief German interest in Mexico concerns commerce. In Germany the wish is to see peace and order reign in Mexico; conditions which assure the Germans in Mexico safety and prosperity and will give to German trade a free open market, to which all nations are alike entitled.

The more peace and order reign in Mexico, the more able will its inhabitants be to buy goods, and therefore the more favorable will conditions be, not only for Germany, but for all countries.

In the more recent history of Mexico, the time in which Porfirio Diaz ruled, was most favorable to the desired ends just named. It is a fact that peace and order then reigned more than either before or since.

We knew in Germany that even in Porfirio Diaz's time conditions in Mexico were not paradisical, and we knew also that the Government of that period often resorted to measures not usually employed in civilized States.

Madero, who led the revolution that overthrew Diaz, received aid from the United States. We in Germany understood that your Government disliked Diaz.

Perhaps the cause was the budding relationship between the Mexico of Diaz and Japan; a weighty and permanent factor in the foreign policy of the United States. It exists today as then, and it will endure.

### Supported by the United States.

After Porfirio Diaz, Francesco Madero rose to power. He was the man of the United States of America, set up by them and supported as a pretender against Diaz. Madero was and remained the tool of the United States and proved personally incapable of fulfilling his task as President of Mexico. He was weak and unable to assure peace and order.

Under him corruption spread, while his relations sucked the country dry. American financial groups began to conquer Mexico commercially. Thus, from the Mexican point of view, conditions had changed greatly for the worse. They had not been good under Diaz. But the policy of the United States had replaced them by something much worse.

During the struggles of Madero it was pretty generally thought in Germany that, soon or late, in some way or another, the United States meant to get hold of Mexico and were only waiting for a favorable moment, when Mexico would have been more or less completely stewed in her own juice.

Mr. Wilson assumed the attitude that Huerta had attained power illegally and was also the assassin of Madero, for which reasons he neither could nor should be recognized by the United States.

The other Powers, without exception, recognized Huerta; not because they were less moral, or at all events believed themselves less moral than Mr. Wilson, but because trusting to unanimous opinion of their diplomatic agents in Mexico, they were and are convinced that Huerta is the only man capable of coping with the Mexican situation, and, with time, restoring peace and order.

**Today many Americans will, surely, not deny that the situation in Mexico as to that country and its people would be much better than it is if the United States had, at the outset, either recognized Huerta or at least not worked against him.**

As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Wilson did all that could be done "peacefully" to get rid of Huerta.

For many months past he has tried to "starve him out" and, on the other hand, to strengthen and support the rebels under Carranza and his "generals."

In Germany we have long been asking ourselves whether this policy and course, and more especially its results, are quite in accord with Mr. Wilson's lofty morality.

The continued persecutions of natives and foreigners in Mexico by the rebels, the laying waste of Mexican and foreign property, are surely not practical confirmations of moral principles. **We, in Germany, have also wondered at the calm with which the United States have looked on while, during the last two years, hundreds of Americans were being murdered in Mexico.**

But quite apart from this, we ask ourselves in Germany what are the aims of Mr. Wilson's policy. All we know is—and thus far he has vouchsafed no other information—that he does not wish Huerta to be President.

### Insurgents Go On Killing.

Meanwhile the insurgents, whom Mr. Wilson supports in the name of morality, go on murdering and burning and, through the assassination of Benton, have already caused unpleasantness with Great Britain. At any day similar unpleasantnesses may arise with Great Britain or other Powers; and each new case will intensify the difficulties.

Some people say that President Wilson might after all prove right if only Huerta were "starved out" and swept away. That this is possible can certainly not be denied, though President Wilson's confident prophecies last August that Huerta would soon retire have not yet been verified.

But even if Huerta were to retire tomorrow, what would be the condition of affairs in Mexico? Who would and could then rule in Mexico—who could restore peace and order?

European statesmen have not been able to discover such a man in Mexico. Their envoys have discovered none. Nor has President Wilson been more fortunate. Should Huerta withdraw or be murdered tomorrow, anarchy in Mexico would become limitless and chronic.

I take it for granted that President Wilson does not contemplate seating

But as things stand, we ask ourselves in Germany: "What does the United States intend to do in Mexico?" And we can get no answer.

For all these reasons the sympathy of Europe with Huerta, as President of Mexico, has grown and deepened. In these long, and for him, hard times Huerta has revealed qualities which beyond question fit him for the Mexican Presidency. They are energy, constancy, readiness, ruthlessness, endurance and influence over men.

We, in Europe, cannot understand why the United States wants to destroy a man so useful to Mexico and seemingly so unreplaceable, and why a country should be given up to anarchy on pretense of a moral principle. Nor can we comprehend the morality of this principle.

Yet we might swallow this if, behind the hostility of Mr. Wilson's policy with regard to Huerta, we saw the intention to take possession of Mexico. In Europe we have long believed in this intention, although, for my part, I have been less sure, because the military and political cost of conquering Mexico would probably be great.

On the other hand, it would be intelligible if, with the Panama Canal in mind, the United States had the wish and the idea to see the Stars and Stripes wave over every land north of the Canal.

Military, political and commercial reasons for the regulation of this wish could easily be found in the United States. But neither the repeated declarations nor the general attitude of Mr. Wilson lead one to suppose that he has yet conceived a great act of this kind.

Americans have often said to me: "Even if such a course seemed necessary, the United States would not seize Mexico, but merely Cubanize it."

Well, the difference in effect would not be very great. In one or the other case, the United States would have to pacify the country, keep troops of occupation in it permanently, reorganize the administration and everything else, and spend money for which they would seek security and indemnity on Mexican soil.

Whether or not an apparently independent Mexican, appointed by the United States, sat in the Presidential chair of Mexico, would matter little. In Europe it is rather widely thought that moral principles would not prevent the United States from occupying Mexico so much as the fear that this undertaking would, as I said just now, entail serious financial, military and political expense.

Against this, it might be argued that the political losses of the United States have already been swollen by the past and present policy of Mr. Wilson, and may soon be much more swollen.

The plan of Mr. Wilson for the repeal of a clause in the Panama Canal arrangement shows plainly how uncomfortable is the position of the Washington Government. As is known, Germany's interest in the shaping of the Panama Canal tolls is not very great.

So we in Germany are watching the progress of events cold-bloodedly, though with great political interest. It has not been usual in the United States for the President to question the standpoint and measures of his immediate predecessor, on the ground as he says, that both are contrary to the self-respect of the United States.

It is said in Germany that President Wilson must think the political and diplomatic condition of the United States

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## AS OTHERS SEE US---Continued

very difficult and disturbing if he proposes such a step, in terms so calculated to attract attention. It may be added that this step can only have been intended to make the feeling of Great Britain more favorable to the United States.

For a long number of decades the record of Anglo-American relations has shown an unbroken series of diplomatic and political American victories over England, and in all instances a retreat in English policy.

**Mr. Wilson's attitude in regard to the Canal tolls question may have been the beginning of another epoch, an epoch of American retreats and British victories.**

If we inquire what can have led Mr. Wilson to this policy of concessions to Great Britain, the only answer lies in Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy.

Far be it, of course, from me, a foreigner, to venture on personal criticism of Mr. Wilson. Nor would I in any way ignore the heavy legacies bequethed to him by his predecessor in the Mexican question, the Canal tolls question in its relationship to Great Britain and the American-Japanese question.

**Yet it cannot be denied that the unreadiness and indecision of Washington policy in regard to Mexico during the past year have made those issues more serious and more perilous, while the position of the United States has become less favorable.**

### A Fault in Wilson's Policy.

As things now stand, much time has been lost, and neither Huerta nor Japan can any longer doubt that President Wilson regards armed intervention in Mexico a very risky and difficult enterprise, which, if anyhow possible, should be avoided. It was certainly not profitable to reveal these facts so clearly by words and deeds.

One of the consequences of these facts may probably be the new and conciliating attitude of the Washington Government with regard to the Japanese immigration question; a question which cannot, of course, thereby be settled.

The apprehensions which Mr. Wilson has expressed as to the international position of the United States made a quite unusual and amazing impression in Europe.

**Till then, we had been accustomed to hearing utterances in Washington which voiced a very firm self-confidence—indeed, a self-confidence which I have sometimes thought excessive. And so the change was astonishing, especially as Mr. Wilson confirmed his anxious address by the attitude of Washington diplomacy toward Great Britain.**

In the United States you have long been in the habit of looking distrustfully at the German Empire. At one time it has been assumed that Germany had designs on islands in the neighborhood of the American Continent.

At other times she was supposed to hanker after Brazil or some other part of South America, or the moon, which shed its light on the United States. And in the past year, German comments on Mexico have, here and there in the United States, been viewed suspiciously.

I should like to take this opportunity, as we are discussing the Mexican question, of stating that neither the Government of the German Empire nor any popular German movement thinks of such plans.

As I said at the outset, in Germany all that we want of Mexico is peace and order. We are convinced that only a strong hand can restore peace and order. And we believe that this strong hand is Huerta.

So we regard the Mexican policy of the United States thus far as harmful to the German trade interest and to German industrials settled in Mexico. But we have always been ready to approve any such other course of the United States as could restore peace and order.

We do not regard the waiting inaction of the Washington Government as right.

### "Much Time Spent in Vain."

Were President Wilson now to recognize Huerta, we should be glad. But we would say: "Much time has been spent in vain."

Were the United States now to try intervention, we would say: "Well and good. But from every point of view it would have been more sensible to intervene a year ago. Much valuable time has been wasted, greatly to the detriment of Mexico and of German interests."

Nor would the case seem different if Huerta fell from power. For then, again, American intervention would become necessary.

In Germany the opinion is widespread that not only do we not know the intentions of the men in charge at Washington, but also that the men at Washington are not clear in their own minds as to their purpose.

Bismarck said often that it was not nearly so important to adopt the undoubtedly right course in politics offhand as to move steadily and firmly to the end in some direction.

# FINANCING VILLA

BY POLLY PRY IN DENVER "TIMES."

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It was early morning when I arrived at the Paso del Norte hotel, El Paso, and before nightfall I knew that I stood in the anteroom to the revolutionists' headquarters.

The interests, all the big interests, the oil companies, the smelters, the vast lumber companies, the multimillionaire land owners, the big mine owners and the Mexican capitalists who have fled before the storm—which their greed and avarice have helped to raise—are there. They fill the lobby and have suites of rooms above, where the merry little game of bribery and barter goes blithely forward.

The chief of the Constitutionalists' trusted agents is Felix Summerfield, a German Jew, with the oily sycophancy of an old clothes dealer and the far-seeing vision of his race, where money is concerned. He came as a typical Chevalier d'Industrie into Chihuahua four years ago and by his chance employment by an Associated Press man came in contact with Madero, in whose cause he saw not only a rich meal ticket, but a stepping stone to the fortune he sought.

In his swift climb from the obscurity of a budding revolutionist in northern Chihuahua to the dizzy heights at Chapultepec, Madero lost many things, but he never lost Herr Summerfield; that is, until danger loomed large. Then, indeed, the stout little gentleman with the bland face and the ingratiating manner faded with magical suddenness and was lost to fame until Governor Venustiano Carranza, down in Coahuila, found it inconvenient to explain what had become of the $1,200,000 that had just been sent him by Madero for Government purposes, and to hide his embarrassment started a little revolution of his own.

The first man to bow to the new chief, who promptly blossomed forth as "General" Carranza, was practical little Mr. Summerfield, who is today the go-between, who fetches and carries, and gathers the crumbs that fall 'twixt the graft-hunting Carranza and the protection-seeking interests. And be it said with all admiration he has become a real power, a personage to reckon with; also, quite incidentally, he has become rich.

### $50,000,000 for Rebel Chiefs on Day They Take Saltillo and Monterey.

There is one thing, however—any person in search of truth does well to steer clear of this peculiarly well-informed individual. Also it is an excellent plan to treasure up all the tales you hear in the Paso del Norte, if only for the pleasure of finding out their entire falsity when you get across the border.

However, I heard one story from an absolutely disinterested but well-informed man that not only bore all the ear-marks of truth on its face, but had so many corroborative symptoms in its favor that without positive proof I still believe it to be true—not the least strong factor in that belief being the frantic earnestness and stern disfavor with which it was denied by the various interested factions.

**It is claimed that the Waters-Pierce and the Standard Oil companies have combined with the smelter interests and have pledged themselves to raise a sum of $50,000,000 gold, which has already been contracted for, and which is to go to General Carranza and General Villa the day that sees Villa in possession of all the country he holds today, together with Saltillo and Monterey.**

The capture of the last two places gives the Constitutionalists more than one-third of the republic, a third which, under Villa's policy of deportation, extermination and confiscation, is being secured to him in a manner that makes him almost invincible—so far as Mexico is concerned.

A man of the lowest order himself, he knows his following down to their last elemental fiber, and plays upon his knowledge. In his victorious march across the country, with his constantly growing horde of tatterdemalion men and half-grown boys at his heels, he rides and sits and lives like a medieval bandit of romance among his men, his great, coarse voice bellowing orders, roaring with laughter and shouting vile pleasantries to everybody of the loot and women who are waiting in the towns beyond—waiting, not alone for Villa and the officers, but for the last barefooted, half-naked pelado in the command, who moistens his dry lips, hitches his double cartridge belt about to ease his shoulders, looks with flaming eyes at his comrades and screams "Viva Villa!" or "Viva el Lobo!" until his voice cracks, and redoubles his devotion to his "Lobo," or Wolf, who knows what a man who carries a gun wants, and gives it.

# PUBLIC OPINION

**From North, South, East, West and All Angles.**

## PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR BEGINS.

(Philadelphia "Inquirer," April 22, 1914.)

Blood has been spilled in Mexico. American marines fought with Mexican troops yesterday over the possession of the custom house at Vera Cruz. This is the first step in the policy that the President was so sure was to be a peace measure because it was aimed only at an individual—Huerta. It does not bring peace. It brings war. According to the theory of the President we are not going to war with Mexico. According to the dictates of plain common sense that is precisely what we are doing.

While the first gun was fired by Mexico, thus technically placing Mexico in the position of declaring war, the moral declaration rests with us. A formal declaration is not necessary to establish an actual state of war. When our marines were landed with the hostile intent of seizing the custom house for the purpose of confiscating an expected cargo of ammunition, that was to all practical purposes a warlike invasion. The President may consider it a war on Huerta alone. But it is more than that. It is war on the only established government that exists in Mexico; a government that has been duly recognized by all nations save that of the United States.

Let us be entirely honest with ourselves. The President thinks the time has come when we should teach Huerta a lesson, and so the United States will be back of him, as the United States is always back of its President when he calls for troops. If it shall become necessary, the regular army will be landed on Mexican soil and the national guardsmen will be summoned to active service. We shall levy special taxes and expend millions upon millions—but what for? Come, let us not quibble over this matter. We are going to war—we are actually at war—in support of a policy of the administration—a policy which began with the practical ordering of Huerta to quit the Presidency of Mexico a year ago. IN BRIEF, THIS IS PRESIDENT WILSON'S PERSONAL WAR ON HUERTA.

For many a long month Huerta has refused to acquiesce in the views of President Wilson concerning the manner in which Mexico should be run. With his army he has sustained himself throughout a time when property has been destroyed, lives have been taken, murders have been committed, Americans and other foreigners have been driven out of the country.

But we are not going to war because of these murders and confiscations. Not at all. The murders and the atrocities have been committed mostly by the forces of the so-called Constitutionalists, who are led by a bandit, one Villa, with a weak figurehead loafing somewhere in the background who styles himself Carranza—a poor, shivering specimen of a man who dares not call his soul his own and who is controlled absolutely by Villa. But we are not calling Villa to account. Far from it. We need him in our business. For President Wilson ordered Huerta out of office long ago, and Villa is a very helpful person in carrying out the administration's policy.

SO WE ARE GOING TO WAR WITH THE OBJECT OF DRIVING HUERTA FROM POWER AND PLACING THE UNSPEAKABLE VILLA OR HIS SHADOW CARRANZA IN POWER. WE HAVE SEIZED UPON THE INCIDENT OF THE ARREST OF THE BLUEJACKETS AT TAMPICO FOR THE PURPOSE OF PUTTING THE SCREWS ON HUERTA. In his message the President constantly mentioned Huerta. Huerta must apologize. Huerta has insulted the flag and must salute it or pay the penalty. "If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result of his (Huerta's) attitude of personal resentment toward this government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support." Those are the President's own words.

But unhappily, "those who adhere" to Huerta constitute a large body of the best citizens of Mexico. He has back of him still a considerable army—somethin like 40,000 men, according to this government's own estimates. And in fighting Huerta, we fight his army and his "adherents." We fight his cabinet, his congress. We fight the only established government in Mexico.

So let us have done with theories. They are unworthy of the President of the United States. Since the President considers that it is necessary to punish Huerta, and since he has sent his fleet of battleships with thousands of marines and bluejackets to do the punishing, the country must sustain him, although it be led into a long and costly war involving tens of thousands of troops and millions upon millions of dollars.

The time for argument has gone by. Shots in anger have been fired. American blood stains the streets of Vera Cruz. The war—the war that was to be peaceful and that was aimed at Huerta alone—has begun. None but thoroughly impracticable persons could see any other end. However, discussion must now merge into action. The appeal is now to patriotism, and from border to border there will be a response to any call that may issue for sufficient troops to see the war to a finish, no matter where it may lead. Only let us go into this war with our eyes wide open to what it means. WE ARE FIGHTING TO SUSTAIN A MISTAKEN ADMINISTRATION POLICY ADOPTED A YEAR AGO—AND FOR VERY LITTLE ELSE.

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## FREE TO CRITICIZE

In time of acknowledged warfare there is only one course open to a good citizen. He must stand behind his government and support it in its fight. This obligation does not as yet obtain in the present Mexican tangle, at least not so far as President Wilson is concerned, because the President himself has given solemn assurance that the country is not at war with Mexico and it is not going to war with that country. It is merely going to hunt down one man. Mr. Wilson expresses regret and chagrin and surprise that any one should talk about war.

Consequently the belligerent attitude of the President toward Huerta and the movements of the fleet on Tampico and Vera Cruz and the seizure of the latter port and the request that Congress give the executive authority to use the land and naval forces of the country in order to crush the Mexica.. President are mere incidents of a foreign policy, and as such are open to criticism and discussion. Theoretically at least there is no vital crisis in the nation's affairs.

So we consider it quite proper to call attention to the fact that the command sent Admiral Fletcher to take possession of the custom house at Vera Cruz in order to prevent the delivery of fifteen million rounds of ammunition to Huerta is a direct violation of neutrality, as defined in the President's own recent order raising the embargo on arms. This embargo was raised at the frontier because, as Mr. Wilson argued, discrimination against the rebels existed, Huerta being able to secure supplies from Europe, whereas Villa et al. were entirely dependent upon the United States which had closed its frontier to them. Mr. Wilson held that all Mexican belligerents should have equal opportunity so far as the American Government is concerned. But now the President deliberately removes that equal opportunity and places himself on the side of the northern rebels.

"But," says the supporter of the Administration, "Huerta has insulted us." We believe Minority Leader Mann went very well into the heart of that matter when he declared on the floor of the House:

## Public Opinion--"HELPERS OF OUTLAW MURDERERS, HIGHWAYMEN AND RAPISTS"

"If the incidents mentioned by the President in his message to-day had occurred in England or Germany or France or any great nation of the world no resolution like this would now be pending. Because Mexico is weak we think we have the right to declare war against her in the hope that success will be easily accomplished. We ought not to take a step under the plea that we are supporting the flag that we would not take with a country like Great Britian or Germany."

Mr. Mann also spoke very truly when in opposing the resolution in the House he said: **"It is more than a declaration of war. It is a declaration that the United States has become an ally to the murderous crew in northern Mexico engaged in murdering men and outraging women." Unquestionably this is the immediate effect of the resolution.**

That this is not only the effect but also the secret aim has been made only too plain by the fevered opposition which has developed in the Senate against Senator Lodge's amendment committing the United States to a general clean up of Mexico north and south without regard to who may be the military chieftain affected. Senator Lodge's speech in defense of his amendment may have been fiery but it was logical. It suggested the only plan for intervention in Mexico which is morally defensible.

How can the United States with any show of fairness proceed to punish Huerta for the act of a subordinate who has already been disciplined and for whose misdeeds at least a partial apology has been offered, and at the same time condone or ignore the wholesale outrages and murders and robberies and impudent defiances and insults of Villa and Carranza and their men? How can we destroy the one and cherish the others? If Huerta has insulted us, Villa and Carranza have committed unspeakable and unmentionable crimes against us. It is monstrous that we should proceed against Huerta and grant them immunity. It is hideous that we should attempt to sacrifice the one on the altar of personal prejudice and reward and protect those others who have made the American flag and American citizenship objects of contempt and ridicule and treated American citizens as though they were lower than the dogs.

**If we feel we must go into Mexico let us at least avoid the stigma of intervening as the friends and helpers of outlaw murderers, highwaymen and rapists.** —Detroit "Free Press."

### "HUERTA MUST GO"

"Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and sincere friendship," and "we would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent." Nobody in Mexico has asked the interposition of the United States in the affairs of that country. "The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way." Therefore, the United States has told them how they shall manage their affairs, whom they shall select for their chief offices, that neither Huerta nor any of his supporters would be acceptable to the United States, and that the elections must be conducted practically under the supervision of commissioners named by the Government at Washington, to pass not only upon the availability of the candidates, but upon the manner in which the elections shall be conducted. And, therefore, again, the United States Congress has been asked by the President for its approval and co-operation in measures "short of war" "to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even amidst the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico."

"Right or wrong," of course the Congress and the American people, and without regard to political or sectional differences, will stand by the President. He can make whatever use of the armed forces of the United States he may deem necessary to fight, not Mexico or the people of Mexico, but Huerta and such of the people of Mexico as adhere to Huerta. It is to be a strictly "personal" war—the entire fleet of American battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats, torpedo boat destroyers, hydroaeroplanes, General Leonard Wood, field artillery, coast artillery, marines, regular and volunteer soldiers, numbering something like half a million fighting men of all branches of the land and naval forces, are to make Huerta acknowledge and respect the rights and dignity of the United States. It is a great undertaking. Huerta must prove his respect for the United States by firing a salute to the American flag, because a whaleboat load of United States sailors was arrested by one of his subordinate officers and immediately released by command of his superior with apology for their detention and with the regrets of Huerta for their apprehension.

Several months ago a British subject by the name of Benton was brutally murdered by Villa, the commander-in-chief of the Constitutionalists in the field, and no satisfactory reparation has been made for this crime. Benton was supposed to be under the protection of the United States, and the United States has not demanded that there should be a salute to the British flag as assurance that the rights and dignity of the United States in the protection of British subjects supposed to be under the American eagle should be regarded by the Constitutionalists. Hundreds of millions of United States and other property owned by foreigners in that part of Mexico controlled by the Constitutionalists have been destroyed or stolen, hundreds of men and women have been killed and hundreds of women have been outraged without reparation or apology of any sort. The only semblance of orderly government has been in that part of Mexico controlled by Huerta, all of whose communications with the United States have been of the most respectful character, and Huerta must go. It is one of the most remarkable incidents in the history of the United States. It cannot be explained by any of the ordinary methods of diplomatic usage. But, "right or wrong," the American people will stand by the American President.—J. C. Hemphill, Washington Correspondent, Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

### HOLD ON!

To arms! Your country calls—but hold on a moment. Mr. Wilson says that he does not want the country to call; that his war is not going to be that kind of a war. All that he purposes is to blockade all Mexican ports, land a few thousands of Marines to keep communications open, and supply Villa, Carranza and their bandits with arms, ammunition and supplies sufficient for the capture of the Mexican capital. This, he explains elaborately, would not be war, but only friendly mediation. Mr. Wilson knows best—he knows everything—but, if his definition be accepted, the laws will have to be changed. Tying a man hand and foot, emptying his pockets, hiring gangsters to blackjack him, and ordering everybody else to stand back, so that the crime may be committed with impunity, will no longer be classed as assault and battery, but as neighborly argument! Congressmen listen credulously, like a herd of yokels, to this balderdash, and vote, "Go as far as you like; we leave it all to you." Mr. Wilson has waged a private, personal war against Mexico ever since his inauguration. He has insulted, injured, goaded and provoked the Mexicans in every possible manner, robbing them of their money and arms and assisting and supplying the murderers and blackmailers who are attacking them. His only reason for this extraordinary conduct is his dislike of President Huerta. He could have ended the trouble at any moment by recognizing the Provisional Government of Mexico, as all other nations have done. Now he pretends to be shocked by the discovery that Mexican patience is exhausted, and that Huerta will not order guns fired at the precise moment and in the exact order that Mr. Wilson dictates. Not a word about the hundreds of American residents killed or driven from their homes. Not a word about the millions of American investments in Mexico. There have

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## Public Opinion---"STATESMANSHIP SHOULD HAVE A MORE ACCURATE FOUNDATION"

been small causes for great wars—a woman's kiss, the flirt of a flybrush, a mislaid letter, the shape of a man's nose—but none so silly as that of Mr. Wilson's war. Nevertheless, I shall be glad to have it fought in the open. It would be more honest, more manly, more American to declare war against Mexico at once than to continue the cowardly system of poisoned pin pricks.

Did you notice this? Mr. Wilson said in his Monday talk, "No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our Government without recourse to the Congress." No doubt? There is not a word in the Constitution that empowers, or can be twisted to authorize a President to make war without the advice and consent of Congress.

Representative Mann, in his arraignment of the President for practically inaugurating war with Mexico, used strong and incisive words:

Who would think that the incidents that have been narrated would be cause for war between two great Powers? The President is not asking the advice of Congress; he is giving his orders to Congress to sustain him in what he is about to undertake. The resolution is a declaration of war, aye, more than that, it is a declaration that we are the allies of the murderous crew in Northern Mexico. I fear that the personal resentment of Huerta is largely the personal resentment of the President of the United States. I am not willing to declare war because the President of the United States does not like Victoriano Huerta.

Distinctly this endorses the position I have steadily maintained. Repeatedly I have urged the President to forego, to forget, the animus he has conceived against Huerta, and to acknowledge the de facto government seated at the capital of the country. Precedents for recognizing an existing condition in government, without inquiry as to how those conditions were brought about, is found in innumerable instances. The other great nations, in dealing with Provisional President Huerta, followed these precedents. Alone President Wilson refused a recognition that would have so strengthened Huerta's power that, long ere this, he would have utterly dispersed the brigand bands in the north of his country and hung the desperados leading them. Recognition of Huerta's government a year ago would have given peace to Mexico and prosperity to the vast American and foreign interests in that land. Largely those interests are now in a state of ruin and the people well-nigh impoverished to starvation point. In the course of his speech Mr. Mann said:

I do not believe it is possible for us to have war with Mexico and ever leave Mexico. When we shall have finished we shall own Mexico. I am not willing to acquire the responsibility of that undertaking. When American soldiers shall have been killed in Mexico there will be a demand that our flag never come down on that soil.

These are words of fearfully true import. In God's name, did we not take enough responsibility when we acquired the Philippines? Do we want Mexico at any price? Do we want it at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars of treasure and thousands upon thousands of the lives of our young citizenry? Oh, that the great over-ruling Providence may prompt President Huerta to yield to the United States the apology demanded and fairly due under international comity, and then prompt our President in return to recognize Huerta's government and save our people from a war compared with which in dreadfulness our previous foreign wars sink to insignifiance! But American blood has been shed—the die is cast!—The Saunterer in "Town Topics."

### MORE MAKE BELIEVE.

President Wilson does not call it war with Mexico, but, as he said to the Washington correspondents yesterday "only an issue between this (our) government and a person calling himself the Provisional President of Mexico (Huerta), whose right to call himself such we have never recognized in any way." In his address to the joint session of Congress yesterday President Wilson made the same point, but more politely, as follows:

This government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own constitution, it has no government. General Huerta has set bis power up in the city of Mexico, such as it is, without right, and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control. If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result of his attitude of personal resentment toward this government, we should he fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws, and their own government.

The Republic of Mexico consists of 27 States, one Federal District and three Territories, with a total area of 765,535 square miles, and a population (1910) of 15,063,207. Two of these Mexican States, Sonora and Chihuahua, are under the control of the rebel forces, led by Villa, the man who forged an entire set of court-martial proceedings in order to carry off his lie to our government in regard to the murder of William S. Benton, a British subject. The same rebel forces also hold a good part of the State of Sinaloa, a part of the State of Coahuila, and have detached bands operating in the States of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas. Their practical power today in Mexico may therefore be fairly measured by ascribing to them full control in the four States of Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa and Coahuila. These four States have an area of 257,874 square miles, leaving 507,661 square miles under the authority of General Huerta, and a population of 1,358,961, leaving a population of 13,704,246 who acknowledge the rule of the present provisional government of Mexico. Let us assume that the Zapatistas, a mere robber band down in the little State of Morelos, and all the other robber bands who steal for their living in various parts of Southern Mexico, are equal in number to the odd 704,000, and we then find that the Mexican opponents of General Huerta number only 2.063,207 as against a full 13,000,000 of industrious and law-abiding people who recognize his constitutional authority.

This is the substantial state of facts which President Wilson glossed over in his address to Congress yesterday with the indefinite remark that "only part of the country under his (Huerta's) control." **We submit that responsible statesmanship, at which all the world is looking with eager eyes, should have a more accurate—not to say intelligent—foundation than that.**

In the light of these figures, which we have roughly assembled, and which we invite anybody who distrusts them to verify for himself in the light of all the current reports from Mexico—President Wilson's considered view, that if an "armed conflict" breaks out "we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support," takes on a wholly different color from that which he gave to it. Mr. Gladstone, who also was a master hand at subtle definitions, once drew the line between "military operations" and what the man in the street calls war; and in the same way President Wilson undertakes to make it appear to be possible for the United States to carry on some sort of disciplinary proceedings by armed force against General Huerta without in any manner molesting Mexico or disturbing the Mexican people. The conclusive answer to this is that Huerta is a nobody when taken by himself, and that the only reason for caring for what he says or what he does is that in fact he does represent the larger part of the territory of Mexico and an immense majority of the Mexican people. Huerta's entire value and importance lie in his representative position. If President Wilson had received any request from the Mexican people who are obedient to Huerta's administration of the Mexican government that the United States should intervene in their behalf against him, there would be at least a peg on which to hang the theory that our warships can take possession of Mexican ports and interrupt Mexican trade to the sole injury of Huerta and without any injury to the Mexican people. It would not be true in that case, but the public injury would be welcomed. **But aside from the rebels in the north no Mexican complaint is made about Huerta and no matter how smoothly the definition may run, as between him and an overwhelming majority of the people of Mexico, it is not possible for all the warships of the United States to give him a moment's anxiety except by breaking into and breaking down the fabric of Mexican industry and Mexican trade of which he is the representative head. It is nothing but make believe to say otherwise.**—Hartford "Courant."

### WILSON'S RESPONSIBILITY.

President Wilson has brought the country into war. To Congress is reserved by the Constitution the right to declare war, but the real war-making power in the United States is the President. He can at any moment force Congress into a war. The nation is at his mercy. He has the exclusive conduct of foreign relations, and can so or-

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## Public Opinion---"A BLUNDER OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE"

der them at any time as to make war inevitable. He cannot declare war, but he can do things which are either war in themselves or which make war unescapable. Congress cannot possibly resist him. Hence it is a mere form to say that Congress declares war. It is the President who really does it

President Wilson would not deny this. He shows no desire to shirk the fearful responsibility which he has incurred. It is as a direct consequence of his own orders that Americans were killed in Vera Cruz yesterday. **To say that the seizure of that port was not an act of war is to say that a blow in the face is a love-token. .The Mexicans in Vera Cruz, both soldiers and civilians, instantly and justly considered the landing of our marines as a deliberate aggression, to be resisted with arms.** For anybody in Washington or anywhere else to have expected any other result would have been insensate folly. **The provocation was ours, and the moral consequences of being the aggressor are also ours.**

It is clear that the President has already gone far beyond his original basis for action. He mobilized the fleet, he sent an ultimatum to Huerta, he appealed to Congress, solely for the purpose, he asserted, of demanding reparation for an insult to our flag. **That reparation, it must not be forgotten, was duly offered, and in a way which the President could have hailed, if he had chosen, as completely satisfactory** and a great triumph for himself. But while stickling over minor details in the form of apology proposed by Huerta, he pressed steadily on to what is now his obvious and even acknowledged purpose. **This is nothing less than armed intervention to force Huerta to surrender the Mexican Presidency.** The first ostensible reasons for hostile measures are to-day swept aside. If Huerta were at present to offer the most abject apologies and the fullest reparation, President Wilson would not stay his hand. The war is now definitely in order to eliminate Huerta. That grim old Indian, if he were as familiar with the Bible as Mr. Wilson is might well be saying to his Cabinet to-day: "Consider, I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me."

The march of events has made the action of Congress appear of small importance. Little does it matter in what precise form the resolutions of war are drawn, after the war has begun. The drumming of the guns is now the only oratory that counts. The Senate resolution disclaims all hostility to the Mexican people or "any purpose to make war upon them;" but if the Mexican people, or any considerable portion of them, believe that we are, in fact, wantonly making war upon them, and proceed to fight us to the death, then the Senate resolution, with all the debating of it, might as well be thrown into one of those receptacles near the Capitol marked "For Trash."—New York "Evening Post."

### THE EMBARGO

In his treatment of this Mexican situation Mr. Wilson has made one mistake after another, and one great mistake was committed when he let down the bars and made it possible for the brigands and bandits who masquerade as "Constitutionalists" to replenish their depleted stores from American sources. That was a blunder of the first magnitude. It was one of those blunders which have been described as worse than crimes. It gave, and it apparently was intended to give, aid and comfort to a gang of cut-throats, outlaws and desperadoes whose activities are exclusively destructive and whose impulses are cruel, degraded and debased.

Bad as Huerta may be, that he is less black than he has been painted, compared with Villa, to whom this assistance was extended, he is a patriot and a statesman, and it was deplorable and humiliating that the United States Government by the action that was taken in the matter of the embargo should have incurred the suspicion of being in sympathy with Villa's designs and of desiring Villa's success. Yet the course which Mr. Wilson pursued hardly admitted of any other construction. It has been urged in his defense that the attitude assumed by him was one of strict neutrality, that the raising of the embargo applied no less and no more to one side than to the other. It was a specious plea. Holding the sea ports as he did, Huerta was able to obtain supplies of war material from abroad. Villa could only get them from across the border. He had complained of this handicap and had declared that if he were enabled to secure arms and ammunition he would quickly overrun the country and capture the capital. The lifting of the embargo looked very much like a response to this representation and it is probably not a mere coincidence that Villa's greatest successes followed. If sanction for the transmission into Mexico of guns and stores were given for the purpose of helping Villa along and increasing the difficulty of Huerta's task, its object seems to have been accomplished.

Under the changed conditions which now exist it is, however, essential that this sanction should at the earliest moment be withdrawn. One of the strongest reasons given against raising the embargo was the fact that the Mexicans were thereby being supplied with weapons which would upon occasion be used against the United States. The contingency thus anticipated has now arisen. No one can foresee the end of the conflict which has just begun. It is far from improbable that before it has lasted very long the Mexicans who have been fighting each other will be found making common cause against this country, and for us to continue providing them with the fighting means would be the height of folly. There is indeed a current story that a **plan proposed by Mr John Lind** and accepted by the President contemplates a quasi-alliance with the **"Constitutionalists;"** that the Tampico incident was eagerly seized upon as a pretext for the intervention that is proceeding; that the sheeme is to co-operate with the Villa-Carranza ouft and to install one or other of these adventurers in the seat from which Huerta is by our superior strength to be forcibly ejected.

The "Inquirer" refuses to believe that any such fantastic program is seriously entertained. That the United States should constitute itself the champion of Villa and undertake to place the control of the Mexican Government in the hands of that blood-stained bravo is quite inconceivable. Public sentiment, aroused and indignant, would not permit it. Americans prefer to pick their company. They are not intending to consort with miscreants of the Villa kind, and the importation of war munitions across the Rio Grande, great quanities of which are reported in transit, should be incontinently stopped.—Philadelphia "Inquirer."

### WE ARE AT WAR—THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD REALIZE IT, IF WILSON AND BRYAN DO NOT.

**The crime against humanity in which two nations are now engaged—for war in these days is nothing else than such a crime—had its origin in the pallid purpose of these two men to sway and shape by "moral" force the destiny of Mexico.**

They brought the theories and dreams of the student's closet and the vaporings of the demagogue into the arena of stern realities, and, alone among the statesmen of the world, insisted that the mere indication of their personal displeasure would place one murderous Mexican above another in control of that distracted land.

The long list of murders of American citizens, the destruction of millions of American property, tell a tragic story of this futile endeavor. Still more tragic war is now its inevitable end. Yet the President's policy of piffle is persisted in at the White House, and only yesterday afternoon, while our sailors were falling dead and wounded in Vera Cruz, our Secretary of State was assuring the assembled representatives of foreign countries that this country did not contemplate war!—New York "Evening Mail."

### INFLEXIBLE RESOLUTION MUST SUPERSEDE PEDANTRY.

The Mexican situation has passed from the arena of diplomacy into the field of action. It can do little good now to rehearse the long series of blunders, stubbornly persisted in, which led up to, if they did not induce, the lamentable condition which now exists. In vain publicists urged the administration to forsake its fatuous policy, to abandon its untenable position, looking toward the avoidance of intervention and the rehabilitation of Mexico by Mexicans without obstruction by this nation. Futilely this newspaper, in common with others, for months deplored the program of drifting toward the inevitable, the academic phrase-making of those responsible for our conduct, the sophomoric endeavor to apply ideal international ehtics to a very real and practical problem. Without result the Administration was besought on all sides to withdraw from its inexplicable support of the brigands operating in the North, into whose vengeful hands have been put American weapons. In vain the Secretary of State was called on to come down out of the clouds and stand on solid ground, that this nation might be saved from the fearful obligation which threatened. The peacemakers were too intent on explanation of their purpose to put it into execution. While they talked the situation ran away from them.—Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

### A PERSONAL MATTER.

To the Editor of the New York "Sun"—Sir: As this Mexican imbroglio seems to be a personal matter, why not let Huerta and Wilson fight it out in the back yard?

I will back Huerta for a thousand.

New York, April 22. O. H. K.

## Public Opinion---"HUERTA DEMOCRATIC---WILSON NOT"

President Wilson's message did not clear up a confused situation. Rather, it introduced new elements of doubt and uncertainty. If Congress listened to the President expecting to be fired by glowing appeals, it was disappointed. If anybody thought that the country would be set aflame by the message, he must have been surprised by the actual result. People are more puzzled than ever. They hear talk of war, and see preparations for war going on, but can't tell for the life of them what it is all about. The President was to set their patriotic emotions ablaze, but somehow he did little more than give them new problems on which to exercise their minds. He was to make their hearts burn, but in reality only made their heads ache.

**This follows inevitably on the inability, or unwillingness, of the Administration to give the nation a clear-cut issue—something to shout for, to fight for, to die for, if need be. Our whole quarrel seems to be based on distinctions too nice for the ordinary man to draw;** and to be with shadows rather than with corporeal enemies. * * *

The United States has never before been called upon to go to war with a person. It is not strange that Congress was perplexed over the terms of the joint resolution authorizing the President to use the armed forces of the United States to exact reparation from Huerta. War is not made on an individual. **The whole thing is queer and irregular.** There might be, indeed, justification of Mr. Wilson's solicitous desire to isolate Huerta in this formal way, and that would be action by the Mexicans themselves showing that they, too, believe Huerta to be their great danger, and trying to get rid of him. But at present there is no sign of this. * * *

The Mexicans have their proverb corresponding to our "fine words butter no parsnips." And behind the multitude of "buenas razones" which President Wilson has used, they may be excused if they see but a single purpose in fact. This is to intervene with arms in order to hasten the fall and elimination of Gen. Huerta. Nothing else so reasonably explains the course which the President has pursued for the past week. His demand for reparation was virtually granted. Though he did not in his message refer to Huerta's final offer. This was, in effect, a compliance with the ultimatum sent to him. He agreed to salute the flag, in order to wipe out the "insult" to it. But the Administration has apparently determined to make use of the incident to oust Huerta by force. If this is so, there is no use in beating about the bush. The country has been fed with words; it is entitled to the realities; and it is time that the President frankly stated them.—New York "Evening Post."

One cannot avoid seeing that there is a difference in kind between President Wilson and President Huerta. Huerta is an Indian, while Wilson is a white Virginian. Huerta was trained as a soldier, and has gone through the rough and tumble and dirt of battle, while Wilson was trained for a lawyer, and has become learned in books, and his hands have never been soiled with anything more dangerous than ink. Huerta is democratic in his habits, too, while Wilson is not. Wilson has the select and fastidious feelings of the educated man who has always been an acknowledged authority in the little orderly circle in which he has moved. Fundamentally these fastidious feelings are aristocratic, although in the large sense, and in all that wide range where there can be no personal contact, Wilson tries hard to be democratic. Theoretically he makes out to be a fairly good democrat, that is to say, so long as it does not come to an actual rubbing of shoulders, or any abrupt interference with his personal dignity and control. Huerta is a democrat because he is built that way. He goes about among the common people of Mexico City as if he were one of them, as he socially is; he dines by preference at a public restaurant, where he can see the faces of his neighbors and hear the hum of their voices; and he goes out and seeks human companionship at the hour when Wilson goes to bed. Huerta is the real democrat, in the European social sense; Wilson is the theoretical democrat, in the village social sense of educated superiority and authority. Wilson's democracy has a touch of the Puritan back of the habitual sense of superiority of the great Virginian land holder; he thinks democracy for other people rather than is a democrat himself. Huerta needs to see the faces of other people and hear their voices every day—he would fall into a melancholy if he were forced to abide by himself for long; while Wilson needs only a few favorite books and himself, and all strange faces shut out, in order to have his happiest hours.

These different personal qualities are not the sole basis of the social feud between our President and the Mexican President, but no doubt they intensify this feud. They help to explain why Huerta is personally offensive to Wilson, and why Wilson appears as not much more than a metaphysical abstraction to Huerta. The unaccountable thing is in regard to Villa. Huerta is a highly educated man as compared with the ignorance of Villa, and Villa manifests in his daily life the bloodthirsty determination which Wilson without proof ascribes to Huerta; yet Villa has won Wilson's favor.—Hartford "Courant."

## FROM AN AMERICAN BUSINESS MAN

(Herewith is presented a bona fide communication to the "Public Ledger" from an American business man resident in Mexico. His name and address are withheld to prevent possibility of reprisal for his frank declarations.—Editor Philadelphia "Public Ledger."

Americans seem to think that Carranza is a man of high character and worthy of respect. They really have not much information on which to base their opinions; but as he is known to have been Governor of a State, it is assumed he is a good man. Well, if Americans could but see and know all the kinds and sizes of Governors of States that Madero had put in power, their conception of "Governors" would be changed. Carranza has been twice on each side of the fence on every matter of politics that has ever come up. He had the secession movement pretty well under way while yet under Madero. Under the guise of equipping State troops to help the Federal Government he obtained money from Madero, and was about ready to take the field when the deposing of Madero occurred. He seized the opportunity to hide his real motive, and so declared his movement as revolutionary and against Huerta, where he would have had to soon declare it secessionist and against Madero if there had been no uprising in Mexico City.

The Sonora people also had used the same tactics, but were more outspoken than was Carranza in regard to secession. We, ourselves, used to hear plenty of secession talk in the years 1906, 1907, 1908, when we lived in Sonora; and we can say frankly that we thought that the Sonora people had many good reasons for feeling as they did.

The State of Sonora is geographically isolated from the rest of Mexico. There are no railways connecting across, except through American territory. Ramon Corral and his intimates exploited the State in every possible way for their own benefit; and it being so far distant and so hard to get into, the great part of Mexicans know nothing about the State.

Of the local population almost all that could afford pleasure trips went to the United States for them. Those that could afford to educate their children always sent them to the United States. So many of the ordinary day laborers had worked along the border on the American farms, railways and in the mines, that they, too, had their mite of education from close contact with civilized people. The final result was that there existed a larger proportion of the native population that had education, had traveled some and were all-around broader and deeper thinkers than could apply to any other part of Mexico. And it was to be expected that there the people at large should have resented more the methods of Porfirio Diaz, have tired quicker of the Madero experiment and should seize the first opportunity that presented itself to declare for themselves.

The revolution in Sonora is the only one of the many to-day declared that is entitled to respect of outsiders. But, unhappily, we have the usual state of affairs in Mexico—they are not stable enough and patriotic to sink their personal differences and unite firmly for the common good.

### The Unspeakable Villa

And that fellow Villa is unspeakable. It is the wonder of the civilized world that President Wilson should so far have lowered himself to have ever countenanced him as an element of American opposition to Huerta. The American Government should at least have restricted itself to dignified methods in keeping with American honor. To us that have lived in the country, know these people, it has been much more humiliating to endure the taunts of other foreigners here, and the respectful comments of the better class Mexicans, occasioned by the relations between American Government and Bandit Villa, than to endure the criticisms a thousand times over of our supporting a man like Huerta.

## A POLICY WRECKED BY ITS "FRIENDS."

General Carranza has rendered his verdict and the verdict of those associated with him upon the action of the United States in landing troops upon Mexican soil. Whatever the motives inspiring it, however clearly the purpose of the administration may have been set forth in the pronunciamentos and resolutions of Congress, this act is pronounced by the recognized head of the "consti-

(Continued on next page)

## Public Opinion---"WHAT A PITIFUL CULMINATION!"

tutionalist" movement to be war upon the people of Mexico.

Whatever this may mean for Mexico it means the utter wreck of President Wilson's policy of which co-operation with the "constitutionalists" has been the cornerstone.

President Wilson and his advisers have seemed to think the military forces of the United States could enter Mexico for the avowed purpose of driving one man from office and that the Mexican people would be able to draw a distinction between such "invasion" and a war upon Mexico. It is a distinction they could not be expected to draw, a distinction, that no other people have ever been able to draw in similar circumstances.

Who is responsible for the policy that has been wrecked? If, as has been strongly intimated, this responsibility lies with the present Secretary of State, the best thing that can happen to the administration and to the country is that he be thrown overboard. If the responsibility lies with President Wilson, he alone must bear the humiliation and the defeat.—New York "Herald."

### AND WHAT NEXT?

What is to come next? Does it mean a war between the United States and a united Mexico?

If not war to the end, what then? Are we to withdraw our troops from Mexican soil? Are we to surrender control of Vera Cruz, which we have taken at a sacrifice of American blood, stopping short of the purpose that took us there?

If the administration is to stay its hand; if, having plunged the country into war, it can by any possibility contemplate abandonment of a march to Mexico City, why not blockade all Mexican ports and the northern border, seize al other custom houses as well as that at Vera Cruz, cut off all sources of supplies and let the Mexicans fight it out among themselves to the bitter end, no matter how bitter that may be?

One thing is certain. Now that our "constitutionalist" allies have shown their unreliability and their ingratitude, there should be prompt re-establishment of the embargo against the shipment of arms to them. **The lifting of that embargo, the equipment of a large army under Villa with American guns which may yet be turned against American soldiers, is a stain upon the administration. Let us hope that events will not prove it to have been little short of a crime against the nation.**—New York "Herald."

### OF THE PRESIDENT'S MAKING

The situation now has been wholly different. It is of the President's making. The people have had no eagerness for hostilities. Nor has he. Of his peace-loving proclivities we have no doubt. But he has from the start undertaken a policy—that of refusing to recognize the de facto Government of the republic, described by him as "watchful waiting"—which has inevitably pointed to such a crisis as that which we have at last approached. And we must, as loyal and patriotic Americans, take the consequences. These may be very serious, not so much in a military way as in the civil problems liable to arise. For getting out of Mexico is likely to be much harder than getting in.—Boston "Herald."

**What a pitiful, what a petty culmination of all our government's conversation concerning the high moral duty of the United States toward Mexico. Instead of going into Mexico on principle to free a downtrodden people, we will enter to avenge a petty insult, already apologized for. And will it not be said, too, that we will be going in as a matter of revenge, and because all other methods for getting rid of Huerta, the personal enemy of our President, have failed?**—Detroit "Free Press."

### AS ANGELL SEES MEXICO.

Norman Angell, author of "The Great Illusion," and one of the foremost champions of world peace, asserted recently that once intervention began in Mexico we could only expect that political momentum would sweep us along until we reached the Panama Canal. That destiny would mean, said Mr. Angell, the absorption of from twenty to twenty-five million alien people not of our language, laws, or civilization.

"Meaning," said he, "that for a generation we will be occupying ourselves with these questions at the expense of the welfare of the people of the United States."

"What does military intervention in Mexico mean?" Mr. Angell was asked.

"It does not mean what military intervention in a case like Cuba did," he replied. "In the case of Cuba a whole population had risen against an alien government; we helped the population to turn the alien government out and then withdrew. That is not the case in Mexico. It might have been somewhat analogous to that if a year ago we had intervened for the purpose of supporting the Constitutionalists as against the Federalists, had taken sides in Mexican politics, that is, in favor of one party as against another, assured the triumph of that party, and had then withdrew. That is not possible today. We certainly shall not send our army to Mexico for the purpose of placing Gen. Carranza or Gen. Villa in power."

**What May Happen in Future.**

**"We cannot take sides in Mexican politics and assume that one party, like the Constitutionalists, are the good people and the other party are the bad people. Even if it were possible to balance rights and wrongs, all the evidence goes to show that one party is very little better fitted than another party permanently to maintain good government and order in the Anglo-Saxon sense. If we intervened in Mexico, that intervention must have some meaning and some permanent result. Merely to push our way to Mexico City, make a proclamation, establish a Mexican party in power, and withdraw, would be to expose ourselves to the risk of having the imbroglio just as bad a year or five years hence.**

"If we go into Mexico we shall stay there, and the political momentum of the thing—the fact that when one gets started full swing along a certain political road it is impossible to stop even if we wish—will carry us through to the Panama Canal. Because our entrance into Mexico will not endear the United States to Spanish-Americans, and we shall find the American flag insulted, American citizens assaulted, and American property destroyed in Nicaragua, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, San Domingo and Hayti, and sooner or later, since politics do not stand still, either go back or forward, and we shall not go back, we shall go forward.

There is another factor of a purely military kind which has to be taken into consideration. The thing which has transformed modern warfare is not the great gun which can fire a ton twenty miles in the shells of apparently horrifying destructiveness. These things are spectacular, but as a matter of fact do little damage. What has really transformed warfare is the improved magazine rifle, having a much straighter trajectory than it had even thirty or forty years ago. Make the comparison with the earlier forms of warfare. Until the arrival of this instrument a body of men, speaking roughly and generally, pushed its way through a territory by force of muscle—were stopped by force of muscle. The attack met the defence on equal terms. To stop a man you had to come into the open and hit him with a battle-axe, or get very near to him with a bow and arrow, or give him a chance to get near to you while you were reloading your breech-loader, or because you had missed him with an old-type rifle that shot in a circle instead of shooting straight. But when you have an instrument that is very cheap, easily obtainable, quickly loaded, easily aimed, and that will kill a man a quarter of a mile away, the attack is no longer on equal terms with the defence. A hundred men advancing across a field are at the mercy of two men whom they cannot see shooting at them from a ditch. It is this which has revolutionized warfare.

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With the recent past one long series of miscalculations, who will be so bold as to predict what a day may bring forth? Last December, President Wilson declared that Huerta was tottering to his fall. This was an estimate far out, as everybody can see to-day, though at the time most thought it accurate. And the Administration's hopes and judgments to-day may be equally wide of the fact. All that we know is that if any people is proud and sensitive, the Mexicans are more so; if any are ready to die for a fantastic sense of patriotic honor, they are in a higher degree. The beginning of the war is as the letting out of the waters, the end of which no man can foresee. What we do see is the tragedy of what has occurred, and the prospect of unnumbered woes that looms behind the President's measures "short of war"—New York "Evening Post."

## Public Opinion---"SOMETHING ROTTEN IN DENMARK"

### THE WIDOW IN "TOWN TOPICS."

This "treachery" or fear of being un-American goes farther. One can understand and be patient with the ignorance of men in high official position who must learn the intricacies in diplomatic relations. The thing that makes the inner conviction in me war against the outer is what looks like a willingness among some of these newspaper correspondents —or perhaps it is the publisher back of them for which these representatives must suffer—to help out in this "saving the face" of those who have made mistakes. And it is not all in the "saving the face." That could have some merit —some loyalty—some God's Country virtue. This unwilling conviction that bears one down with evidence—perhaps circumstantial — assumes the criminal proportion that somewhere—here—at home—there is an invisible hand of the "dollar diplomacy"—money, money, money—when in the issue there stands the sacrifice of thousands of human lives.

Is the American business interest so great in Mexico—in oil and in mining—that we who pose for humanity can make the lives of thousands of our soldiers and the sacrifice and capture of a foreign country of minor importance?

There's certainly something "rotten in the State of Denmark."

General Huerta is certainly doing mighty well without the help of President Wilson. Both Church and State stand ready with the money necessary to protect his Government. He is cautious, clever, conservative in speech. None of these stories about his dissipations is true. And not one of his most intimate associates has heard him express an unkind or vindictive word against President Wilson. The most he says is that it would be quite impossible for him to produce the assassin of Madero as for President Wilson to change from his position of non-recognition. He will not resign, and he will work out the peace and order for Mexico if only the United States will not throw any more stumbling blocks in his way. The lifting of the embargo and furnishing the rebels with arms and ammunition retarded the progress that might have been giving glimpses of full Government control to-day.

In the retirement of Consular Agent George C. Carothers, the representative of the United States at Torreon, it is open talk that his interest in the impression going out that Villa and the rebels were victorious lies in the fact that Intervention means millions of dollars to him. Rebel victory and Intervention are synonymous. In explanation of the retirement is given this:

"From El Paso, Texas, it is reported that Consul Carothers telegraphed to a high official of the American Government stating that the battle of Torreon was critical for the rebels, and that it was advisable for the press to sustain the fall of that place and prevent thus the opportune arrival there of the Federal reinforcement."

This statement cannot be denied, as that telegrapm is here in the archives of the Government officers.

Mexicans! There are half a million so-called Mexicans and fourteen million peaceful home-loving Indians. As I have said before, this is an Indian country. These Indians are everywhere—the laborers of the country—the "people." They are not at all like our North American Indians—our savages who recognize the privileges of the white man and weigh them against the wrongs of the red man. They are like children, with the undeveloped characteristics of children—kind, impulsive, appreciative, cruel in anger or selfishness, but all with one desire; land, a home of their own.

### WAR WITH A PEACEFUL INTENTION.

Will there be no end of hypocrisy and humbug in dealing with Mexico? We are making war on Mexico and we are not making war on Mexico—because no one in this administration has ever had the courage or the sincerity to look the facts in the face. History will have no mercy for all this humbuggery. If unsettled questions have no mercy for the peace of nations, neither have befogged questions. We shall work out in blood this muddle of war with a peaceful intention!—New York "Evening Mail."

If the controversy was with a great power, there would be some sense in applying the old motto: "Our country, right or wrong," which seems to be sound international ethics, but to get up any national excitement over a small rumpus with poor Mexico is utterly ridiculous. It is worse than that, for we have been wrong from the beginning, and, in the case of Mexico, it is not only more honest but more dignified to confess it and act accordingly. And the one man to blame is the President of the United States.—San Francisco "Chronicle."

But if the authorities at Washington could abandon the idea that some duty to the cause of popular government requires them to support Villa's bandits and could adopt the sane view that the only interest of the United States in Mexico is to stop the war and protect foreigners, it would be of no concern to us who becomes President of Mexico. —Buffalo "Express."

### PITIFULLY SMALL

There is only one thing that can be done The people may deplore the conflict. They may be acutely conscious that a mistake has been made and that a great wrong is being committed in moving against the Huerta regime while continuing in friendly relations with the infinitely worse Villa regime. They may feel that the supposed offenses of Huerta fade into insignificance beside the insults offered by Villa to the American Government and his outrages on American citizens, and that if a military movement was to be made it should have started across the Texas border. They may feel that the pretext for an imbroglio with Huerta is pitifully small. But with war once begun they must support the Government of the United States.

This does not mean that they must indorse the war or approve the course of the Government. They must make the best of a bad situation which they cannot prevent and which they cannot combat without making matters worse. They must stand behind Mr. Wilson because for the time being, through their suffrage, he represents their Government, which is greater than any President; and that Government finds itself in the midst of a great emergency.—Detroit "Free Press."

### THE GHOULS

The Evening Post is in receipt of a letter from a gentleman passing through the city who exults over the outbreak of war, jeers at Wilson, and adds: "Cheer up! We won't find time during the next ten years to confiscate either the telegraph lines or the railroads. So it might be worse." Talk about the ghouls who haunt battle-fields! They are respectable compared with men who glory in fighting because a foreign war takes all the time and energy and money of a nation and prevents it from attending to the work of humanity and justice at home. But this is one of the terrible risks which President Wilson ran by suddenly making the country's thoughts bloody. He has had a Trust bill on his programme, but who cares anything about that now? He has said that the passage of a bill for rural credits was urgent, but what attention can he get now for anything except war credits? As for the rest of his plans for domestic legislation, they will all go glimmering if we fall into a prolonged war with Mexico. And, meanwhile, the promoters of social injustice, the men who were afraid that he was about to find methods to expose and end their unlawful and oppressive practices, will gleefully rub their hands as they think that they have escaped by means of the Mexican war.—New York "Evening Post."

### THE PECULIARITY.

One peculiarity of the resolutions embodying President Wilson's policy, as they passed the House, is that they are directed against a man and not against a foreign state, or its head. It is doubtful if any searching of the records will disclose any similar case. Jefferson had a great deal to say about George III., but no attempt was thereby made to differentiate him from the nation of which he was King.—Boston "Herald."

### DRIFTING INTO WAR.

It would appear that the purpose is rather to make a show of war than to commit an act of war. We are going to impress Huerta with our might and the folly of resisting it. But there is no telling what will happen when advocates of peace lose their tempers. The serious thing about this affair is that we are drifting into war with Mexico—the very thing which the Administration has professed to be most anxious to avoid—and this is happeing rather because of our attempt to take sides in Mexican politics rather than because of any consistent attempt to defend our own or other foreign interests—Buffalo "Express."

# "MEXICO"

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## IS THERE A WAY OUT?

Is is now too painfully obvious that the business of the Administration in dealing with Mexico during the last year has not been the business of protecting American lives and property, but rather the promotion of the fortunes of Villa and Carranza.

In the limited field in which we have moved as a consequence of our limited resources, we have endeavored to give to the Administration and the people the benefit of a knowledge born of long experience in Mexican affairs. We have done this because we firmly believed that the only immediate solution of the Mexican problem was the recognition of the Huerta Government. We firmly believed, furthermore, that if the Government of the United States did not deem it proper to recognize that of Mexico, it should not have taken sides in the armed strife which was devastating our neighbor. That the consequence of non-recognition and of aid to anarchy could be only one: War.

War is now in the balance. It is no consolation to hold a post-mortem thought that events have shaped themselves and succeeded each other as we have foreseen and predicted from week to week for the last nine months. As judges of Mexican affairs we might feel a vain satisfaction in saying "We told you so," yet we must frankly confess that our attempt to enlighten Washington, at least, has been a miserable failure.

Had we had the means of reaching a majority of the American public we might have been successful in opening their eyes, but even then we doubt if this could have prevented a war which is of a few men's making and in which the country has no heart. Our confidence in the effectiveness of our exposition of facts is derived from the unanimous encouragement we have received from our readers.

In case of war the support which we have received from Mexicans and Americans alike must necessarily cease and even though such support should continue we confess we would not have the heart, while the country is at war, to pursue a campaign of criticism against an Administration that has plunged us into irretrievable evil.

We have put heart in this work and that heart is saddened. Would that the President had shown, in dealing with Mexico, more of human heart and less of personal pride and vindictiveness. He knows now and we pity his conscience.

## CARNEGIE PITIES MEXICAN PEOPLE.

Sadly, as a man who has seen a life-long dream wither at the touch of facts, Andrew Carnegie spoke to the New York Tribune of Mexico. He gazed mournfully out of his study window, whispering softly to himself: "It is too sad, too sad, too sad to think of. I can't talk of it at all, at least not till something happens—some decisive event which will change the situation and bring about peace. And oh! I pity Mexico."

"Do you think the President justified in his course of action?" asked the reporter.

"Don't ask me that," he pleaded, turning his chair a little more toward his questioner. "I do not want to say. I can scarcely believe that the chief American republic, which has a larger population than all other American republics together, is to become involved in war with little Mexico, of only fourteen millions of people. Mexico is to be pitied, deeply sympathized with, ever since Madero lost his control."

He closed his eyes and shook his head slowly from side to side.

I can't help pitying Mexico and wishing that our monster republic had kept its hands off. **The foreign governments of Europe felt it their duty to recognize Huerta; we alone refused, which meant that we embarrassed ourselves in Mexican affairs and put ourselves in opposition to all other countries.**

"No, no, we had no right to interfere with the internal conditions of Mexico, **and all our troubles spring from doing so.. When we found that all other nations recognized Huerta as the proper President of Mexico, there was every reason why we should have quietly concurred and kept our hands off. We should have followed other governments in getting on with him as peaceably as we could and giving him a fair trial. When we left other nations and took up a different position, a grave mistake was committed, as is now clearly shown.**

He was silent a minute, then said, very slowly: "If we had it to do over again you may rest assured we would have co-operated with other nations. but you may be sure that the President acted with the best intentions, and is still doing so. Do you get all I say—every word? You see, I want to be careful, for sometimes I go too fast and people don't follow me.

"Even the Senate had to conclude that our intervention must be olaced upon a different footing, but I still cling to the hope that the President's policy of endeavoring to find Huerta more reasonable may triumph, though the time for such a change is short. I hope that the European governments which recognozed him may be able to persuade him to remove those obstacles which bar us from peace.

"Meanwhile I can't drive from my breast the painful feeling at the sight of a monster republic of 100,000,000 attacking an adjoining republic of not one-seventh its population or one-twentieth its strength, and without army or navy, and totally incapable of electing a President by peaceable appeal to the people."

Mr. Carnegie then leaned back in his chair, shaking his head a little, as if in sadness at what he said. "A friend who knows Mexico thoroughly assures me that there hasn't been and can't be such an election by the Mexican people as would rank with us as tolerable. Mexico is to be pitied, not driven, by our advanced and irresistible republic. It is well to have a giant's power, but it is tyranny to use it as a giant. I pity Mexico from the bottom of my heart."

**WE ARE NOT FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF A PEOPLE.**

* * *

**A PEOPLE IS FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AGAINST US.**

* * *

**IS THAT THOROUGHLY UNDERSTOOD?**

* * *

Among the little causes of great wars, let us not forget:

* * *

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE, an ex-reverend and Wilson's fulsome biographer.

* * *

JOHN LIND—enough said.

* * *

GEORGE D. CAROTHERS, State Department agent and Villa's partner.

* * *

HENRY ALLEN TUPPER, D.D., Peace Forum misrepresentative, employed by Carranza.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Editor of MEXICO.

Dear Sir: It is to be regretted that your paper has not a wider circulation, for to each person to whom I have shown it, it has excited keen interest. They feel that something is wrong, and in many of the articles in your paper it explained to them in an intelligent manner what they were in doubt about. This pretense of a reason for dreadnaughts to go to Mexico has created great indignation everywhere in the West, and few believe there is necessity for such action, and most feel there is some hidden motive back of it all; it is too pitiful to think about, and personally my resentment and indignation at such an uncalled-for move is simply beyond expression. One thing I DO KNOW: that in all Mexico there is not ONE representative business man but is consumed with indignation against the last act of the WILSON-BRYAN FACTION (not the United States), and President Huerta has more friends in Americans in Mexico to-day over this act than he had before. The injustice of it all appeals to all that is best in us. You couldn't drive my relatives out of Mexico City and they with all the beterr Americans endorse Huerta, and have from the first. There is little satisfaction in having a kindly feeling towards Mexico and its President, and be in no position to help, and there are many that WOULD.

Yours very truly,

Kansas City, Mo. N. D. G.

# MEXICO

**A Weekly to Promote Intelligent Discussion of Mexican Affairs**

Error Runs Swiftly Down the Hill While Truth Climbs Slowly.---Oriental Proverb

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## THE SEA OF BLOOD.

Bryan may or may not succeed in foisting on the Mexican nation Carranza, Villa, et al. If he does it will be because he has not hesitated to employ all the means in his power, including the American Army and Navy.

But whether Carranza, Villa, et al., seize the Government of Mexico or fail, they will go down in Mexican history as traitors to their country.

If they seize the power they will not be able to hold it. Mexicans high and low will execrate them. For they shall know that these traitors in order to win accepted American money, American gunners, American advice and guidance as to their military and diplomatic movements. They shall know that when American forces seized Vera Cruz at the cost of hundreds of Mexican lives, Villa declared Americans had done a fine thing and Carranza acquiesced. As if Vera Cruz belonged to Huerta and not to the Mexican nation! Any man or group of men who, blinded by personal ambition, hatred or lust for revenge have accepted and welcomed the invasion of national territory by American forces, will forever live in the memory of their countrymen as traitors. Nothing they can do or say now can save them. They may "get Huerta," they may rule the country for a while, drowning it in a sea of blood, but they will eventually fall and meet the end reserved to traitors.

Meanwhile the Mexican problem will not be settled, Mexico will not have peace, Mexicans will continue to suffer and the United States will still face the same situation.

Even at this late date we do not hesitate in saying that there are only two ways out of the mire: Recognition of Huerta, or complete intervention.

# A STAB IN THE BACK

It has always been our proud boast that Americans fight in the open, face to face with their enemy. Fight ruthlessly sometimes, if you will, for, the barbaric survives in humanity at its best. But Americans had always fought like men, like red-blooded strong men. Americans have been proud of their fights, of their conquests, for they had never stabbed an enemy in the back.

It remained for the Wilson Administration to bring eternal shame on the people. It remained for this Administration to fight an enemy with white-livered, underhanded methods.

That the Administration does not represent a majority of the American people that the oily, smooth, sleek trio—Lind, Bryan and Hale—do not—thank God!—embody the true American spirit, all this does not for the present diminish our shame

It remained for this Administration to say: "We love the Mexican people," and then encourage, incite, guide and arm thousands of Mexicans so that they could devastate the country, kill their brothers, rape the women, bring ruination everywhere they go.

It remained for this Administration to say: "We want the Mexicans to settle their own affairs, we disclaim any intention of intervening in Mexico," and then dictate who should not be President of Mexico shut off all financial supply to the Huerta Government, invade the national territory of Mexico, blockading its ports in order to deprive the Huerta Government of arms and ammunition.

It remained for this Administration to fight one man, Huerta, not openly in the American way, but by secretly coaching his enemies and to that end making use of the powerful machine of State, of the American Consuls in Mexico, of its personal envoys.

It remained for this Administration to throw its tremendous weight on the side of Huerta's enemies with every conceivable means and then cynically say: "Oh, Huerta cannot re-establish peace!"

It was left to Lind, Bryan and Hale, in particular, to become the advisors, organizers and the press agents of rebels and bandits who have assassinated American men and raped American women.

True Americans have never stabbed an enemy in the back.

True Americans have always fought in the open, face to face with their enemy.

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It is quite befitting that members of the Administration should come to New York to honor the bluejackets and marines killed at Vera Cruz. Strictly speaking, these corpses belong to them. Some day the Nation will exact a strict accounting for these dead. Meanwhile let us all honor the memory of the men who died bravely doing their duty as American sailors and soldiers always do. But let us understand clearly that they did not die to defend their country and to save the republic, as Daniels said.

They died because the Administration wanted to prevent the Huerta Government from receiving a large shipment of arms and ammunition, thus making it possible for Villa to destroy more lives and more honor

They died because the Administration wanted to GET HUERTA.

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The State Department is compiling a biography of Pancho Villa, its pet. We print in other columns copious data that may help Mr. Bryan.

# Bryan==Promoter

By John Hazen Hazard.

The shamelessness of Bryan in exploiting Pancho Villa is without parallel in American history. Together they form an unholy alliance that cannot be justified in terms of American honor. In promoting the fortunes of this bandit the Secretary of State has resorted to methods which are so brazen and unscrupulous that intelligent observers are aghast at his startling self-revelation. Methods that are wholly devoid of the American spirit of fair play and more like the shifty, conscienceless tactics we are wont to ascribe to other peoples. Bryan's fellow countrymen have looked on the use of his exalted office to advertise "The Commoner" as a stroke of business not exactly illegitimate. They have watched more with pity than censure his Chautauqua performances for money. They have come to realize that this "man of the people" has an infinite capacity for accumulating wealth, which is certainly no crime, but rather an interesting commentary on his professions of self-sacrificing principles. But it is no exaggeration to say that the people are dumb with amazement to find this man of advertised noble ideals prostituting his high office in the service of a notorious gunman and cutthroat.

To what end? Has he really hypnotized himself into the belief that in some inscrutable way of Providence his disgraceful actions will be of service to humanity? There have been men who have burned "witches" at the stake with good intentions. There are and always have been those who believe that the end justifies the means. Our notable penal institutions are full of them.

There is no doubt that Bryan does not want to have the United States at war with any other country while he is in a position to use his influence against war. It has been pointed out that the Secretary has keen visions of the $40,000 Nobel peace prize. Even so, the fact remains that Bryan wants peace at any price. But what must one think of the warped nature of a man whose conscience will not let him fight his neighbor with whom he has a quarrel, but who sees nothing wrong in hiring a thug "to beat him up"?

What must the nation think of a man who carries that warped soul into high office and injects it into an international misunderstanding involving the welfare of a hundred million people? Is he a sincere lover of peace or is he simply a monumental hypocrite? When the full history of the Bryan-Villa alliance is written, it will scarcely be believed that such a thing could be in this enlightened age.

Perhaps out of this Mexican welter and muddle may develop something of lasting good to Mexico. It may conceivably be that a United States' protectorate over the neighboring republic or United States' occupation and exploitation of that rich country, even without "the consent of the governed," will bring peace and prosperity to the Mexican people. The scroll of the future is yet to be read. Whatever the future may be, for good or ill, in Mexico, history will record that the methods of the Administration in bringing Huerta "to terms" were unworthy of American traditions and particularly that the activities and intrigues of the Secretary of State were unworthy of any honorable man and a disgrace to our country.

History will record that the Secretary of State used his office to promote and press-agent a self-confessed murderer and bandit in a friendly neighboring country as a weapon with which to overthrow the ruler of that country. Was that American?

That in this work of promotion truth was suppressed or distorted and untruths were deliberately concocted.

That widespread brigandage, robbery, loot and rape were fostered and the facts of murder and pillage metamorphosed into the pleasing fiction of "constitutionalism."

That the United States consuls in Mexico, simply commercial agents, were used by the Secretary of State as agents of information and propaganda for the Mexican rebels. Was that American fair play?

That American lives and property were destroyed as a result of the encouragement of Mexican disorder and that because responsibility rested on his bandit allies the Secretary of State belittled the loss or viewed it "with complacency." Was that American?

That the Secretary of State knew that Pancho Villa deliberately murdered the Englishman, Benton; that he lied in detail about the killing; that he disposed of millions of dollars' worth of stolen cattle and cotton in this country, and, knowing all this and infinitely more of the man's crimes, he had a clerk in the State Department prepare a laudatory biography of the bandit.

That he sent a telegram to a Chicago friend emphasizing the point that some of the American refugees to protect whom Huerta was doing everything humanly possible "might be executed," when he had information that they were safe. Was that playing straight?

That he used the well-intentioned mediators of Argentine, Brazil and Chile as a catspaw to help Villa on his way to sack Mexico City.

That through a State Department agent, Carothers, he advised, directed and instigated Villa in his bloody career.

That he maintained intimate relations with the rebel junta in Washington and that when a Mexican lawyer, Bonales Sandoval, approached Villa in the interests of Felix Diaz, the junta wired to Villa that "Washington would view with satisfaction the execution of Sandoval."

That he consistently suppressed facts unfavorable to the pretensions of the rebels. Was that fair play?

That as Secretary of State he was virtually an agent of a Mexican revolution, planned, fostered and financed in the United States, which has brought Mexico to the verge of ruin and cost thousands of lives.

If such a man should get a peace prize under any circumstances it would be putting a premium on underhanded war and hypocritical pretension.

And he cannot be impeached!

## "BIG BUSINESS."

**An interview with Charles R. Flint, published in the New York "Evening Post," throws an interesting sidelight on the Mexican situation.**

**Mr. Flint has come out from under cover and has commended the Wilson Mexican policy, saying that it is the wisest possible one. Mr. Flint also lauds some of the rebel chiefs, condemning at the same time his old associates, the "Cientificos."**

**The "Post" says that the rebel chiefs know that they can count on Mr. Flint's ADVICE AND CO-OPERATION in any plan TO ENLIST UNITED STATES AID IN RESTORING PEACE AND ORDER IN THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC.**

**Mr. Flint thinks, the "Post" says furthermore, that Carranza did well to acquiesce in the occupation of Vera Cruz.**

**Now, Mr. Charles R. Flint is one of the representative men of "Big Business" and, as the "Post" says, it is well known that he has taken an active part in various parts of the world where hostilities were in progress.**

**It is therefore most interesting to know what "Big Business" thinks of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy and of the rebel cause which Chas. R. Flint so warmly espouses.**

**It may seem rather strange to the casual observer, this alliance of "Big Business" with the men who profess to be fighting PRIVILEGE in Mexico for the uplifting of the oppressed masses. But it is not at all surprising to those who know something about the game which Lind, Bryan and Hale have played while "Big Business" has whispered into their ears. Anyhow, it is the old story.**

**All that is necessary now to throw a little more light on this old story is to have a few more interviews published, for instance with, among others, Henry Clay Pierce, Daniel Guggenheim, Judge Lovett, of the S. P., Cleveland Dodge, of Phelps Dodge & Co. Then we may see more clearly how the cards have been dealt and how they have been played.**

# Villa's Villainies

Francisco Villa was born at Las Nieves in the State of Durango about the year 1868. He is wholly uneducated, being unable to read and barely able to sign his name. About the year 1882, when only fourteen years of age, he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for cattle stealing. On his discharge he settled in the mining camp of Guanacevi, where a few months later he underwent another sentence of imprisonment for homicide. When he came out of prison for the second time he organized a band of robbers, which had their headquarters in the mountainous region of "Perico" in the State of Durango, and were the terror of all that district.

In the year 1907 he was in partnership with one Francisco Reza, stealing cattle in Chihuahua and selling them in the United States, and then stealing mules and horses in the United States and selling them in Chihuahua. In consequence of some disagreement he shot and killed Reza in broad daylight, while sitting in the plaza in the City of Chihuahua. During the early part of November, 1910, he attacked the factory of a Mr. Soto, in Allende, State of Chihuahua, and killed the owner. By threatening the latter's daughter he forced her to show where she had hidden a sum of $11,000, which he stole and used for arming a considerable force. He then joined Madero's revolution, uniting his band with Urbina's column. In January, 1911, he was at Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, where he killed Carlos Alatorre and Luis Ortiz for refusing to pay him the money he demanded for their ransom. At Batopilas, State of Chihuahua, in February of the same year, he tortured a lady named Senora Maria de la Luz Gomez until he made her pay him $30,000. She died from the effects of the barbarous treatment she received.

### Outrages at Juarez.

When Ciudad Juarez was taken from the Federals in May, 1913, he killed Senor Ignacio Gomez Oyola, a man of over sixty years of age, under the following circumstances: Having sent for him, Villa asked whether he had any arms in his house, and on saying he had not, Villa, "who was seated on a table," drew his revolver and shot him dead. After rifling the corpse of money and valuables, it was thrown into the street.

After the triumph of the revolution, Villa, in November, 1911, obtained a monopoly from the then governor of Chihuahua for the sale of meat in the city of Chihuahua, which he procured by stealing cattle from the neighboring farms. Suspecting one of his subordinates, Cristobal Juarez, of stealing on his own account, he killed him one night in the latter part of November in the Calle de la Libertad.

In the early part of May, 1913, Villa, with seventy-five men, assaulted a train at Baeza, State of Chihuahua, that was carrying bars of gold and silver valued at 100,000 pesos, killing the crew and several passengers, including Messrs. Caravantes and a Senor Isaac Herrero of Ciudad Guerrero.

Later in the same month he entered the town of San Andres, Chihuahua, and assaulted the house of Senor Sabas Murga, an Hacendado, who, with his two sons, tried to defend themselves. Two of his nephews were killed, but the Murgas got away. Villa then got hold of two sons-in-law of Murga who had not taken any part in the fight, and after torturing them to say where their father-in-law had hidden his money, he had them killed.

Towards the end of the month Villa's band took the town of Sta. Rosalia, Chihuahua, shooting all prisoners and treating the principal officers with terrible cruelty. Colonel Pueblecita was shot and his body dragged along the streets of the town. The commercial houses of Messrs. Visconti, Sarli, Cia Harinera, Sordo y Blanco (Spaniards) and many others were totally sacked. Many private persons were murdered, one of the worst cases being that of a Spaniard Senor Montilla, cashier of the house of Sordo y Blanco, who was shot over the head of his wife, who tried to defend him. Villa personally kicked her in the face as she lay on the dead body of her husband. He also himself killed a Senor Ramos, secretary of the Court of First Instance.

He arrested more than twenty of the principal people of Sta. Rosalia, torturing them and taking them out to be shot, until he obtained from them 70,000 pesos, which were collected by several people in order to save their lives. One of these was a lady, Senora Maria B. Coviero, who was herself also tortured until the sum Villa wanted was forthcoming.

### Girls Violated at Casas Grandes.

In July, 1913, Villa took Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and shot more than eighty non-combatants, violating several young girls, amongst them two young ladies named Castillo.

He attacked and took the town of San Andres, which was held by the Federals, in September, 1913, shooting many peaceable residents and more than 150 prisoners, many of these being women and children. In shooting these people, in order to economize cartridges, he placed one behind the other up to five at one time, very few of them being killed outright. The bodies of the dead and wounded were then soaked with petroleum and thrown into bonfires prepared for the purpose. The prisoners were forced themselves to make the bonfire and cover with petroleum the rest of the victims.

After this he went to the small town of Carretas, where he took prisoner an old man of more than seventy years of age, named Jose Dolores Moreno, demanding from him a ransom of $200. As he could not pay, Villa killed him with his own hand.

On Sept. 29, 1913, Villa, having overpowered a force of over 500 Federals commanded by General Alvirez at Aviles, 15 kilometres from Torreon, had every prisoner shot.

Towards the end of November he took the city of Juarez by surprise. Nearly all the Federal officers who were taken there were shot, as well as some sixty non-combatants, most of them inferior employees and servants. The higher employees had managed to escape across the river to the American city of El Paso, Texas.

On Dec. 8, 1913, Villa took possession of the town of Chihuahua, which had been abandoned by the Federals since Nov. 28, seizing all the commercial houses of Spaniards and Mexicans down to the smallest bars and drug stores, besides some owned by other foreigners.

Moreover, Villa expelled all the Spaniards, obliging more than 500 Spanish families to leave within three days. Only two Spaniards disobeyed this order—namely, two brothers, Martinez, owners of a small eating-house. Villa thereupon ordered them to be beaten to death.

### Children Held to Ransom.

Senor Pedro Olivares, an old and very infirm man, whose shop, under the name of Jose Ma Sanchez, Successor, had been already plundered, is being held until he pays $50,000 ransom. He has already paid $10,000 for two of his children, these also having been held for ransom. Villa also took prisoners two children of fourteen years of age called Lorenzo Arellano and Alfonso Moliner, sons of two gentlemen who were able to leave Chihuahua before Villa arrived.

Many private houses have been occupied by Villa's men, who use their carriages and automobiles. These last are placed at the disposal of public women for their daily orgies.

The house of Senora T. S. Vda. de Prieto is also occupied by the rebels. This lady paid 25,000 pesos to Villa to allow her to leave the town.

Villa has shot in Chihuahua 150 non-combatants, the greater number being poor people who could not leave for want of means, or because they thought they ran no risks, as they took no part in politics. For all the people in any way connected with the Government had left before Villa entered the city. Special mention may be made of the case of Senor Ignacio Irigoyen and Senor Jose A. Yanez, who, though in no way connected with politics, were taken by Villa and tortured for several days with threats to shoot them until they paid ransoms of $20,000 each. Having obtained from Villa himself safe conducts to leave by train for the border, the train in which they were was caught up at the station of Montezuma by a locomotive in which were several officers in Villa's confidence, headed by an ex-Maderista deputy called Miguel Baca Ronquillo, who took them from the train and shot them in the presence of the passengers.

## TRAITOR OR TRICKSTER.

Pancho Villa's loud and eloquent protestations of friendship for the United States and for everything American brands him either a trickster and a liar, or a traitor to his country and a man devoid of the smallest shred of patriotism. If he means what he is saying, he is willing to sell his country's independence in exchange for foreign aid in settling his private quarrels and in making his private fortune. If he does not mean what he says then he is engaged in deceiving the Government in Washington until such time as he may feel able to show himself in his true colors and defy that Government.

In any event, Villa is a bad man to deal with. In the past he has insulted this country as has seemed good to his heart. He has abused and murdered and robbed its people and insulted its flag. Even if he should show himself an ally during the immediate future, there is no possibility that he will remain tractable or dependable after sating his desire for revenge on Huerta. At the most, he will use the United States for his own purposes, and if later the American Government attempts to keep him in order, it will be sure to find him a rebel and a most turbulent and troublesome one.—Detroit "Free Press."

VILLA AND HIS OFFICERS, "MARRY" THEN SLAY, AMERICAN WOMEN.

Washington, May 6.—Dr. Wittgenstein, who offered to lay before the State Department full information about the atrocities of the Mexican rebels and was told that Secretary Bryan did not care to receive such reorts, says:

"Villa is more barbarous toward foreigners than the most degraded negro. He hates and despises Americans, but he is crafty enough to cover his crimes as far as he can. He encourages his officers to marry the women whom they propose to mistreat—to marry then and when they are tired of them to murder them.

"And all these murders are termed 'accidental.' No one will ever know, though the State Department must have some knowledge of the subject, the number of murdered American women who have 'married' Villa and his officers. This is one of the most ghastly chapters of the whole revolution or of the history of the war.

"One case which came under my personal observation was that of a pretty young stenographer, an American, who was employed by the American Smelting Company, of Monterey. Villa met her and suggested that she marry him, and when she refused he indicated he would use force.

"The girl did marry him, but it was a mock ceremony, recognized by neither church or State. Three months later Villa reported that she had died after a sudden and unexpected illness.

"It was not until months afterward that her relatives learned she had been murdered.

"One of Villa's men was accused of having killed her, but nothing more came of it.

"These Mexicans seem to be particularly anxious to commit indignities on American women. In Chihuahua one of Villa's officers went to the mother of a girl who was still in her teens and demanded she permit the child to marry him. The mother refused, whereupon the officer threatened both her and her child.

"The girl then was taken to the marriage altar in front of a line of rifles held by the officer's men. The marriage was duly performed by a Mexican priest.

"Every American in Mexico realizes what hideous mockeries these marriages are—realize they are nothing but legalized crimes which the so-called Constitutionalist Government condones. And yet when the reports come back to this country the word 'marriage' seems to give the whole outrage a tone of respectability and people ask 'Why did the girl marry him?'

"Every one of these marriages is a shot gun marriage, with the soldiers offering the women no alternative.

"One typical example serves to show what this Mexican 'marriage' means. The wife of my mine superintendent in Neuva Leon was outraged after he had been mortally wounded and was lying at the point of death. When she visited him a Mexican, not knowing that she was Caldwell's wife, offered to 'marry' her. When she turned to resist him he knocked her down and attacked her."

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According to the theory under which we have been brought into war against Mexico—a theory by which the Washington department of state is apparently still controlled—the people of Southern Mexico would to-day be shedding tears of joy at the prospect of their being delivered from the tyrranical rule of Huerta. On the contrary, however, they are shouting and parading in Huerta's honor, and showing every sign of being angry wholly on their own account at the American capture of Vera Cruz. We do not need to say that a piece of foreign policy so contrary to the facts of the matter as our policy toward the Mexican government has been is highly dangerous because everybody can now see the danger of it. The old rule, which requires foreigners to be content with the government which is satisfactory to the people of the country concerned, is the only safe rule.—Hartford "Courant."

# The Blunder of the Age

By J. T. W., in Boston "Transcript."

While the three leading Latin American Powers are exercising their good offices in a concerted effort to rescue the United States and Mexico from the war into which the seizure of Vera Cruz has plunged the two countries, a breathing spell is offered for the American people to reflect upon steps already taken. As I begin this narrative of how the Washington Government, between midnight and morning, blundered into war, I am reminded of a comment made during the last presidential campaign by a Princeton classmate upon the Democratic nominee who even then seemed sure to be the next President of the United States. The comment was not from an unfriendly source. The informing classmate was one of those who sided with Woodrow Wilson in his Princeton fight. Here was what this classmate said: "I hope Woodrow Wilson will be elected. He does not lack firm opinion, but Heaven help the nation if he ever gets on the wrong side of a question; neither facts nor friends, nor arguments, nor events, not even new evidence can change him once he takes a position. It is not his best trait, it is his misfortune." How many times during the whole Mexican muddle have I heard much the same thing said of the present occupant of the White House by men of his own party, who desire to stand by him, who are determined to support him through thick and thin, but who feel that throughout his handling of the Mexican problem he has been on the wrong side. His failure has come through one effort after another to back up what is fundamentally a false and indefensible attitude. The recent week in Washington has witnessed the spectacle of the President facing the inevitable result of his early morning order to seize Vera Cruz, an order which threw this country into war, cost the lives of seventeen American bluejackets and marines, of several hundred Mexicans, and but for the combined assistance of Europe and Latin America would have cost the lives of many helpless Americans scattered throughout the interior of Mexico. The loss of life at Vera Cruz has so shocked the President that he flinches from the task he began. Instead of executing his original programme of seizing Tampico, where the insult to the flag occurred, and where the moral effect of any reprisal was needed, the disastrous result at Vera Cruz caused a change of plan. Tampico remains under the Mexican flag, and our men-of-war lie at anchor on the edge of the harbor, while British and German bluejackets have risked their lives ashore to rescue American refugees.

### The Return of Lind.

How did it all happen, and what will the outcome be? Ever since the return to Washington of John Lind the Administration has been considering the taking of drastic measures to depose General Huerta from the presidency of Mexico. The Lind mission was a complete failure. This inexperienced, but thoroughly respectable hard-headed Swedish-American has returned to Washington full of resentment, and bitter over his failure. His visit to Mexico was his first venture in the field of diplomacy. His previous experience had been limited to Minnesota politics and business. He was unacquainted with the Latin, and his arrival in Mexico soon showed him that he was dealing with a people whose life and customs he could not understand. Armed with a dictatorial set of instructions he proceeded to serve upon General Huerta an ultimatum, which in effect informed him that he, Huerta, must get out of the presidency within so many days, and thereby confess the truth of the Washington Government charge that he was guilty of the murder of Madero. It is said that the language used by Mr. Lind was so grotesque that Huerta and his advisors found it difficult to take him seriously. Probably no record of the conversations has been kept, but diplomats in Washington are laughing over a story that has drifted back from Mexico City, which quotes Mr. Lind as saying to Huerta: "Of course, as you are a Latin American and a Catholic you probably won't understand the American way of doing business."

### Huerta's Defiance.

When General Huerta returned an emphatic negative to all of the demands of this unaccredited and unequipped American envoy there was nothing for Mr. Lind to do except to withdraw from the capital. He therefore retired to Vera Cruz, and sat in his hotel apartment awaiting the backing up by Washington of his ultimatum. As week after week passed by and lengthened into months, Mr. Lind's impatience increased to indignation. He felt that he had been humiliated by Washington, and he was resentful at the sight of the American charge, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, continuing diplomatic relations with Huerta. During his stay in Vera Cruz, Mr. Lind gained what he believed to be an accurate idea of conditions in that city. From the time he reached Washington he urged that we move, either by means of a blockade, or otherwise, to bottle up Huerta and hasten his downfall. He assured the President and Secretary Bryan that sentiment in Vera Cruz was not unfriendly to the Americans. He told of the coming to him of officials in the custom house, who asked about their getting jobs whenever a new administration should succeed Huerta. * * *

Six o'clock on Sunday passed and no salute was fired or promised. In the meantime we see the humiliating spectacle of the Secretary of State appealing to European governments to urge Huerta to "give in." There was nothing for the President to do but make good his threat and go to Congress. This he did and read a message that recited his recent grievances against General Huerta. He asked Congress in joint session to "justify" him in punishing, not a de facto government, which we have repeatedly recognized as such, but one man, Victoriano Huerta.

In these latter days Congress has been overshadowed. Much if not all of its initiative has been swallowed up by an all-supreme Chief Executive. But in this instance the Senate made one last stand. The President's request was more than the self-respect of Congress, or at least one branch of it, would stand. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

(Continued on next page)

## THE BLUNDER---Continued

struck out all reference to Huerta in the resolution passed by the House. Led by Lodge and Root, a determined effort was made to have a preamble adopted which would furnish some real ground for fighting, but the White House sounded the call to close ranks, and by a party vote the preamble was lost. The name of Huerta, however, has been eliminated and the nation thus saved from the humiliation of practically declaring war against one man.

### A White House Failing.

It is worth while pausing here to note that the President wrote his message and had the justifying resolution drafted without any conference with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. That committee has in the past been nonpartisan in considering such grave questions of foreign policy. They were ready to help the President in this emergency. The President has never really consulted them since the Mexico matter was under consideration. Even the few times he has sent for them it has been to say in schoolmaster fashion what he has decided on and that he expects them to line up with him. If there were anyone in Washington or elsewhere to whom the President would listen except Mr. Bryan and John Lind it would be uncommon good fortune both for the President and the nation. The President is by nature most suspicious and this has resulted in the shunting away by his entourage of anyone who has the courage to say what he really thinks to the President. No occupant of the White House in many years has been so guarded from criticism of differing views as President Wilson. Those who see him generally tell him what he likes to hear. From those who admire him but differ from him at times, the President is protected. Indeed he is almost isolated. Washington, even the friendliest section, admits this to be a White House failing of the present day.

### The Vera Cruz Blunder.

But the President, say his friends, never tolerated any frank criticism at Princeton and he likes it even less today. While his resolution was being put into reasonable and dignified form in the Senate, indeed while the debate was in progress, we had blundered into war at Vera Cruz. Between midnight and morning of Tuesday last week the Navy Department received a cablegram from Admiral Fletcher at Vera Cruz of the approach of the Hamburg-American ship "Ypiranga" with 200 machine guns, 10,000 rifles and 15,000,000 rounds of ammunition. The admiral asked for instructions. The President was aroused from sleep and the cablegram was read to him over the telephone. "Seize the custom house," was the order he gave then and there. The President consulted only with Mr. Bryan and Mr. Daniels. Had not John Lind been assuring him for a week that Vera Cruz could be taken without the loss of a life and probably without the firing of a gun? Had not John Lind said if this shipload of supplies reached Vera Cruz Huerta's rule at Mexico City would be prolonged?

### The Real Reason.

Officially, of course, we seized Vera Cruz to avenge the insult to the flag. But no one in Washington denies that the real purpose of the war move was to prevent the shipload of munitions of war from falling into the hands of Huerta. If the President had consulted with John Bassett Moore or any one of the several international lawyers in Washington at the time he would have found another way to head off the German ship without seizing the custom house immediately. A request from the admiral would have stopped her pending instructions from the home office. Indeed, the Hamburg-American line has since been thanked by the Washington Government for its prompt co-operation in ordering the ship home. Delay in seizing Vera Cruz would have given time to get the Americans out of Mexico and to get a brigade of troops with the fleet ready to take possession. Delay would have given opportunity to give Vera Cruz fair warning. It is the opinon of military experts that such delay would have resulted in taking the port with a much smaller loss of life than occurred. The navy lost more men at Vera Cruz than they did in the Spanish War. Thousands of helpless Americans throughout Mexico have narrowly escaped massacre as a result of the President's Vera Cruz blunder.

### The Aftermath.

It was a bitter awakening for the President when he heard of the loss of life. That ended his intention to take Tampico. We are letting Europeans do the job there. English and German naval officers and bluejackets compose the rescue parties that go inland for Americans. But our Government has not hitherto allowed them to take any such measures for the protection of their own nationals. Whether we take Tampico later depends upon the outcome of the mediation mission. Meantime Americans in and near Tampico are dependent upon European Powers for protection. And yet we hear it said that this Administration is upholding the Monroe doctrine.

Ever since the seizure of Vera Cruz we have been dickering with Carranza and Villa. This is Bryan's contribution to the Mexican muddle. The President's hatred of Huerta is the dominating factor in his whole Mexican policy. Huerta is all he can see. His every move is directed against Huerta. We are reminded of what the President once said of himself: "I have a one-track mind." With Bryan it is a fantastic admiration for Carranza and Villa. He is now protesting against any step which will offend these cutthroats. They are to him what Aguinaldo was in the Philippine insurrection. They are to Bryan not bandits but patriots. He would to-day, if he could, have the embargo on arms lifted. He actually told an American arms manufacturer, whose patriotism caused him to consult Washington before filling Villa's order: "Send them their arms, they need them." At first the President yielded to Bryan as he generally does. But half the Cabinet protested vigorously and Congress and the country joined in that protest. The President finally reversed himself to the point of letting the War Department restore the embargo and Mr. Bryan could say to his "allies" that the State Department was not responsible for the order.

How will it all end? "Quien sabe?" President Wilson blundered into war at Vera Cruz through his personal hatred for Huerta. The President's first false step was in his dictatorial attempt to depose Huerta. Recognition was ours to give or withhold, but when the President of the United States undertook to drive Huerta from power he was guilty of intervention in Mexico. Of that Latin America and the world will never approve. Mr. Bryan is endeavoring to impose upon the twelve million people of Southern Mexico a bandit who controls a section of country in which some three million people live. Neither Villa nor Carranza could last a month in the presidency of Mexico without the military support of the United States.

If President Wilson can be persuaded to moderate his stubbornness and let the Latin-American Powers try their hand at composing the differences between Mexicans unhampered by conditions imposed by Washington, the mission of mediation may yet succeed. But Latin America and not the United States will get the credit. Ours has been a shifty course of dodge and drift, and blundering into war at Vera Cruz was the inevitable result.

### INVESTIGATE!

Doubtless a desire to please the President, who distributes offices and has much influence over the mails, is partially responsible for the conspiracy of the daily papers to color the alleged news from Mexico so that Villa is represented as a heroic reformer and Huerta as a debauched and desperate pirate. But there is something more behind this conspiracy. American interests in Mexico amount to over a billion of dollars, and big financiers are not sitting idly while this property is imperilled. To say that they bribe with money or bonds is absurd, but they have connections and associations with newspaper proprietors which enable them to pull the strings. President Taft was personally honest, but nevertheless he played into the hands of the big interests by forcing Diaz to leave Mexico and by transferring our entire American Army to the Mexican border suddenly and without the authorization of Congress. Mr. Wilson is personally honest, but he is put in the position of an accomplice of Villa, the worst scoundrel that Mexico ever produced. Notice the daily papers for yourselves. Read the flowery and philosophical utterances of Villa, though Villa cannot read or write in any language. Observe how Hurta is described as living exclusively on raw brandy, stealing millions to hide in France, and planning a secret flight. See how this goes on day after day; Villa and his bandits transformed into angels with white wings and golden crowns, while Huerta and his supporters are miserable devils with tails and horns.

My own correspondent in Mexico City, personally familiar with the whole situation, writes, "The crime of the United States is awful!" Think for yourselves of the disgrace of an alliance with the meanest murderer, violator of women and professional bandit in the world, and you must acknowledge that our criminality in warring upon Mexico to gratify the prejudice of one man against Huerta deserves to be described as awful in the sight of God and man. **If Congress will appoint a committee to investigate the conspiracy behind the President, it will do more to help Mexico than by appropriations for a cruelly unjust and needless war.**—"Town Topics."

## HALE!

### BOLD ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DOINGS OF DEATH.

Ambassador Page's magazine, the "World's Work," presents this month an article by Mr. William Bayard Hale on President Wilson's policy in Mexico. The article is entitled "Our Moral Empire in America," and it manifestly was written and probably was printed before the events which led to the occupation of Vera Cruz. "It would be an unhappy day for us," remarks the author of "Our Moral Empire in America," "to put soldiers on Mexican soil."

Our reason for referring to this not very attractive piece of writing, in which commonplace thought finds expression in the pretentious form which usually denotes excessive personal vanity, is solely on account of the preliminary editorial statement of Mr. Hale's relation to the policy he discusses in Ambassador Page's magazine. The circumstance that Mr. Hale is an employee of that magazine, with a residence at the place of its publication, makes it seem very unlikely that the subjoined explanation was prefixed to his article without his knowledge and consent:

"Perhaps no one except the President himself is entitled to speak with greater authority upon the problems of Latin-America and the relation of our Government toward the Latin American republics.

"Shortly after the February, 1913, coup d'etat in Mexico city and the assassination of President Madero and Vice-President Suarez, Dr. Hale went to the Mexican capital to investigate those events and the character of the Huerta regime. He remained three months, returning to Washington with a report which, according to common belief, decided President Wilson to refuse recognition of the Huerta Government.

"Later Dr. Hale visited the revolutionary chiefs in northern Mexico and held a series of conferences with General Carranza and his staff; these conferences were followed shortly afterward by the abolition of the embargo on arms and munitions of war, which had placed the revolutionists at a disadvantage."

Is this all true, or is it a misconception on the part of "common belief" and mere boasting on the part of Mr. William Bayard Hale to represent him as the originator of the policy of non-recognition of Huerta and of the open door for material of war for Carranza and Pancho Villa?

**Is Mr. William Bayard Hale, in short, the person primarily responsible for the death of the Americans at Vera Cruz and of the hundreds or thousands of Mexicans killed in the battles in the northern States?**

We observe that the author of "Our Moral Empire in America" delicately refers to General Huerta, now along with President Wilson the subject of mediation through the good offices of Brazil, Chile and the Argentine, as "an apelike Indian, aged, one eyed, subsisting on brandy."—New York "Sun."

## HOW ABOUT THE U. S. CONSTITUTION?

### Does It Authorize the Government to War for a Faction?

Senator Sheppard, of Texas, Wednesday gave the first public intimation that the United States was co-operating in Mexico with the constitutionalists. In conjunction with Dr. Henry Allen Tupper, the international peace advocate, Mr. Sheppard sent to Gen. Carranza the following telegram:

"Permit us to congratulate you on the co-operation of the United States in your brave struggle against the usurper of constitutional liberty. The enemies of freedom are hoping that the unselfish purposes of the United States will be misconstrued. The masses of the American people are solidly behind President Wilson and are looking to you and your brother officers and loyal followers to push your glorious cause to immediate success."

## FROM "GOING SOUTH WITH CARRANZA."

### By Gregory Mason in the "Outlook."

The pathetic aspect of the situation is that the bulk of the rebellious peons do not know what they are fighting for. Their leaders talk of constitutions, tax reforms, and a reform of the system by which a few hundred thousand Mexicans hold the land of fifteen millions. The unjust distribution of land is indeed, more than anything else, responsible for the ills of Mexico. But the *pelados* cannot understand the propaganda of an intellectual leader like Carranza, so we have the spectacle of a few intelligent leaders co-operating with a large number of bandit chiefs at the head of a rabble whose motives are, first, loot; second, revenge; third, hero worship of *jefes* like Villa; and, last, patriotism of un unseeing, chauvinistic variety. The revolution habit has become fixed with the lower classes. Give a peon a rifle, and he will fight for half as much as he could earn as a laborer or small farmer; for enlisting in the army means opportunity to travel, to avenge real or fancied wrongs on the property and persons of the rich men, and to enjoy the glamour of war that inevitably appeals to the half-Indian race that constitutes the bulk of Mexico's population.

The Constitutionalist programme, even as expounded by Carranza, is much less definite than that of the Socialist party in the United States, and is almost as inchoate as that of the American Industrial Workers of the World. Before he left Juarez General Carranza assured me that he would solve the land problem without confiscation, but by some sort of system yet to be worked out under which the peons on a *hacienda* would share the land with the ranchman. Yet one of the departments of the Provisional Government is the Department of Confiscation!

"The social and economic reforms we will work out later," said the *Primer Jefe*; "they are secondary to the restoration of the Constitution."

I asked him if he felt that he would have the support of the whole country if he reached Mexico City.

"We will have enough troops to keep order everywhere," he replied, and I thought I saw the Iron Hand.

## PATRIOTS!

The soldiers all look up to some one general under whom they were recruited as to their feudal lord. They call themselves his "gente"—his people; and an officer of anybody else's "gente" hasn't much authority over them.

* * *

At night a fire of corn-cobs was built in the middle of the floor and we squatted around it; while Apolinario and fourteen-year-old Gil Tomas, who was once a "colorado," told stories of the Bloody Three Years.

"At the taking of Durango," said Apolinario, "I was of the "gente" of Capitan Borunda—he that they call The Matador, because he always shoots his prisoners. But when Urbina took Durango, there weren't many prisoners. So Borunda, thirsty for blood, made the rounds of all the saloons. And in every one he would pick out some unarmed man, and ask him if he was a Federal. 'No, senor,' the man would say. 'You deserve death because you have not told the truth,' yelled Borunda, pulling his gun, Bang!"

* * *

There wasn't one of these men who had any religion at all, although once they had all been strict Catholics.

* * *

"No, it is not the troopers, the starved, unfed common soldiers who profit by the revolution. Officers, yes—some—for they get fat on the blood of the 'patria.' But we—no."

"What on earth are you fighting for?" I cried.

"I have two little sons," he answered. "And they will get their land. And they will have other little sons. They, too, will never want for food." The little man grinned. "We have a proverb in Guadalajara: Do not wear a shirt of eleven yards, for he who wants to be a Redeemer will be crucified."

"I've got no little son," said fourteen-year-old Gil Tomas, amid shouts of laughter. "I'm fighting so I can get a thirty-thirty rifle from some dead Federal, and a good horse that belonged to a millionaire."

Just for fun I asked a trooper with a photo-button of Madero pinned to his coat, who that was.

"Pues, quien sabe, senor?" he replied, "My capitan told me he was a great saint. I fight because it is not so hard as to work."

"How often are you fellows paid?"

"We were paid three pesos just nine months ago to-night," said the schoolmaster, and they all nodded. "We are the real volunteers. The 'gente' of Villa are professionals."

Then Luis Martinez got a guitar and sang a beautiful little love-song, which he said a prostitute had made up one night in a "bordel."—John Reed in May "Metropolitan."

# The Final Word==OIL

Washington, D. C.—Senator William Alden Smith made a dramatic indictment of the men whom he charged with being personally responsible for present conditions in Mexico and responsible, in his estimation, for the enormous loss of human life and treasure.

He declared at the outset that the headquarters of the revolutionists were located in the Hibbs Building in this city. At great length he recited the activities of Sherbourne Hopkins, of this city, who, before the special Mexican investigating committee of which Senator Smith was chairman, stated under oath his relation with the revolutionists and the part he played as adviser and counsel for the men who were in arms against the Mexican government.

Referring to Mr. Hopkins, Senator Smith said: "His hand can be seen in every vexatious movement involving the instability of governments at the south of us, and in my opinion he and his associates are a menace to organized society. He is an acknowledged and professional revolutionary authority, has been close to the Department of State, and wields an influence over the affairs of Central America.

**"I assert, without any hesitation whatever, that the very same element in Mexico which banded together to overthrow the government of President Diaz, which instigated and furnished the means and much of the munitions for President Madero's successful revolution, are the men who have engineered the Carranza and Villa movement. Their headquarters are in the city of Washington; their offices are in the Hibbs Building.**

"The following were here in person during the summer:

"Felix Sommerfeld, the head of the secret-service corps, operating with Consul Llorente along the Mexican border, who claimed that there was no limit to the expenditures he had a right to make; and it was found, without any difficulty whatever, that Mr. Llorente, consul, had over $2,000.000 to his credit in the city of El Paso alone with which he was to buy arms and ammunition and create propoganda in favor of his faction of the Mexican people; Mrs. Francisco Madero; the Madero brothers coming and going; Manuel Perez Romero, brother of Mrs. Madero, Washington representative of the rebels, their minister of finance; while Mrs. Madero's brother was busy through the entire summer fulminating against the government of Mexico, safely and usually in the District of Columbia.

"When the Mexican revolution, headed by Francisco I. Madero, against President Diaz, broke out, the Eagle Oil Company, which includes the Aguila Oil Company, dealing in the refined products of oil, and the Pearson Oil concessions belonging to Lord Cowdray, of England, producing crude oil, were doing their business in sharp rivalry with the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, a Missouri corporation operating in Mexico, Mr. Hopkins says they were active competitors and the stock of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company was owned by the Standard Oil Company. According to the witness, Mr. Henry Clay Pierce, president of the Waters-Pierce Company, 'conceived it to be "eminently" proper that the public should understand how Lord Cowdray got these concessions and how he exercised the control which he had over the Mexican government,' and witness says that he was employed by Mr. Pierce for that purpose.

"When asked by Senator McCumber (page 757 of the testimony taken by the special committee) why he should have been employed to ferret out public offenses in Mexico, he replied that Mr. Pierce did not believe the government would do it, and that it would require a person outside of the government, and witness advised as to the best methods to accomplish that end with most effect. Mr. Hopkins says that his employment took place in the City of Mexico. He further says that he was consulted with a view to exposing the graft by means of which Lord Cowdray had attained the degree of influence which he wielded with the Diaz administration. He says also that he was at that time the adviser of the Madero revolutionary party in Washington, and gave it his advice as to the best manner of deposing the Diaz government. that he was employed directly by Gustavo Madero and others, and that he 'made it as hot as he could for Lord Cowdray and the Eagle Oil Company.'

"He says he was especially called upon to advise Mr. Madero regarding railroad matters, and, in fact, says, 'I was the legal adviser of the revolutionary party in Washington from the beginning until the end,' employing men for work in the secret service of the United States and doing everything to assist in creating public opinion in the revolution against President Diaz; and that he was called to Mexico immediately after the fall of Juarez by President Madero and his brother, Gustavo Madero, for the purpose of adjusting certain large outstanding accounts for secret service in the United States whom witness had employed.

"During this visit to Mexico, Gustavo Madero was paid 600.000 pesos Mexican out of the treasury of that government for revolutionary expenses, and this money was carried by Madero to the hotel where Hopkins was stopping, and deposited in the International Banking Corporation, having a branch in Washington and in various foreign countries, with which Hopkins did business, and which he sometimes represented. Of this fund, Mr. Hopkins was paid $50,000 in gold for his service in promoting the revolutionary cause in Mexico. During this employment the Standard Oil Company sold its holdings in the Waters-Pierce Company to Henry Clay Pierce, and acquired an interest in the Cowdray and Doheney oil concessions (p. 795). The Standard Oil Company 'was quite willing to sacrifice its stock interest to destroy the Waters-Pierce Company, because they saw what was coming'—by the sucess of the Hopkins-Madero revolution (p. 794).

"Mr. Hopkins further says: 'Henry Clay Pierce found out that I was after some men who had been engaged in crooked practices, and he conceived that they should be exposed; they were so-called cientificos, who had been juggling with the national railways' (p. 755). Senator Hitchcock asked if this service, being for the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, was for any idealistic purpose, and suggested that it must have been for some business reason; Hopkins says it was to 'even up conditions—I mean in respect to government protection, assistance, aid, and so forth,' and that for this work he was paid $1,000.

"He further says, in answer to Senator McCumber, that much of his service consisted in advising the revolutionists how 'to get all the arms and ammunition and munitions of war that they could, and, with due regard to the neutrality laws, to get them across the border and organize their movement on the most approved military lines. I pointed out to them as best I could the lines of least resistance, both in a military and political sense. Most of the war material came from the United States—New York and St. Louis (p. 760). In speaking of Bannerman, Mr. Hopkins said: 'They are the largest dealers in war materials on this hemisphere; that they deal on a large scale with foreign governments; that they have furnished war materials for other Central and South American states' (p. 760).

"Gustavo Madero promised Hopkins that if the revolution was successful he intended to pay him a fee of $50,000. He was chief counsel in the United States, and his advice was sought upon the whole field of revolutionary action (p. 769). Hopkins also says that he was kept in close touch by wire with the proposed amendment to the neutrality law which passed March 12, 1912, both at Vera Cruz, before his departure for the United States, and at Key West and

(Continued on next page)

OIL—Continued.

Palm Beach (p. 770), and says that he considered such legislation very advantageous to the Madero government.

**"Hopkins admitted that he was publicity agent for Heny Clay Pierce in exposing graft in oil concessions in Mexico.**

"Hopkins says that he had 'had a good deal to do with revolutions, also in maintaining constituted government.' He says he knew that President Zelaya was going to be put out of the presidency of Nicaragua some time before it happened (p. 788). That he imparted his information to certain people in Europe, notably the French banker, whom he had approached for a loan in behalf of the Mexican revolution. He said he knew exactly what was going to happen. When asked if that information came directly from our government, he said: 'I should not say directly from our government; I knew what was going to happen before our government did, and stopped Zelaya's loan from going through.'

"You cannot dismiss with a wave of the hand this man who can stop a loan from a European banking house to a government in Central America. You cannot dismiss with a wave of the hand a man whose labors were sufficient to call for a personal appropriation out of the treasury of Mexico amounting to $50,000 in gold. This man is an acknowledged and professional revolutionary authority; has been close to the Department of State, and wields a powerful influence over the affairs of Central America. His hand can be seen in every vexatious movement involving the instability of governments at the south of us, and in my opinion he and his associates are a menace to organized society."

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, interrupting the Senator from Michigan, asked this question:

**"I merely wanted to ask the Senator if he might not, with perfect propriety, add to the indictment he has just eloquently drawn of those three men the further fact that every dollar of treasure to be expended and every life to be lost in the coming conflict, if there is one, should be charged directly to the account of the same men and the same forces behind them?"**

To which Senator Smith replied:

"Mr. President, I think that with his usual sagacity and experience as a lawyer, my friend from Colorado sees with unusual accuracy the consequences of this plot.

"Mr. President, senators may say, 'Why was not this matter presented to the Senate before?' That is a fair question. When we returned to Washington after our labors we found our associates scattered from a long and laborious session of the Senate. We were unable to get our committee together. Unfortunately, several of the actors in this horrible drama were killed. Your committee was squarely upon the trail of Gustavo Madero and the vice-president of the republic, Mr. Suarez, when their lives were snuffed out. The change of administration occurred, and the complexion of the committee on foreign relations changed; a new situation arose. We had no power to go on. We could not complete our work. All we could do was to report the progress we had made; and we laid upon the desk of every senator the testimony we had taken."

# The Schoolmaster

**(From an Experienced Staff Correspondent of The Boston "Herald" Sent to Washington Last Week to Feel Its Pulse and Report the Inside Facts of the Situation.)**

In all the years since I have known Washington—and I was here at the outbreak of the Spanish war and before—I have never seen a time when men of all parties, and every shade of belief, whether in public life or not, were so entirely united in opinion as now, upon an over-shadowing question of the hour. In the past week I have talked with senators and representatives, with army and navy officers, with newspaper correspondents, with residents of the city and with visitors from all parts of the United States, **and I have yet to find a man outside the cabinet and immediate administrative circle who has a word of commendation for the course which the President has pursued and is pursuing with regard to Mexico.**

There are some who excuse him and offer explanations, some who apologize—but I have not seen or heard of one who approves. Of course this is by no means conclusive as to the merit of the matter. It is still conceivable, in spite of the fighting at Vera Cruz and the killing of American marines, that Mr. Wilson has been wiser and more far-seeing than the rest of the world; that events will show that he and Mr. Bryan and Mr. Lind and Mr. William Bayard Hale are right and that everyone else is wrong. I am simply noting the opinion of the hour—and it so happens that developments to date seem completely to justify the judgment of those who have predicted from the start that however peaceful the President's intentions may have been, his policy of "watchful waiting" would lead inevitably to war.

No President was ever given a freer hand in dealing with a difficult problem. Republicans and Democrats alike in Congress, while distrusting his judgment and sources of information, have scrupulously refrained for more than a year from open criticism of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy. They have stood loyally by while American citizens were being killed in northern Mexico and American property was being despoiled by the revolutionists and, though chafing under restraint, have enacted some measures and refrained from enacting others or even from setting themselves right with their own people because he pleaded with them to uphold his hands during a critical period. They have gone to the length of imperilling their own political fortunes by supporting his demand for the repeal of the Panama tolls exemption clause because he intimated in his address to Congress that the repeal was necessary to enable him to handle questions of great delicacy. He has had unlimited credit in Congress and has drawn upon it with little consideration for the patience and generosity of those who have given it to him. He has even involved the United States in embarrassing complications with other powers through his insistence upon his own individual policy of "watchful waiting" and through his refusal to recognize Huerta as President of Mexico after every other government, with negligible exceptions, had afforded Huerta recognition.

It is characteristic of Mr. Wilson's policy throughout that he should have expected anything but an unfavorable response to his demand. **He has treated Huerta and the de facto government of Mexico from the beginning with a contempt and a vindictiveness which is hard to explain and he has seemed to regard it as a personal grievance that Huerta has not retired long before this in order to make way for the so-called "constitutionalists" of the north whom the Wilson administration has encouraged in their revolutionary designs.**

**Attitude of Schoolmaster.**

Mr. Wilson has treated Huerta much as a schoolmaster would treat a pupil whom he regarded as insubordinate, and in his dealings with Huerta he has shown an ungovernable rage such as schoolmasters in the days of corporal punishment sometimes exhibited toward a boy who failed to show himself amenable to discipline. He has given unlimited credence to the pretensions of Carranza and Villa because they call themselves "constitutionalists"—whatever that may mean in Mexico—and he has taken without question the opinions of his personal envoy, William Bayard Hale, whose record as a clergyman in Middleboro is still familiar to the inhabitants of the Cape and the value of whose judgment on any question they are in a position to estimate through their experience with him.

It is perhaps too much to say that we are drifting into war through the advice of Dr. Hale, but through the entire trouble the President of the United States has shown greater regard for this divorced clergyman's opinion than for the seasoned judgment of diplomats and statesmen who were thoroughly familiar with the Mexican character through long experiences, and has given greater credence to Hale's opinion than to the judgment of all the civilized nations of Europe. In the Mexican affair Mr. Wilson has shown the same traits which made him a failure as an executive while president at Princeton and which led him to inflict upon the people of New Jersey the unspeakable Martine because by so doing he could carry out a theory of his own about the method of selecting United States senators.

(Continued on Page 12.)

# PUBLIC OPINION

From North, South, East, West and All Angles.

If war comes—when war comes, for war has been an inevitable consequence of President Wilson's Mexican policies throughout and must come sooner or later—the American people will sustain their government. They will fight the fights. They will furnish the fine young men who must die to win the war. They will pour out their blood and their money to uphold their country's honor. But while there is a chance of preventing war, while it is still possible that the voice of reason may ward off the calamity of war, it is not the duty of the patriotic citizen to obey blindly the word of his fellow-citizen temporarily in office. It is his duty and his privilege as an American to lift his voice in warning. — Detroit "Free Press."

## BRYAN AND VILLA: A MENACING INTRIGUE.

Apparently there is danger that the Administration is confusing mediation of the causes of Mexican anarchy with interference for the purpose of making Villa dictator in Mexico.

The offer of the A B C Powers to undertake the former task was commendable in its purpose, though we must doubt its practicability. But the mediators must themselves be amazed at the tendency of the United States authorities to distort their purpose.

**They offered to serve the cause of peace; they are being used to serve the cause of Villa.**

Upon Huerta is imposed an armistice during the period of arbitration. Carranza and Villa refused to agree to such a condition, and no effort is being made to impose it upon them. Indeed, there is little effort made by the Administration to conceal the fact that it is encouraging Villa to move upon Tampico in the belief that his possession of that town will further weaken the Huerta faction.

Of course it will, but is that a fair use to make of the cessation of hostilities forced upon Huerta by the mediators? Must he sheathe his sword while his enemy threatens his outposts? * * *

The latter result is certain to follow the continued encouragement of Villa. That he is being encouraged, advised, consulted, applauded, is quite apparent—hardly even denied by the State Department. The Carranzista junta is in high favor about the offices of the Secretary of State. Personal representatives of that official are continually carrying messages to either Carranza or Villa, and returning with assurances of acquiescence. The United States is busily engaged in a revolutionary propaganda, and the hand of fellowship reaches from the State Department to the bandits' camp.

The danger of such an intrigue—for that word precisely describes its discreditable character—ought to be immediately apparent. The President and his Secretary of State are dealing with forces that are irresponsible and untrustworthy, both by nature and by the circumstances in which they are placed. What sane man, even though he were not charged with the high responsibility of the President or Mr. Bryan, would take seriously any pledge or promise made by either of the chiefs of the Constitutionalist party? * * * New York "American."

## IS THIS THE WILSON POLICY?

In the opinion of the "World" there can be no permanent peace in Mexico "until the peon is on land that belongs to the peon, and is protected in his ownership," and:

"When President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta he stood with the common people against their oppressors.

"In helping to bring about a mediation that will restore peace and establish a really representative Government that will do justice to the peon, the President is still standing with the common people."

Convinced that the President is devoting his power and authority to the settlement of the land question in Mexico, the "World" assumes that the United States as a nation is committed to the rearrangement of the internal affairs of that nation. This assumption pleases the "World". It says:

"Not since the United States Government under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln destroyed human slavery has it undertaken a nobler mission than the emancipation of the Mexican masses from a tyranny that is little better than slavery."

When did the United States Government undertake this mission? On whose commission did it embark on this enterprise? Who invited it to redress the domestic wrongs of a power independent of it and capable of caring for itself? By what authority will it divide the property of certain land owners among persons now landless? Who will pay the costs of this philanthropic excursion? When did the people of the United States authorize or approve so unusual an enterprise?

If this plan of land distribution is a mere vision of the "World's," it is a matter of small consequence. If it is a programme President Wilson has adopted it takes on a different aspect. And if it is President Wilson's plan and undertaking, is not this nation, and every nation on the globe, entitled to a formal announcement of that fact?—New York "Sun."

By Clarence Hay in Boston "Evening Transcript."

Many names appear, but always towering above all the rest in importance is that of a brown old individual of the humblest stock, whose fame, notwithstanding his faults, will go down through the years as a man "Muy hombre," who puts up a splendid exhibition of gameness and fight with all the odds against him. Through various exchanges of notes our Department of State realized early last autumn that Victoriano Huerta was a very cunning old Indian. Since then he has proved himself something more than a cunning Indian. He has shown that he possesses patience and forbearance, when it is to his advantage to forbear, as well as courage and persistency. Not once, in spite of all the epithets which Mr. Wilson has seen fit to bestow upon him, has he lost his temper outwardly, and the fact that he has made no appalling diplomatic blunders since his ascendancy has been a source of disappointment to Washington.

It is the impression among the American colony here that the ability of Huerta to overcome "insurmountable" obstacles in an unreasonably simple manner, contributed largely towards Mr. Lind's departure from Vera Cruz. It gets rather irksome to watch and wait, if that for which one has been waiting so many months fails to keep the appointment. It is hard to predict coming events, but if Mr. Lind had waited two months longer he might have seen at least some of his hopes realized.

The broad-minded American here knows that he cannot expect the United States to sacrifice thousands of millions of dollars and the lives of many American soldiers simply to protect his interests in Mexico. He was playing a long shot when he put his money in this Indian country. He had the chance of winning big stakes and if the conservative investor in his own country proves the more fortunate in the end the loser should take his losses like "a true sport." But "the true sport" does object if he considers that the game at which he has lost was not played fairly. In justice to the American business man in Mexico it must be said that he has not been demanding intervention, except as a disagreeable alternative. What he has been objecting to is Mr. Wilson's policy of tearing down the whole financial fabric in order to break the Government now in power. That Mr. Wilson is accomplishing this successfully there is no longer any doubt, but at the same time he is bringing on the ruin of nearly all the Americans living here, a misfortune which might have been avoided if he had recognized Huerta in the beginning.

If it is not the intention of the United States to intervene the task which our paternal Government has taken upon itself is a hard one to solve. Mr. Wilson's attitude toward Mexico is possibly that of a man who takes sections of at least four distinct picture-puzzles and sits down to piece them into an harmonious whole, thinking that by eliminating a single large fragment the other pieces will fall into place.

If this is what he is trying to do, it is a question if either the geometric formulae of the scholar, or the heaven-sent virtue of patience, will avail him in the end.

A seething Indian "republic," composed of irreconcilable elements, can't be turned into a garden of Eden by pointing a dogmatic finger at the inhabitants, and telling them to observe the second commandment.

Mexico City, April 15.

## PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### KERR KNEW TOO MUCH.

There seems to be something revolutionary in the very air of Mexico. Even the supposedly calm and deliberate American temperament is affected by it. Here we are carrying the blessings of peace to the Mexicans and offering to that distressed people our aid in establishing a stable Government; and, notwithstanding it all, our first official appointment to high station lasted just twenty-four hours.

Last Wednesday Robert J. Kerr was appointed Civil Governor of Vera Cruz by Admiral Fletcher and General Funston. Thursday he opened offices and issued a proclamation. Nobody does anything in Mexico without a proclamation. Friday the Governor was "fired" upon cabled instructions from Washington.

But cheek by jowl with Mr. Kerr's declaration of good purpose, published in Thursday's "American," is the report of a speech delivered by him in Chicago March 7. Speechmaking is always perilous. Sometimes candidates for President warmly indorse platform planks which they later repudiate. Ambassadors occasionally make presents of valuable public property, like interoceanic canals, to the nation whose amicable wine they sip. Presidents can't be punished. Ambassadors can be, but seldom are. But in the case of a mere civil Governor see how swiftly the penalty followed the discovery of the crime.

In his Chicago speech Mr. Kerr said:

"We find the United States Government favoring the Government, or the set of individuals, or the political party, or the mob of bandits pledged, if they get into power, to do things which will be favorable to the Standard Oil Company's interests.

"I am not making the charge that President Wilson or any member of his Administration is taking any position because of the influence of Standard Oil, **but I do say that it is a most remarkable fact that the interests of Standard Oil and the moral ideas of the Democratic Administration happen to coincide.**"

These utterances were printed in "The American" Thursday. Friday the official head of Governor Kerr dropped into the basket.

General Funston is quoted as saying that Mr. Kerr was appointed because he seemed to know more about the Mexican situation than any man on the spot. Undoubtedly his knowledge is wide, accurate and precise. But it is evidently possible for a man to know too much to be serviceable in Mexico just now.—New York "American."

### IN VERA CRUZ.

I had not been on shore two hours at Vera Cruz before it was evident to me that the facts of the daily press of the United States and the real situation in Mexico—at least in Southern Mexico—were at variance. An explanation of it comes in the mass, the *pot pourri*, of rumor that fills the air—the preconceived idea, foregone conclusions, personal interests that are seasoned overmuch with personal characteristics—that are let to fly in this atmosphere—and gathered up as news items. This conglomeration, without much sifting, or deduction, or searching out for the nucleus that starts the rumor, is cabled to the States and published with more respect paid to the political policy of the American newspaper than to the facts as they stand here. The difference between the Mexican situation and the Chinese trouble—when the Allies went to the rescue—is that the special correspondents in China were allowed the privilege of deduction and personal view-point. Here the newspaper representative must make good on something that not only fills in the time of watchful waiting—the pace of the present Administration—but he must get his newspaper spaces filled with sensations that will hustle the dignified, scholastic, theoretical, calm Executive into some kind of a trot of activity. For various reasons—which are quite as diplomatic as an actual blocking because of cut wires—it has been impossible to get news efficiency—but news (?) has been sent just the same.

This news, if America's reading public only will think as it reads, has been always from the rebel side—statements, press-agent work of Villa's movements—wide open, boastful and of moving-picture effect. There has been at no time even a hint or sugges ion that the Federal army, under direction of good generalship, with true militarism, might be working and engineering a campaign that would tend to ultimate victory—with God and humanity willing—anyway, with the hope of success because the commander, General Huerta, was not holding open gates of information for the enemy to block or to use. The Torreon situation was adroitly worked up and heralded as a decisive turning point. Why? Because the representatives of the American press are, or appear to be, agents of interven ion! Intervention means but one thing in this country: The necessity of coming immediately to the rescue of the Government, of Huerta as President, as commanding General of his army, and of all foreigners **if the rebels win.** There is not a press represen.ative, not a member of the diplomatic circle, which represents all countries, not a layman nor business man—merchant, mining man, or one interested in oil, or other ambitious for wealth—who does not believe—and express his opinions—if he can and not overstep wisdom—that with Carranza-Villa marauders plowing their way to victory and the slaughter of the Federal forces, intervention would be compelled. There are other Richmonds in the field who want to rule in Mexico. With the downfall of Huerta and his marvelous rule, Carranza and Villa would be lost in the shuffle. The United States army would be rushed here to cut through various hordes whose leaders would be trying to be first at the National Palace.—The Widow in "Town Topics."

### PRESIDENT WILSON'S MISTAKE.

"My view has been from the first that President Wilson made a mistake in not recognizing Huerta. Other Governments were recognizing him, but we declined to do so because we assumed the right to decide whether or not he had the proper credentials to the Presidency of Mexico.

"It had never occurred to me that the Monroe Doctrine has anything to do with the question of whether this or that man shall be recognized as the head of the Government of a South American State. Up to the present time it had always been our position that the South and Central Americans were entitled to the same treatment as other nations and to have the benefit of the same rules of international intercourse.

"In dealing with other nations I never supposed it to be our business to inquire how a man came to be the head of the Government, and I supposed the same rule held good in our relations with South American countries.

"The simple inquiry was made, not how he came to be the head of the Government, but whether he was the head of the Government. If he was, it was our duty to recognize him as such. That was all there was of it; that was the rule.

"It was not for us to consider, weigh evidence, and determine whether he had been illegally elected to the office or whether there were irregularities in his election which raised a question about its validity. That was supposed to be a question for the country itself to settle, not for us."—By General Benjamin F. Tracy, Ex-Secretary of the Navy, in New York "Times."

### A SCOUNDREL ALLY.

Villa is a scoundrel and everybody knows it. He will probably have to be crushed out by whatever agency assumes control of the Mexican situation. The mediators will be as "wise" on that situation as is the intelligent opinion of America to-day. The Cabinet is already divided on the question, Secretary Garrison resisting the Bryan policy of friendliness to Villa. The latter's cotton transactions, in which he has tried to dispose of millions of dollars worth of that product stolen from the Torreon region, have helped to bring his true character to light.

There is a saying that an incipient war once stopped does not start up again. This is hopeful. The mediation project has at least arrested the drift toward war. This has been done so effectively that all the howling degenerates who have been trying to rush this country into war for war's own sake—to see blood flow and to sell papers—are now yelling with the rage of a stage villain foiled in his plot.—Boston "Herald."

### NO. 26 BROADWAY.

**Fred Warren, editor of the "Appeal to Reason," attacking the landing of marines at Vera Cruz, aroused the greatest enthusiasm of the evening, particularly when he indulged in a half hour's definition of what the American flag really stands for. At one period of his address, when he declared that the "subsidized editors" should be sent to war, along with the President and Congress, to fight for the flag, which represented to him a series of really alarming dishonors, everybody got up and yelled and red bandannas were waved.**

**"The cause, the beginning and the end of the war in Mexico can be found at No. 26 Broadway," Mr. Warren shouted. "The cause but not the beginning of the war in Colorado begins in the same place."**—New York "Evening Telegram."

# PUBLIC OPINION---Continued

### ON THE BRINK OF WAR.

From the moment he entered the White House, President Wilson's treatment of the Mexican situation has been based upon the highest personal ethics, governed by the best intentions —and predestined to failure. The error which causes us the present alarms and excursions, and may cost blood and treasure too, has been one of misunderstanding the Mexican temperament and the actual conditions. Hating intervention above all things, Mr. Wilson adopted a policy whose logical end was intervention. Detesting war and foreign aggression, he has been compelled to call upon the army and navy. Two courses were open to the President; he might have recognized the Huerta regime (no worse in its origins and morals than most of those which preceded it). or he and his Secretary of State might, in withholding that recognition, have impressed Mexico with continuity and firmness of policy. There has been the same difficulty in dealing with this situation that is found in handling a high-strung, ill-bred child, with the added difficulty that this child is armed and insolent and that there are several millions of him. Mr. Wilson's striking achievements in domestic politics cannot be gainsaid, but they are, momentarily at least, obscured.—"Collier's Weekly."

### A BEGGAR AMONG THE NATIONS.

Sooner than anyone expected the chickens of "grape juice" diplomacy are coming home to roost. For more than a year President Wilson, through his Secretary of State, has been begging help of the world in his war upon Victoriano Huerta. When the President finally made up his mind not to recognize the Huerta government, he appealed to European Powers who were still considering the matter to withhold recognition. To the London and other Governments which had, upon the recommendation of their diplomatic representatives in Mexico City, extended formal recognition, the President appealed to withdraw it. When John Lind was despatched to Mexico, on a mission foredoomed to failure, we again find Secretary Bryan in the name of the President begging help for this unaccredited and unequipped envoy from the London, Paris and Berlin Governments. When Huerta easily survived the Lind visitation the Administration at Washington again became a suppliant of the world powers and begged their help in preventing Huerta from borrowing any more money.

Latterly, when our blundering into war at Vera Cruz forced Americans to flee for their lives, we are treated to the humiliating spectacle of our Government appealing to the British and German commanders in Mexican waters to rescue our nationals from the wrath of the Mexicans, kindled by our war upon the only government they have. To most of these appeals, especially to the latest, the world powers have responded with markedly prompt magnanimity. This, too, in spite of our refusal to let them lift a hand either to protect their own nationals or to compose Mexico, and in the face of our failure to do this work ourselves, a task imposed on us by the Monroe Doctrine and by our position as nearest neighbor

But now we see Europe appealed to by Latin America to bring pressure to bear upon the President of the United States to curb his wrath against Huerta and leave the A B C Powers a free hand in adjusting the differences between the several factions in Mexico. The President may be indifferent to the significance of this appeal, but the American people will, we believe, not be slow to feel the sting of its humiliation. Our proud position of primacy in this western world is for the time being wiped out. Latin America appeals unitedly to the Old World for help against a next-door neighbor. How can President Wilson object if the chancelleries of Europe respond to this appeal? Have we not for a year been going in debt to them for help in a task that rightly belongs to us, the task of helping stricken Mexico to her feet? Between them the President and his Secretary of State have by a year of blunders brought the United States to the low estate of a beggar among the nations. And now in this appeal of Latin America to Europe to take a hand in Pan-American affairs we see the chickens of the Wilson-Bryan diplomacy coming home to roost.—Boston "Evening Transcript."

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Villa's maudlin attempt to appear a jolly good friend of the Gringoes somehow lacks convincing qualities.—Boston "Herald."

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In the meantime, it may be necessary for Venezuela or Colombia to step in and restore order in Colorado.—Boston "Herald."

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### DESTROYING HIS PARTY.

CHICAGO, April 24.—President Woodrow Wilson as president is making precisely the same mistake he made as president of Princeton university. He thinks he is the whole thing. Princeton would have made him resign if he had stayed another year. He stopped the organization of the post-graduate college. As soon as he was gone the post-graduate college was organized, the magnificent buildings were erected, and his name was not mentioned in the proceedings of the inauguration of the college and dedication of the buildings.

He is repeating himself.

President Wilson has been successful for a few months, because he has appealed to the people over the heads of congress to sustain his personal views and plans. But the people are getting their eyes open to his schemes. They are deserting him. They will reorganize and unite the Republican party, which for fifty years has directed the policies of the country.—J. M. Linn, in Chicago "Tribune."

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### IN THE HOUSE.

Representative Mondell began his attack on the administration by calling attention to official dispatches to the state department by United States Consul Canada, stationed at Vera Cruz.

"Amid all the rumors of war and warlike preparations," he said, "American citizens have been protected in their liberties, rights, and property to a remarkable degree throughout the territory under the control of the Federal government of Mexico. But there has been a studied effort to create a false impression that such protection has not been afforded. Little has been said of the repeated outrages upon Americans perpetrated in the territory under the control of the so-called Constitutionalists.

"Now it is not to be wondered at that yellow journals should seize upon and distort every dispatch reporting the arrest, the insulting, and putting to death of American citizens in Federal territory. But it is a different and more serious matter when we find on the part of United States officials the same disposition to magnify the troubles in Mexico and to emphasize the difficulties American citizens have had."

Assails Reports of Canada.

"In this connection I wish to call attention to the official dispatches of Consul Canada and interviews attributed to him. The yellow press dispatches from all Mexico fail to equal the lurid dispatches of this gentleman."

"What about the consul at Monterey who was arrested by Federals?" interjected Representative Thompson of Oklahoma, Democrat.

In that case you find suppression of the outrages committed by the Constitutionalists," Mr. Mondell said. "When the Constitutionalists took Monterey they tore down American flags which had been placed over doors to protect American citizens. They trampled American flags and insulted American citizens throughout the city.

"But some cannot see outrages committed by the Constitutionalists. Mr. Carothers, another consular representative of our government, has been pictured recently in the embraces of Villa. Carothers was sent there by the secretary of state.

Bitter Attack on Villa.

"Who is Villa? He was first heard of when the American ambassador demanded his arrest for the looting of American ranches. If he can read now, he learned in the penitentiary. This gentlemanly bandit wanted to attack an undefended town. For that Huerta ordered him shot. Villa lives because he begged his life of Huerta on his knees and Huerta yielded.

"Now I have no objections to Carothers fondling and caressing Villa if he likes that kind of a man. But I do object to his representing this nation while so doing. When the American navy is upholding the honor of the nation the secretary of state is negotiating peace with this bandit, who began life looting American property. The secretary of state asked him if he would please modify his order driving the Spaniards out of Torreon. Villa replied in effect that he would do as he darned pleased.

"This is the kind of procedure on the part of officials of this government which is embarrassing endeavors to settle the Mexican question peacefully."

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Villa and Carranza have succeeded in fooling a few Americans in high places, but they do not fool the American people.—Washington "Post."

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### LOOK OUT FOR VILLA.

Ground for suspicion appears in the division of counsels of Carranza and Villa. The former has openly espoused the cause of his country, while Villa professes friendliness to the United States, implying that its forces and his own should in a measure work together. If we will take and hold the gulf ports he promises to go forward and dislodge Huerta from Mexico City. May not these professions of friendship have an ulterior purpose? May he not want us to let him have arms across the border? May he not be trying "to work us," to use a current phrase?

No one in authority in Washington should longer take stock in Villa. He is the worst scoundrel, according to the indisputable evidence, in the whole Mexican affair. By comparison Huerta is a saint. He has generally protected the lives of Americans and other foreigners in the territory over which he has held control. His record in this respect stands out in marked contrast with conditions prevailing under the bandits of the north, of whom Villa is the worst. The pathetic phase of this whole Mexican affair is that our policy should have so steadily played into the hands of such a miserable wretch.—Boston "Herald."

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While Villa is in such a loquacious mood he might be induced to tell the facts about Benton's murder.—Hartford "Courant."

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Gen. Carranza's state papers are not very definite. He has the bad habit of losing himself in his own writing fluid. —Hartford "Courant."

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It is no time to rely on the friendly assurances of cut-throats and hired assassins, such as Villa and his whole outfit have shown themselves to be. Sooner would we see the Government enter into an alliance with a successful Jesse James, for at least that outlaw spared women, whom Villa has made the victims of the most brutal and hideous crimes that the annals of warfare can show in this or any other age.—Boston "Evening Transcript."

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## LEST WE FORGET.

In the sudden exodus of Americans from Mexico not one of many thousands was killed or injured, although the populace was maddened by the seizure of Vera Cruz.

* * *

The Mexican Government took extraordinary precautions to protect Americans.

* * *

But the casual reader of the daily papers would get the impression that "Huerta's men" were killing, harrassing and torturing Americans.

* * *

To protect them from mob violence it was in some cases necessary to hold the refugees in a place of safety.

The reports from Vera Cruz and the efforts of the State Department were directed to create the impression that these Americans were "arrested" and in some cases that they would be executed.

* * *

Allowing for the hysteria of the time, is it not obvious to any fair-minded person that the unfairness of the Mexican news is only outdone by the palpable unfairness of the Washington Administration?

* * *

Blacken Huerta and whitewash Villa—that's the game of Wilson, Bryan, Lind, Daniels, et al, and their sycophantic echoes.

* * *

They know it is safe to do it, for the average citizen doesn't give a hang for any Mexican faction.

In other words, they do not believe in fairness, truth and justice when it is possible to "get away with" unfairness, lies and injustice.

Which is the very essence of hypocrisy.

Better to trust a Villa than trust that kind of person.

But they are all honorable men.

## THE DREAM.

It is a sort of fashion to preface criticism of the Administration's Mexican policy by protesting faith in the President's high ideals and good intentions. Without referring unnecessarily to the torrid region paved with such intentions, we are forced to conclude that the following fairly well sums up what our esteemed President has in mind regarding Mexico:

The spirit of peace and good-will animating every Mexican, from the highest to the lowest.

A diapason of sweet reasonableness rising in ever-swelling bursts of national concord.

Every Mexican able to read "The New Freedom."

Pancho Villa, chief of a rnral police, with nothing to do.

Mrs. Lind personally conducting doxology-singing bands of American missionaries, hailed as spirits of light by a heaven-aspiring populace.

A white-whiskered sonorous-voiced Presidente in the National Palace uttering platitudes, received daily from Washington by long-distance telephone.

John Lind sitting at the President's counsel table and planning new Chautaqua routes for Bryan.

The oil gushers of Tampico and Tuxpam gurglingly offering from the heart of nature a gift of great wealth to all men of good words.

A lean, austere man in the White House, serene after many storms, a pent-up volcano of emotion, from his ivory tower of thought looking on all with a Cheshire smile and murmuring: "'Tis well, my children."

## THE REALITY.

Murder.
Rape.
Pillage.
Desolation.
War.
Hell.

## THE REMEDY.

Have a real man guide the destinies of your nation and buy your poetry.

## THE SCHOOLMASTER.

(Continued from Page 8.)

### Takes None Into Confidence.

It is a fact that during the entire period of waiting President Wilson has not once taken into his confidence any leader in the House or the Senate. He has asked members of the foreign relations committee to come to the White House and has told them certain things he would like to have done, and, without regard to party feeling or their own political prospects, they have consented to take the necessary steps to carry out his policies. Men like Root and Lodge, familiar by years of training with diplomatic procedure, have been called to the White House only to be treated, after responding to the call, with little more consideration than would be given a White House employe entrusted with the delivery of a written message to the Senate. None of the men to whom the President had appealed for support in Congress has received from him an intimation of his real reasons for inaction and delay. For all that they have learned from him they would have no more conception of what was going on than a messenger or clerk. It now appears that through his own emissaries and those of the secretary of state he has been in almost continuous communication with the revolutionary party in the north of Mexico, encouraging them to believe that they would have the moral support of the United States in their endeavor to unseat Huerta and get possession of the capitol, while at the same time he has persisted in withholding from Huerta the recognition which was essential to financing his government and confirming it in control. All his energies have been bent toward perpetuating revolution and anarchy where a simple word of recognition might have resulted in the restoration of peace and order. The catastrophe which has followed seems to have been foreseen by everyone conversant with the situation excepting only the visionaries and parasites whom he relied upon for information and advice.

I have talked in the past day or two with many newspaper correspondents who have been in Mexico during the past year, some of the keenest and most impartial observers in the United States to-day. They all unite in saying that not since the departure of Diaz have conditions in the City of Mexico and the surrounding country been so good as since Huerta gained control. Under Madero, the visionary whom many believe to have been insane, anarchy prevailed throughout the country and life and property were unsafe within five miles of the capital, but under Huerta, who, whatever may be his moral character, is at least the head of an organized government, law and order have held respect. In the territory where Huerta has had unchallenged control—and this includes by far the greater part of the territory of Mexico—American lives and property have been as free from interference as they would be in Worcester or Lynn. Up to a few hours before our marines landed in Vera Cruz, Americans were working in American-owned mines, within a radius of 60 miles of the capital, as peacefully and regularly as anywhere in the world. But in the country to the north, where Villa and Carranza had driven out the federal troops with ammunition shipped across the border with the approval of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan, Americans had been subject to spoliation and put to death, and there was no regard for lives or property. Yet it is into the peaceful territory controlled by Huerta that the administration has gone "to restore order."

No one here questions the sincerity of Mr. Wilson's motives. Every one admits that he is doubtless actuated by a real desire to do what he believes is right. But he has gone into this business with the mistaken notion that to him has been entrusted the duty of regulating the form of government which shall prevail in Mexico. He has ignored the principle which has prevailed hitherto in the United States, as in every other civilized nation, that our only concern with the internal affairs of another country is in seeing that American lives and property have adequate protection, that American interests are not discriminated against and that the American flag is treated with respect. Beyond that he had no right to go.

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